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R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.
ARCHDEACON OF WESTMINSTER
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

(IN TWO VOLUMES)
VOL. I

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TO

MY WIFE

TO WHOM

I AM IMMEASURABLY BEHOLDEN

IN THIS AS IN MY OTHER STUDIES

BUT IN THIS

BEYOND ALL THE REST

PREFACE.

In 1894 Messrs. T. & T. Clark asked me to undertake a Commentary on the Apocalypse. The present Commentary, therefore, is the result of a study extending over twenty-five years. During the first fifteen years of the twenty-five—not to speak of the preceding eight years, which were in large measure devoted to kindred subjects—my time was mainly spent in the study of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic as a whole, and of the contributions of individual scholars of all the Christian centuries, but especially of the last fifty years, to the interpretation of the Apocalypse. The main results of these studies are embodied in my article on "Revelation," in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

But this work had hardly passed through Press before I became convinced that many of the conclusions therein set forth were in a high degree unsatisfactory, and that, if satisfactory results were to be reached, they could only be reached by working first hand from the foundation. From that period onwards I began to break with the traditions of the elders—alike ancient and modern—and to rewrite—and that not once or twice—the sections of my Commentary already written. Thus I soon came to learn that the Book of Revelation, which in earlier years I feared could offer no room for fresh light or discovery, presented in reality a field of research infinitely richer than any of those to which my earlier studies had been devoted. The first ground for such a revolution in my attitude to the Book was due to an exhaustive study of Jewish Apocalyptic. The knowledge thereby acquired helped to solve many problems, which could only prove to be hopeless enigmas to scholars unacquainted with this literature. But the second ground was of greater moment still. For the more I studied the Greek of the Apocalypse the more conscious I became that no scholar could appreciate the essential unity of the style of the greater part of the book, or even translate it, who had not made a special study of the Greek versions of the Old Testament, and combined therewith an adequate knowledge of the Greek used by Palestinian Jewish writers and of the ordinary Greek of our author's time. From the lack of such a study arose the multitude of disintegrating theories with which I have dealt in my *Studies in the Apocalypse*. The bulk of these were due to their authors' ignorance of John's style. They failed to recognize the presence in the text of certain phrases and passages which conflicted with John's style, while with the utmost light-heartedness they excised from his text chapters and groups of chapters which are indisputably Johannine.

John's Grammar.—In fact, John the Seer used a unique style, the true character of which no Grammar of the New Testament has as yet recognized. He thought in Hebrew,[1] and he frequently reproduces Hebrew idioms literally in Greek. But his solecistic style cannot be wholly explained from its Hebraistic colouring. The language which he adopted in his old age formed for him no rigid medium of expression. Hence he remodelled its syntax freely, and created a Greek that is absolutely his own. This Greek I slowly mastered as I wrote and rewrote my Commentary chapter by chapter. The results of this study are embodied in the "Short Grammar" which is included in the Introduction that follows.

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[1] I have already in part dealt with this subject in my *Studies in the Apocalypse*², pp. 79–102. I am glad to learn from the editor of Moulton's *Grammar of N. T. Greek* that Dr. Moulton abandoned his earlier attitude on this question after reading these lectures.

The Text.—The necessity of mastering John's style and grammar necessitated, further, a first-hand study of the chief MSS and Versions, and in reality the publication of a new text and a new translation. When once convinced of this necessity, I approached Sir John Clark and laid before him the need of such a text and such a translation. After consultation with Dr. Plummer, the General Editor of the Series, Sir John acceded to my request with a courtesy and an enthusiasm I have never yet met with in any publisher. Sir John's action in this matter recalls the best traditions of the great publishers of the past.

For the order of the text and the readings adopted, and for any critical discussion of the text in the *Apparatus Criticus*, I am myself wholly responsible. The readings followed in the Commentary do not always agree with those in the Greek Text and in the Translation. Where they disagree, the Text, Translation, and Introduction represent my final conclusions. But these disagreements only affect matters of detail as a rule, and not essential questions of method. The Text represents only a fuller development of the methods applied in the Commentary.

Apparatus Criticus.—In the formation of the *Appar. Crit.* I had to call in the help of other scholars, since owing to over twenty years spent largely in the collation of MSS and the formation of texts in several languages, I felt my eyes were wholly unequal to this fresh strain.

When seeking such help, I had the good fortune to meet the Rev. F. S. Marsh, now Dean of Selwyn College, Cambridge. To his splendid services I am deeply indebted for the preparation of the *Appar. Crit.* At his disposal I placed the photographs of the Uncials A and ℵ, of twenty-two Cursives, and of all the Versions save the Ethiopic. One-half of the twenty-two Cursives I examined personally in the Vatican Library, in the Laurentian Library in Florence, and in St. Mark's in Venice, and had them photographed. The rest of the photographs I procured through the kind offices of the Librarians of the Bodley, the National Library in Paris, and of the Escurial. Three or even four of these Cursives are equal in many respects to the later Uncials, and in certain readings superior.

Mr. Marsh collated in full the readings of these MSS and practically all the readings of the Versions,[1] and prepared the *Appar. Crit.* of chapters i.–v. Readings from other Cursives have been adopted from Tischendorf, Swete, and Hoskier. Unfortunately, when the work was far advanced, Mr. Marsh was called off to the War for three years. During his absence, Professor R. M. Gwynn[2] and Miss Gertrude Bevan most kindly came to my help, and verified the *Appar. Crit.* of i.–v., with the exception of the Syriac and Ethiopic Versions. There are three other scholars to whom my warm thanks are due. The first is the Rev. Cecil Cryer, who verified Mr. Marsh's collations of vi.–xiv. and embodied them in the *Appar. Crit.*, and subsequently carried i.–xiv. through the Press.[1] During this process I verified here and there in the proofs thousands of readings from the MSS and Versions, but this revision was of necessity only partial. Mr. Marsh then made a complete revision of the *Apparatus Criticus* and corrected a large number of *errata.* The other two scholars are the Rev. D. Bruce-Walker and the Rev. J. H. Roberts. These in conjunction verified Mr. Marsh's collations of xv.–xxii., the former taking the larger share of the work. At this juncture Mr. Marsh returned, and prepared and carried through Press xv.–xxii. Once again I must record my grateful thanks to Mr. Marsh, and express the hope that he may find time and opportunity for research, and so make the contributions to scholarship for which he is so well qualified. Also I would express my gratitude to the Rev. George Horner for the large body of readings which he put at my service from the Sahidic Version, and the frequent help he gave in connection with readings from the Bohairic Version; and to Professor Grenfell for calling my attention to the Papyrus Fragments of the Apocalypse (see vol. ii. 447–451). Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Plummer for his patience and kindness throughout the long years in which I was engaged on this Commentary, as well as for the many corrections he made in the revision of the proofs.

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[1] I am myself responsible throughout for the collation of the Ethiopic Version. For my own satisfaction also, I have collated and verified hundreds—in some cases thousands—of readings in each of the other Versions, and in each of the twenty-two MSS.

[2] Professor Gwynn also read through the proofs of the Commentary, and Miss Bevan gave me most ungrudging help in part of the Introduction.

The Indexes.—For the first and fourth Indexes I am indebted to the competent services of the Rev. A. Ll. Davies, Warden of Ruthin, North Wales.

The Translation.—The Translation is based on the text. While the text diverges in many passages from that accepted in the Commentary, the Translation diverges from the text practically only in one (ii. 27).

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[1] Mr. Cryer further helped me by verifying the references in the Introduction.

In the Translation I have sought to recover the poetical form in which the Seer wrote so large a part of the Apocalypse. Nearly always, when dealing with his greatest themes, the Seer's words assume—perhaps unconsciously at times—the forms of parallelism familiar in Hebrew poetry. Even the strophe and antistrophe are found (see vol. ii. 122, 434–435). To print such passages as prose is to rob them of half their force. It is not only the form that is thereby lost, but also much of the thought that in a variety of ways is reinforced by this parallelism.

The Apocalypse—a Book of Songs.—Though our author has for his theme the inevitable conflicts and antagonisms of good and evil, of God and the powers of darkness, yet his book is emphatically a Book of Songs. Dirges there are, indeed, and threnodies; but these are not over the martyrs, the faithful that had fallen, but spring from the lips of the kings of the earth, its merchant princes, its seafolk, overwhelmed by the fall of the empire of this world and the destruction of its mighty ones in whom they had trusted, or from the lips of sinners in the face of actual or impending doom. But over the martyred Church, over those that had fallen faithful in the strife, the Seer has no song of lesser note to sing than the beatitude pronounced by Heaven itself: "Blessed—blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." A faith immeasurable, an optimism inexpugnable, a joy inextinguishable press for utterance and take form in anthems of praise and gladness and thanksgiving, as the Seer follows in vision the varying fortunes of the world struggle, till at last he sees evil fully and finally destroyed, righteousness established for evermore, and all the faithful—even the weakest of God's servants amongst them—enjoying everlasting blessedness in the eternal City of God, bearing His name on their foreheads, and growing more and more into His likeness.

The Apocalypse—a book for the present day.—The publication of this Commentary has been delayed in manifold ways by the War. But these delays have only served to adjourn its publication to the fittest year in which it could see the light—that is, the year that has witnessed the overthrow of the greatest conspiracy of might against right that has occurred in the history of the world, and at the same time the greatest fulfilment of the prophecy of the Apocalypse. But even though the powers of darkness have been vanquished in the open field, there remains a still more grievous strife to wage, a warfare from which there can be no discharge either for individuals or States. This, in contradistinction to the rest of the New Testament, is emphatically the teaching of our author. John the Seer insists not only that the individual follower of Christ should fashion his principles and conduct by the teaching of Christ, but that all governments should model their policies by the same Christian norm. He proclaims that there can be no divergence between the moral laws binding on the individual and those incumbent on the State, or any voluntary society or corporation within the State. None can be exempt from these obligations, and such as exempt themselves, however well-seeming their professions, cannot fail to go over with all their gifts, whether great or mean, to the kingdom of outer darkness. In any case, no matter how many individuals, societies, kingdoms, or races may rebel against such obligations, the warfare against sin and darkness must go on, and go on inexorably, till the kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of God and of His Christ.

It is at once with feelings of thankfulness and of regret that I part with a work that has engaged my thoughts in a greater or lesser measure for twenty-five years. On the one hand, I am thankful that I have been permitted to bring this study of the Apocalypse to a close, though this thankfulness is tempered by a keen sense of its many shortcomings, of which none can be so conscious as I am myself. On the other hand, I cannot help a feeling of regret that I am breaking with a study which has been at once the toil and the delight of so many years; and in parting with it I would repeat, as Professor Swete does in his work on the Apocalyse, St. Augustine's prayer: *Domine Deus . . . quaecumque dixi in hoc libro de tuo, agnoscant et tui; si qua de meo, et Tu ignosce et tui.*[1]

R. H. C.

4 LITTLE CLOISTERS, WESTMINSTER ABBEY,
May 1920.

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[1] *Advice to the reader.*—Since the present work on the Apocalypse is a large one, and in many respects difficult, *it would be advisable for the serious as well as for the ordinary student to read through the English translation first.* This will introduce him to the main problems of the book, and help him to recognize that the thought of our author is orderly and progressive, and easier to follow than that of the Epistle to the Hebrews or of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. After the Translation he should read the Introduction, §§ 1, 4, and such others as these may suggest to him. The serious student should master the chief sections of the Short Grammar (pp. cxvii–clix). So prepared, he can then face the problems discussed in the Commentary, and recognize the grounds for the adoption of certain readings and interpretations and the rejection of those opposed to them.

Each chapter (or, in two cases, groups of chapters) is preceded by an introduction. Such introductions are divided into sections. The first section (§ 1) always gives the general thought of the chapter that follows, while the remaining sections discuss the diction and idiom of the chapter, its indebtedness to the Old Testament and other sources, and many other questions, exegetical, critical, and archaeological.

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[1] J^{ap} = the Apocalypse, J the Gospel, 1 J the First Epistle, etc.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

§ 1. *Short Account of the Seer and his Work.*

JOHN the Seer, to whom we owe the Apocalypse, was a Jewish Christian who had in all probability spent the greater part of his life in Galilee before he emigrated to Asia Minor and settled in Ephesus, the chief centre of Greek civilization in that province. This conclusion is in part to be drawn not only from his defective knowledge of Greek and the unparalleled liberties he takes with its syntax, but also from the fact that to a certain extent he creates a Greek grammar of his own.[1] He had never mastered the Greek of his own day. The language of his adoption was not for him a normalized and rigid medium of utterance: nay rather, it was still for him in a fluid condition, and so he used it freely, remodelling its syntactical usages and launching forth into unheard of expressions. Hence his style is absolutely unique. That he has set at defiance the grammarian and the usual rules of syntax is unquestionable, but he did not do so deliberately. He had no such intention. His object was to drive home his message with all the powers at his command, and this he does in some of the sublimest passages in all literature. With such an object in view he had no thought of consistently committing breaches of Greek syntax. How then is the unbridled licence of his Greek constructions to be explained? The reason, as the present writer hopes to prove,[2] is that while he wrote in Greek he thought in Hebrew and frequently translated Hebrew idioms literally into Greek. In Galilee he had no doubt used Aramaic as the ordinary vehicle of intercourse with his fellows, but all his serious studies were rooted in Hebrew. He had so profound a knowledge of the O.T. that he constantly uses its phraseology not only consciously, but even unconsciously. When using it consciously he uses the Hebrew text, and translates it generally first hand; but not infrequently his renderings are influenced not only by the LXX, but also by a later version, which is now lost in its original form, but which was re-edited by Theodotion 100 years later.[1]

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[1] See pp. cxvii–clix.

[2] See pp. cxlii–clii.

John the Seer was quite distinct from the author of the Gospel and Epistles.[2] That the Gospel and Epistles were from one and the same author, who was probably John the Elder, I have shown below.[3] That these two Johns belonged to the same religious circle, or that the author of the Gospel was a pupil of John the Seer, is not improbable.[4]

We gather from the Apocalypse that John the Seer exercised an unquestioned authority over the Churches of the Province of Asia. To seven of these, chosen by him to be representatives of Christendom as a whole,[5] he wrote his great Apocalypse in the form of a letter, about the year 95 A.D.[6] The object[7] of the Apocalypse was to encourage the faithful to resist even to death the blasphemous claims of the State, and to proclaim the coming victory of the cause of God and of His Christ not only in the individual Christian, and the corporate body of such individuals, but also in the nations as such in their national and international life and relations. It lays down the only true basis for national ethics and international law. Hence the Seer claims not only the after-world for God and for His people, but also this world. God's work will be carried on without haste, without rest, till "the kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of God and of His Christ."

The Seer has used freely not only his own visions of various dates,[8] but also Jewish and Christian sources of Neronic and Vespasianic dates in the presentation of his great theme.[9]

The fact of his having freely used sources might seem to militate against the unity of his work.[10] But this is not so. A glance at the Plan[11] of the book will show how thought and action steadily advance step by step from its very beginning till they reach their consummation and culminate at its close.

But unhappily the prophet did not live to revise his work, or even to put the materials of 20^4–22 into their legitimate order.[12] This task fell, to the misfortune of all students of the Apocalypse, into the hands of a very unintelligent disciple. This disciple was a better Greek scholar than his master, for he corrects his Greek occasionally, and was probably a Greek-speaking Jewish Christian of Asia Minor. He had not his master's knowledge of Hebrew, if he had any knowledge of it, and he was profoundly ignorant of his master's thought. If he had left

[1] See pp. lxvi sqq., lxxx sq.

[2] See pp. xxix–xl.

[3] See pp. xli–xliii.

[4] See pp. xxxii–xxxiv.

[5] See p. lxxxix sq. note.

[6] See p. xxiv.

[7] See p. ciii sq.

[8] See pp. xc, xciv.

[9] See p. xc sq.

[10] See pp. lxxxvii–xci.

[11] See pp. xxiii–xxviii.

[12] See pp. l–lv.

his master's work as he found it, its teaching would not have been the unintelligible mystery it has been to subsequent ages; but unhappily he intervened repeatedly, rearranging the text in some cases, adding to it in others, and every such intervention has made the task of interpretation impossible for all students who accepted such rearrangements and additions as genuine features of the text. Since, however, his handiwork and character are fully dealt with later, we need not waste more time here over his misdemeanours.[1]

When once the interpolations of John's editor, which amount to little more than twenty-two verses, are removed, and the dislocations of the text are set right,[2] most of the difficulties of the text disappear and it becomes a comparatively easy task to follow the thought of our author as it develops from stage to stage, from its opening chapters darkened with the shadow of the great tribulation about to fall on entire Christendom, till it reaches its triumphant close in the eternal blessedness of all the faithful in the new heaven and the new earth.

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, 1^{1-3}, the Apocalypse proper, consisting of seven parts—a significant number—and an Epilogue. The events in these seven parts are described in visions *in strict chronological order*, save in the case of certain proleptic visions which are inserted for purposes of encouragement and lie outside the orderly development of the theme of the Seer: *i.e.* 7^{9-17} 10–11^{13} 14, and 12, which relates to the past, but forms a necessary introduction to 13.[3]

Thus there is no need to resort to the theory of Recapitulation which from the time of Victorinus of Pettau (*circa* 270 A.D.) has dominated practically every school of interpretation from that date to the present. So far is it from being true that the Apocalypse represents more or less fully, under each successive series of the seven seals, the seven trumpets and the seven bowls, the same series of events, that the interpretation which is compelled to fall back on this device must be pronounced a failure. This principle of interpretation, like many other forlorn efforts in this field, arose mainly from the non-recognition by scholars in the past of the interpolations made in the text by the disciple and editor of the Seer.

§ 2. *Plan of the Book.*

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, 1^{1-3}, a letter consisting of seven distinct parts: (1) 1^{4-20}, (2) 2–3, (3) 4–5, (4) 6–20^{3}, (5) 21^{9}–$22^{2.\ 14-15.\ 17}$ 20^{4-10}, (6) 20^{11-15}, (7) $21^{5a.\ 4d.\ 5b.\ 1-4abc}$ 22^{3-5}, and an Epilogue, $21^{5c.\ 6b-8}$ $22^{6-7.\ 18a.\ 16.\ 13.\ 12.\ 10.\ 8-9.\ 20-21}$.

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[1] See pp. l–lv.

[2] See pp. lvi–lx.

[3] See p. xxv.

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, the Apocalypse proper—consisting of seven distinct parts, and an Epilogue. In the Prologue, 1^{1-3}, the Apocalypse is affirmed to have been given by God to Christ and by Christ to John. In the Epilogue the truth of the claims made in the Prologue is attested by God, $21^{5c.\ 6b-8}$; by Christ, $22^{6-7.\ 18a.\ 16.\ 13.\ 10}$; and by John himself, $22^{8-9.\ 20-21}$.

The seven parts and the Epilogue constitute a letter, 1^{4}–22^{21}, which, like the Pauline letters, opens with "John to the Seven Churches. . . . Grace unto you, and peace, from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from Jesus Christ" (1^{4-5a}), and ends with the words, "The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints. Amen."

The Prologue and Epilogue are not mere subsequent additions to the book. They are organic parts of it. Not to mention other grounds, this is at once obvious from the fact that the Prologue contains the first of the *seven beatitudes* of the Apocalypse (*i.e.* 1^{3}), and the Epilogue the seventh (*i e.* 22^{7}). That there should be exactly seven beatitudes in our book and not more and not less, is at once intelligible to all students of the Apocalypse.[1]

The Book, apart from the Prologue and Epilogue, falls naturally into seven parts—again a significant division. In Jewish writers the favourite division of a work was a fivefold one. Thus the five books of the Pentateuch, of the Psalms, of the Megilloth, of the Maccabean history by Jason of Cyrene, of 1 Enoch, of the Pirke Aboth. This fivefold division is clearly traceable in Matthew (see *Horae Synopticae*², 164; Hawkins). But the number five does not occur in our author save with evil associations (cf. $9^{5.\ 10}$ 17^{10}), whereas seven is a most sacred number in his regard.

The seven parts are as follows: (1) 1^{4-20}. John's letter to the Seven Churches, in which he tells how Christ had appeared to and bidden him to send to the Churches the visions written in this book. (2) 2–3. The problem of the book—as reflected in the letters to the Churches—how to reconcile God's righteousness and Christ's redemption with the condition of His servants on earth. (3) 4–5. A vision of God and a vision of Christ, who takes upon Himself the guidance of the world's destinies and its judgments. (4) 6–7^{8}. $8^{1.\ 3-5.\ 2.\ 6.\ 13}$–9. 11^{14}–13. 15–20^{3}. Judgments of the world. (5) 21^{9}–$22^{2.\ 14-15.\ 17}$ 20^{4-10}. The Millennial Kingdom: attack of evil powers on the Beloved City at its close: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. (6) 20^{11-15}. Heaven and earth vanish: final judgment by God Himself. (7) $21^{5a.\ 4d.\ 5b.\ 1-4abc}$ 22^{3-5}. The everlasting Kingdom in the new heaven and earth and the New Jerusalem.

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[1] See note on i. 3; also footnote[1] in vol. ii. 445.

In these seven parts the events described in the visions are in strict chronological order, save that the Seer is obliged in chap. 12 to consider past events in order to prepare for those in 13. But there are certain sections of the book lying outside the orderly development of the Seer's theme, *sc.* 7^{9-17} $10–11^{13}$ and 14. These three additions, which do not carry on the action of the divine drama and are likewise breaches of unity in respect of time, are all proleptic. After 7^{1-8} the visionary gaze of the Seer leaves for the moment the steady progressive unveiling of the events of his future and beholds in 7^{9-17} the more distant destinies of the martyred faithful triumphant and secure before the throne of God in heaven (although these sealed members of the Church are not martyred till 13), and of the same host of martyrs on Mount Zion (during the period of the Millennial Kingdom) in 14^{1-5}. These visions are recounted out of their due order to encourage and inspire the Church in the face of an impending universal martyrdom. In the case of $10–11^{13}$ the explanation is different. Our Seer sees Rome to be the impersonation of sheer might, of wickedness and lawlessness, *i.e.* the Antichrist. But before our Seer's time in Christian circles Jerusalem was expected to be the scene of the appearance of the Antichrist (2 Thess. 2^{4}) and Rome was regarded as the representative of order. This former view of the Antichrist is preserved in this proleptic section, but no reference is made again to it throughout the remaining chapters.

In the analysis which follows the three proleptic sections are inserted on the right hand of the page:

Prologue, 1^{1-3}.	1^{1-3}. The Revelation given by God to Christ and by Christ entrusted to John. John's testimony to it as from God and Christ. The first beatitude on those who keep the things written therein.
I. John writes to the Seven Churches to tell them that he has seen Christ and been bidden by Him to send them the visions written in this book—1^{4-20}.	1^{4-7}. John begins his letter to the Seven Churches with the blessing of grace and peace from the Everlasting God and Jesus Christ, Lord of the dead and Ruler of the living, the Redeemer. 1^{9-20}. John recounts his vision of the Son of Man in Patmos, who bids him to write down what he saw in a book and to send it to the Seven Churches.

II. Problem of the book set forth in the Letters to the Seven Churches, which reflect the seeming failure of the cause of both God and Christ on earth—2–3.	2–3. Letters to the Seven Churches. These implicitly set the problem. How are God's righteousness and Christ's redemption of the world to be reconciled with the condition of His servants on earth and the dominating power of evil thereon? Hence John's visions, embracing heaven and earth, begin in 4–5 with God and Christ as the Supreme Powers in the world.
III. Vision of God, to whom the world owes its origin, and of Christ, to whom it owes its redemption—4–5.	4. Scene of John's visions is no longer earth with its failures, troubles, and outlook darkened with the apprehension of universal martyrdom, but heaven with its atmosphere of perfect assurance and peace and thanksgiving and joy. John's vision of God—of a throne and of Him that sat thereon, to whom the Cherubim and Elders offered continual praise, and to whose will the whole creation owes its being. 5. Vision of Christ, who, having wrought redemption for God's people, takes upon Himself the guidance of the destinies of the world in a series of judgments.
IV. *Judgments. First Series*—the first Six Seals.	6. First series of judgments affecting all men alike, good and bad—the first six Seals.
Judgments. Second Series, 7–13—The seventh Seal and the Three Woes, bringing into manifestation the servants of God and the servants of Satan and Satan himself. Before the seventh Seal there is a pause on earth, during which God marks out His servants by a seal on their foreheads; after the seventh Seal there is a pause in heaven during which His servants' prayers are presented before God—both the sealing of the faithful and their prayers being designed to secure them against the Three Woes.	7^{1-8}. Further judgments stayed till the spiritual Israel are made manifest through the seal of God affixed on their foreheads and are thus secured against the Three Woes, against the first two absolutely, and against the *spiritual* effects of the third. 7^{9-17}. Proleptic vision of a vast multitude of the faithful in heaven, *i.e.* of those who had just been sealed and had died as martyrs—a vision subsequent in point of time to the visions in 13. $8^{1.\ 3-5.\ 2.\ 6.\ 13}$. The seventh Seal, introducing the Three Woes, is followed by silence in heaven, during which the prayers of the faithful are offered before God in heaven for protection against the Three Woes.
First and Second Woes bring Satan's servants into manifestation and affect only those who had not been sealed.	$9–11^{14a}$. First and second demonic woes (heralded by trumpet blasts) affecting only those who had not been sealed, with torment and death respectively.

Third Woe, followed by two songs of triumph in heaven, brings into full manifestation Satan, his chief agents the two Beasts, and all his servants. Evil is now at its climax. All Satan's servants are visited with spiritual blindness and marked with the mark of the Beast. All the faithful are martyred.	10–11^{13}. Proleptic digression on the Antichrist in Jerusalem—a vision contemporaneous in point of time with 13. 11^{14b-19}. Third and Satanic Woe heralded by a trumpet blast. Thereupon two songs of triumph burst forth in heaven declaring that God is King, and faithful and faithless alike will receive their due recompense. 12–13. Third or Satanic Woe. Satan at last fully manifest. Climax of his power and his apparent triumph on earth. In 12 the vision is *retrospective*: it recounts the birth and ascension of Christ and the casting down of Satan to earth—facts closely connected; also Satan's persecution of the Church. In 13 Satan summons to his help the first and second Beasts. The faithless are spiritually blinded and marked by the mark of the Beast. All the faithful are martyred.
	14^{1-7}. Proleptic vision (*a*) of the Church triumphant *on earth* in the Millennial Kingdom and the conversion of the heathen—a vision contemporaneous with 20^{4-6}, and (*b*) in $14^{8-11.\,14.\,18-20}$ of judgment of Rome and of the heathen nations—a vision contemporaneous with and summarizing 18. 19^{11-21} 20^{7-10}.
Vision of the entire martyr host in heaven who had proved themselves victorious over the Beast and his image.	15^{2-4}. Vision of the martyred host (martyred in 13) standing on the sea of glass before God, singing praises and proclaiming the coming conversion of the nations.
Judgments. Third Series, 15^{5}–20^{3}. (*a*) Preliminary judgments—the Seven Bowls affecting the heathen who alone survive.	15^{5-8}. The Seven Bowls of God's wrath entrusted to the Seven Angels. 16. The Seven Bowls.
(*b*) Successive judgments affecting the powers of evil in succession. (α) Destruction of Rome and the Seer's appeal to Heaven to rejoice over its doom.	17^{1-6}. Vision of the Great Harlot seated on the Beast. 17^{8-18}. Interpretation of this vision. $18^{1-19.\,21-23d}$. Vision of her destruction. $18^{20.\,23f-24}$. The Seer's appeal to Heaven to rejoice.
The response of all the angel and martyr hosts in songs of thanksgiving.	19^{1-3}. Thanksgiving song of the angels. 19^{4} 16^{5b-6}. Thanksgiving song of the Elders and Cherubim. 16^{7}. Thanksgiving song of the altar beneath the throne. 19^{5-8}. Thanksgiving song of the martyr host in heaven.

(β) Destruction of the Parthian hosts by Christ and His elect.	Lost (though referred to proleptically in 17^{14} and presupposed in 19^{13}: possibly displaced by the interpolated passage, 19^{9-10}).
(γ) Destruction of the hostile nations by Christ and the armies of Heaven. The Beast and False Prophet cast into the lake of fire, and Satan chained for 1000 years.	19^{11-21}. The Word of God and the armies of Heaven destroy the hostile nations. The Beast and False Prophet cast into the lake of fire. 20^{1-3}. As Satan was cast down from heaven on the fresh advent of Christ, on Christ's second advent he is cast into the abyss and chained for 1000 years.
V. Millennial Kingdom: Jerusalem come down from heaven to be its Capital. Reign of the martyred Saints for 1000 years.	21^{9}–$22^{2.\ 14-15.\ 17}$ 20^{4-6}. Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs who are to reign with Christ 1000 years and evangelize the nations.
Final attack of the evil powers on the Saints in the Beloved City: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.	20^{7-10}. Close of the Millennial Kingdom. Satan loosed: march of Gog and Magog against the Beloved City: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.
VI. Heaven and Earth having vanished, a great white throne appears, before which the dead come to be judged by God Himself.	20^{11-15}. Vision of a great white throne, and of Him that sat thereon. Disappearance of the former heaven and earth. Judgment of those risen from the dead, both bad and good. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire.
VII. The Everlasting Kingdom established in which God and Christ dwell with man. Reign of all the saints for ever and ever.	$21^{5a.\ 4d.\ 5b.\ 1-4\,abc}$ 22^{3-5}. The new heaven, the new earth, and the New Jerusalem. The faithful reign as kings for ever and ever,
Epilogue.	$21^{5c.\ 6b-8}$. God's testimony to John's book and His message to mankind through John of divine sonship for them that overcome. $22^{6-7.\ 18a.\ 16.\ 13.\ 12.\ 10}$. Christ's testimony to John's book. The seventh beatitude. Christ's speedy coming to judgment. $22^{8.\ 9.\ 20-21}$. John's own testimony. Christ's final words. John's prayer and benediction.

II.

Authorship of the Johannine Writings—Linguistic Evidence.

The Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel[1] *from different Authors.*

We shall deal here only with the linguistic evidence on this question, which is in itself decisive. We shall, however, discover later that the two writers were related to each other, either as master and pupil, or as pupils of the same master, or as members of the same school.

§ 1. *The grammatical differences.*—These make the assumption of a common authorship of J and J^{ap} absolutely impossible, unless a very long interval intervenes between the dates of J^{ap} and J. But such an assumption is made impracticable by the best modern research. Furthermore, our author's style shows no essential change in the interval of from 10 to 20 or more years, which elapsed between the writing of the Letters to the Seven Churches and the Apocalypse as a whole (see vol. i. 43–47). The reader will find the grammatical differences between J^{ap} and J dealt with in the grammar. The main evidence is given under the heading, "The Hebraic Style of the Apocalypse"; but throughout the rest of the grammar (see particularly "The Order of Words") the evidence is more than adequate to prove diversity of authorship. Observe amongst a host of other differences that, whereas J uses *μή* with the participle 11 times and the genitive absolute frequently, our author uses neither. Also that whereas in our author the attracted relative never occurs, it often occurs in J: see 4^{14} 7^{39} 15^{20} $17^{5.\ 11\text{-}12}$ 21^{10} and 1 J 3^{24}. Again, in J^{ap} *ἄξιος* is followed by inf.; in J by *ἵνα*.

§ 2. *Differences in diction.*—Lists of words found in J^{ap} but not in J could be given here, or *vice versa*, but such divergence in the use of words might in the main be due to difference of subject. But it is instructive to touch upon a few phenomena of this nature. Thus our author has *πίστις* 4 times and *πίστος* 8, whereas J has not *πίστις* at all, *πιστός* once, but *πιστεύειν* nearly 100 times. Our author uses *ὑπομονή* 7 times and *σοφία* 4, but J, neither. On the other hand, J uses *ἀγαπᾷν* 36 times and *ἀγάπη* 7 (1. 2. 3 J 31 and 21 respectively), but our author has *ἀγαπᾷν* only 4 and *ἀγάπη* only 2 times. Again, *ἀλήθεια*, *ἀληθής*, and *χαρά* found so frequently in J, are wholly absent from our author. J has *μέν* . . . *δέ* 6 or more times, our author not once: ἀλλά 100 and γάρ 65, and our author 13 and 16 respectively. Again our author has ἐνώπιον 34 times and ἵνα 45, whereas J has these once and 150 times respectively.

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[1] For convenience' sake J will designate the Gospel, 1 J the first Epistle, etc., J^{ap} the Apocalypse.

§ 3. *Different words or forms used by these writers to express the same idea.*—Our author uses ἀρνίον (= Lamb of God) 29 times where J uses ἀμνός 2: μου or ἐμοῦ[1] (= "mine") where J uses ἐμός 36 times: αὐτός as an emphatic pronoun 3^{20} 14^{10} 19^{12}, whereas J uses ἐκεῖνος in this sense while he uses αὐτός as an unemphatic pronoun: see Abbott, *Gr.* 236. Again our author says ἐν μέσῳ or ἀνὰ μέσον where J uses μέσος: Ἰερουσαλήμ where J has Ἱεροσόλυμα.[2] Our author uses ἰδού (26), but J ἴδε[3]: Ἰουδαῖος, 2^9 3^9 (= a member of the Chosen People of God, nearly so in Ro $2^{17.\ 28}$), where J has Ἰσραηλίτης, 1^{47}. Again, whereas our author defines the historic city Jerusalem as τῆς πόλεως . . . ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα, 11^8, J names it as Ἱερόσυλυμα, 1^{19} 2^{13} etc.

A very interesting divergence is to be observed where the Greek equivalent of "called" or "named" occurs. Here our author always has καλεῖν and J λέγειν. Thus we have 1^9 τῇ νήσῳ τ. καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ, 12^9 ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος, while J writes 4^5 πόλιν . . . λεγομένην Συχάρ, 4^{25} Μεσσίας . . . ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός, 11^{16} θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος (cf. 1^{38} 5^2 9^{11} 11^{54} 20^{24} 21^2): and just as our author says, 11^8 ἥτις καλεῖται . . . Σόδομα, so J 19^{17} says ὃ λέγεται . . . Γολγοθά. The divergence comes still more into relief when we compare J^{ap} 16^{16} τόπον τ. καλούμενον . . . Ἁρ Μαγεδών and J 19^{13} τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον. On this as well as on other grounds 8^{11a} καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται Ὁ Ἄψινθος is to be excised as a gloss.

Again, our author always uses κατοικεῖν of living in a certain locality; J sometimes uses μένειν in this sense, but never κατοικεῖν: also ὀλίγον, 17^{10} (= "a little while"), whereas J says μικρόν in the same sense 9 times; and οὖς 8 times while J uses ὠτίον once.

A very delicate distinction calls for attention in their equivalents of the English "no longer." Thus our author[4] says οὐκ . . . ἔτι (14, including chap. xviii.), but J always οὐκέτι (12), and ὡς with finite verb by way of illustration (2^{27}), while J uses καθώς with finite verb (13^{15} 15^{12} 17^{23} etc.).

Finally, whereas J frequently uses καθώς (31, and 1. 2. 3 J 13 times), our author uses always ὡς in the same sense. Where J says καθὼς ἐγώ (15^{10}), our author says ὡς κἀγώ (2^{27}).[1] Where J^{ap} uses ἄχρι (11 times), J uses ἕως. Neither J nor 1. 2. 3 J use ἄχρι. Where J^{ap} uses σφόδρα, 16^{21}, 2. 3 J, uses λίαν. In this last contrast, I assume that 2. 3 J and J are from the same author.

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[1] J uses σός (6), ὑμέτερος (3), ἴδιος (15), and 1 J ἡμέτερος (2), but our author uses the possessive pronouns always in their stead. He has ἐμός once.

[2] In our author Ἰερουσαλήμ is used only of the heavenly or the New Jerusalem. It is used by Paul always, and nearly always by Luke, of the historic city, whereas Mark always (and Matt. always save once) uses Ἱεροσόλυμα.

[3] J uses ἰδού 4 times.

[4] Our author has οὐκέτι 3 times (2 of these in chap. xviii.).

§ 4. *Words and phrases with one meaning in our author and a different one in J:*

APOCALYPSE.	FOURTH GOSPEL.
ἀληθινός = true in word as opposed to false (= ἀληθής).	= "genuine" as opposed to unreal. See vol. i. 85 sq.
ἀκούειν φωνῆς· ἀκούειν φωνήν.	Different meaning in J. See *Gram.*, vol. i. p. cxl.
αὐτός used as emphatic pronoun.	Used as unemphatic pronoun, ἐκεῖνος being used as emphatic.
οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ[2]—a title of the highest honour: cf. $1^{1\,(bis)}$ 7^{3} 10^{7} 11^{18} 19^{2}.	15^{15} οὐκέτι λέγω ὑμᾶς δούλους.
δωρεάν, 21^{6} 22^{17} = "freely."	15^{25} "without a cause."
ἔθνος or ἔθνη (23) = Gentiles, 2^{26} 11^{2} 15^{4} etc., or all nations, including the Jews (?).	ἔθνος (5) only used of Jewish nation.
Ἰουδαῖος, 2^{9} 3^{9}—used in a good sense.	Used over 70 times, and generally in a bad sense.
κόσμος = the created world, 11^{15} 13^{8} 17^{8}.	κόσμος = the world of man (frequently, and often in a bad sense).
λαός = Gentiles generally, but = Christian believers twice.	Jewish nation (2, excluding 8^{2}).
Ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, 19^{13}—a conception developed in Jewish thought.	Ὁ Λόγος, J $1^{1\,sqq.}$. This conception is quite different and presupposes, while opposing, Philonic speculations.
οὖν (6), always illative,[3] a particle of logical appeal.	195 times, and generally a narrative particle, *i.e.* of historical transition.
ποιμαίνειν, 2^{27} 12^{5} 19^{15} = "to destroy" (though in 7^{17} = "to feed").	21^{16} "to feed."

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[1] J uses ὡς in a temporal sense (= "when") 20 times: our author never. On our author's various uses of ὡς, see vol. i. 35 sq.

[2] The servant in J 15^{15} knows not his Master's will, in J^{ap} he does. In our author the word δοῦλος means (*a*) a slave as opposed to ἐλεύθερος: cf. 6^{15} 13^{16} 19^{18}, and (*b*) a willing servant of God, whether prophet or other faithful worshipper: cf. 1^{1} 2^{20} 7^{3} 10^{7} etc. Thus our author uses δοῦλος as the equivalent of עֶבֶד. But in J δοῦλος follows the Greek usage as denoting a bondman in the literal sense, cf. 15^{15}, and in the metaphorical sense 8^{34} δοῦλος . . . τῆς ἁμαρτίας. עֶבֶד is not used in this metaphorical sense. The verb עָבַד, however, is used of idolatrous service. See Abbott, *Johannine Voc.* 212, 227, 289–292, for the use made by the four Evangelists of this word.

[3] In Homer οὖν is non-illative, just as in the majority of passages in J. It is noteworthy that in J οὖν occurs nearly always in the narrative portions, and only 8 times in Christ's words out of the 195, whereas in J^{ap} it occurs only in Christ's words, and never in the narrative portions. In the Synoptists it occurs mostly in Christ's words.

προσκυνεῖν, c. dat. = "to worship." " c. acc. "to do homage to." See note on 7^{11}: vol. i. 211 sqq.	These constructions have exactly opposite meanings in J. See *Gr.* p. cxli, also vol. i. 211–212; Abbott, *Voc.* 137 sqq.
ὕδωρ ζωῆς, 21^{6} 22^{17} ξύλον ζωῆς, 2^{7} $22^{2. 14}$	= ὕδωρ ζῶν, 4^{10} 7^{38}, which phrase includes the meanings of the two phrases in J^{ap}. See vol. i. 54 sq.

Again, though 7^{15} ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τ. θρόνου † σκηνώσει ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς is similar to J 1^{14} ὁ λόγος σάρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, the similarity is only an outward one. The same is true of 2^{27} εἴληφα παρὰ τ. πατρός μου as compared with J 10^{18} ταύτην τ. ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ τ. πατρός μου.

§ 5. *The Authors of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel were in some way related to each other:*

(*a*) The following phrases point in this direction:

APOCALYPSE.	FOURTH GOSPEL.
2^{2} οὐ δύνῃ βαστάσαι.	16^{2} οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν.
20^{6} ὁ ἔχων μέρος ἐν.	13^{8} ἔχεις μέρος μετά.
22^{15} ποιῶν ψεῦδος.	3^{21} ποῖων τ. ἀλήθειαν (1 J 3^{8} ποιῶν τ. ἁμαρτίαν).
22^{17} ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω.	7^{37} ἐάν τις διψᾷ ἐρχέσθω πρὸς μὲ καὶ πινέτω.

(*b*) The spiritual significance attached to such terms as ζωή, θάνατος, διψᾶν, δόξα, πεινᾶν, νικᾶν (16 times, in J (1), in 1 J (6)), ὁδηγεῖν.

(*c*) The occurrence of the following words and phrases exclusively in these two writers in the N.T. λαλεῖν μετά (elsewhere in N.T. the dative or πρός cum. acc. follows λαλεῖν): ὄψις (1^{16}—J 11^{44}) = πρόσωπον: τηρεῖν τ. λόγον or λόγους (4 times—J 8: see note, vol. i. 369): ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος, 6^{8}—ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης, J 1^{6} 3^{1}: χρόνον μικρόν, 6^{11}—J 7^{33}: μικρὸν χρόνον, 20^{3}—J 12^{35}: κυκλεύειν once—J once: πορφύρεος 2 times—J 2 times: σκηνοῦν, 4—J once: φοῖνιξ, once—J once.

(*d*) The agreement of both authors (in 1^{7}—J 19^{37}) in the rendering ἐξεκέντησαν against the LXX. See, however, vol. i. 18 sq. The use of the suspensive ὅτι; see *Gram.* p. cxxxvii.

(*e*) The use by both authors of the following phrases and words—found occasionally in the rest of the N.T. ποιεῖν σημεῖον, 4—J 14 (only 4 times in rest of N.T.): τηρεῖν τ. ἐντολάς, 2—J 4 (1 J 5 times): δεικνύναι (of revelation), 8—J 7: ἑβραιστί, 2—J 5: μαρτυρία, 9—J 14 (1 J 6 times, 3 J once): πιάζειν, 1—J 8: σημαίνειν, 1—J 3: φιλεῖν, 2—J 13: σφάζειν, 8—1 J 2 times.

(*f*) There is to be no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem—the Capital of the Messianic Kingdom, 21^{22}. According to J 4^{21} the temple will cease to exist as the centre of worship.

(*g*) The same Jewish and Christian ideas underlie the phrase ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, J $1^{29.\,36}$, and the equivalent phrase τὸ ἀρνίον in J^{ap}.

(*h*) The number "seven" occurs more frequently in our author than in all the rest of the N.T. Though it does not occur at all in J, yet J is "permeated structurally with the idea of 'seven.' . . . John records only seven 'signs.' . . . The Gospel begins and closes with a sacred week . . . the witness to Christ is . . . of a sevenfold character" (see Abbott, *Gr.* 463).

The above facts, when taken together with other resemblances, to which attention is drawn in the *Grammar*, point decidedly to some connection between the two authors. The Evangelist was apparently at one time a disciple of the Seer, or they were members of the same religious circle in Ephesus. We find perfect parallels to the latter relationship in earlier days. The authors of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs and of the Book of Jubilees, who wrote at the close of the 2nd century before the Christian era, studied clearly in the same school; for the text of the one has constantly to be interpreted by that of the other. Yet these two writers are poles asunder on some of the greatest questions of their day. The former hopes for the salvation of the Gentiles and sets forth a system of ethics without parallel before the N.T. The author of Jubilees is a legalist of the narrowest type: is mainly concerned with the Mosaic law and the deductions to be drawn from it, and declares categorically that no Gentile can be saved. The second parallel is to be found between 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. The materials of these two works are in certain respects complementary. The former is all but hopeless as to the future alike of Judaism and the Gentiles, whereas the latter is a thoroughgoing optimistic Jew, who looks to Judaism for the conversion of the Gentiles, so far as these can be saved.

In the Seer and the Evangelist we have got just such another literary connection. But the literary connection is much less close than in the case of the Jewish authors just mentioned, while the theological affinities between the Seer and the Evangelist are much closer than those existing between the Jewish writers. The greater unity in spiritual outlook and theological concept is explicable, however, from the fact that the variations within the Christianity of the 1st century are infinitesimal as compared with those that prevailed in contemporary and earlier Judaism.

§ 6. *J and (1.) 2. 3 J were written by the same Author.*—That J and 1 J are derived from the same author is generally admitted. But from a very early date 2 and 3 J have been ascribed to a different writer.[1] But a study of the internal evidence leads to the conclusion that all 2. 3 J and most probably 1 J are from one and the same writer, who was also the author of the Gospel. The same evidence shows that, though 2 or 3 J have a few points in common with J^{ap}, the style of these two Epistles is decidedly that of J (or 1 J) as opposed to that of J^{ap}. Their failure to study the linguistic relations of 2. 3 J have led Schmiedel, von Soden, and Moffatt into the grievous error of attributing 2. 3 J and J^{ap} to the same author. The pronouncement of these scholars led me to investigate this subject, and therein I am grateful to them, seeing that the result of this investigation appears to furnish the key to some important Johannine problems. No investigation of this nature has, so far as I am aware, ever been made.

There is one usage in 2 J which it has in common with J^{ap} and which is not found in J. In 2 J^{10} we have εἴ τις (ἔρχεται), which occurs occasionally in J^{ap} but never in J or 1 J, which have always ἐάν τις. But there seems to be a reason for using εἰ here and not ἐάν. The author assumes that the ἔρχεσθαι is not a mere possibility but a thing likely to happen. ὡς with the part. is found in 2 J^{5} οὐχ ὡς γράφων, and in J^{ap} 1^{15} 5^{6} 13^{3} but not in J. But the usage is not really the same in 2 J^{5} and J^{ap}. In the latter ὡς conveys the idea of likeness, whereas in 2 J^{5} it implies a purpose. The Hebraism in 2 J^{2} διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν μένουσαν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσται (= "which abideth in us and shall be with us") is of frequent occurrence in J^{ap}. But it occurs probably in J 1^{32} τεθέαμαι τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον . . . καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, and in Col 1^{26}. Hence no real weight can be assigned to these coincidences in style.

On the other hand, the body of evidence in favour of a common authorship of J and (1.) 2. 3 J carries with it absolute conviction.

i. *2. 3 J are with one exception (2 J^{2}) free from the solecisms and idiosyncrasies of J^{ap}.*

ii. *Constructions common to 2. 3 J and J, but not found in J^{ap}*:

(*a*) 2 and 3 J use μή 3 times with the participle: J 11 times: 1 J 8 times: 3 J has μηδέν once with part., while J has it twice. But J^{ap} never uses μή or μηδέν with the participle. In this respect J^{ap} diverges from J, 1. 2. 3 J, exactly as the *Iliad* does from the *Odyssey*.

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[1] Origen (Eus. vi. 25. 10) writes that questions as to the genuineness of these Epistles were rife in certain quarters: Jerome (*De Viris Illust.* 9) distinctly assigns them to different hands.

(*b*) In 2 J^{10} the writer uses μή with the present imperative, *i.e.* μὴ λαμβάνετε (3 J^{11} μὴ μιμοῦ) in order to forbid an action not yet begun. Here the author of J^{ap} would have used μή with the aor. subj. In this respect the author of 2. 3 J has the support of J (see below, p. cxxvi).

(*c*) In 3 J^{3} we have the genitive absolute, which occurs often in J but never in J^{ap} (nor 1 J).

(*d*) The unemphatic possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ (or αὐτῆς) (*i.e.* the genitive before its noun) occurs in 3 J^{10} 1 J 2^{5} and frequently in J, but never in J^{ap} (save in a source 18^{5}).

(*e*) οὗτος is used resumptively in regard to a preceding clause (consisting of ὁ with part. or ὅς with finite verb) in 2 J^{9} and 4 times in J but not in J^{ap}.

(*f*) μαρτυρεῖν takes the dative 3 times in 3 J and 4 in J, but J^{ap} always construes it with the acc. μαρτυρεῖν is followed by ὅτι in 1 J and by περί in J, but by neither in J^{ap}.

(*g*) In 3 J^{9} the order of the words, ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν Διοτρέφης, has several parallels in J but none in J^{ap} (or 1 J). The author of J^{ap} would have written ὁ Διοτρέφης ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν. See *Gram.* p. clvi. πολύς is a prepositive in 2 J^{7} 1 J 4^{1}—J 6^{5} 10^{32} 11^{47} etc.; but always postpositive in J^{ap}, once in 1 J and in J 3^{23} 6$^{2.\ 10}$ 7^{12}.

(*h*) ἐρωτῶ σε . . . ἵνα, 2 J^{5}—J 4^{47} 17^{15} 19^{38}* but not in J^{ap}. αὕτη ἐστὶν . . . ἵνα, 2 J$^{6\ (bis)}$—J 15^{12} 17^{3} (1 J 3$^{11.\ 23}$), but not in J^{ap}. μειζοτέραν τούτων οὐχ ἔχω χαράν, ἵνα ἀκούω, 3 J^{4}—μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῇ J 15^{13}. To this construction I know of no real parallel.

iii. *Words, particles, and phrases common to 2. 3 J and J (1 J), but not found in J^{ap}.*

(*a*) *Words.* ἀληθής, ἀληθῶς, ἀλήθεια, μείζων, μένειν, ὀφείλειν, χαρά.

(*b*) *Particles and phrases.* ἀλλὰ καί, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ, καθώς, καὶ νῦν, περί (cum gen.), τοιοῦτος, ὑπέρ: καὶ ἡμεῖς δέ, 3 J^{12}—J 15^{26}: ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς, 2 J^{bis}—J 8^{44} 15^{27} (1 J 1^{1} 2$^{7.\ 13.\ 14}$ etc.): τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς πονηροῖς

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* The verb "ask" does not occur in J^{ap} though ἐρωτᾶν is found in 2 J and J, and αἰτεῖν in 1 J and J. J uses also ἐξετάζειν, ἐπερωτᾶν, πυνθάνεσθαι.

2 J ^{11}—J 7^{7} τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά: ὑπομνήσω, 3 J ^{10}—J 14^{26}: τὸ κακόν, 3 J ^{11}—J 18^{23}: τὸ ἀγαθόν 3 J ^{11}—J 5^{29}.

iv. *Words frequent in 1. 2. 3 J and J, but exceptional in J^{ap}.* ἐμός once in 3 J (in 15 verses), only once in J^{ap} in 404 verses; thus 3 J using it once in 15 verses approximates to J which uses it once in every 22. J^{ap} uses no other possessive adjective, but 1 J uses ἡμέτερος twice, and J ὑμέτερος 3 times and σός 6. ἐπί does not occur in 1. 2. 3 J, but 150 times in J^{ap} and 35 in J. If J had it relatively as often as J^{ap}, it would occur 225 times instead of 35. Thus 1. 2. 3 J are strongly marked off here from J^{ap} but approximate to J.

v. *The following parallel expressions are in themselves strong evidence of identity of authorship:*

2 J ^{9} πᾶς ὁ . . . μένων ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.	J 7^{16} (cf. 18^{19}) ἡ ἐμὴ διδαχὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμή.

This parallel is full of significance; for in J διδαχή is used only of Christ's teaching (as derived from God, 7^{17}), whereas in J^{ap} it is used only of heretical teaching: cf. $2^{14.\ 15.\ 24}$.

2 J ^{4} ἐντολὴν ἐλάβομεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός.	J 10^{18} ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου.
2 J ^{6} ἠκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (1 J 3^{11}).	J 16^{4} ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ εἶπον.
2 J ^{5} ἐντολὴν γράφων σοι καινήν (ἐντολὴν καινὴν γράφω, 1 J 2^{7}).	J 13^{34} ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι.
2 J ^{1} οἱ ἐγνωκότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν.	J 8^{32} γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
2 J ^{12} (1 J 1^{4}) ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ὑμῶν πεπληρωμένη ᾖ.	J 3^{29} αὕτη οὖν ἡ χαρὰ ἡ ἐμὴ πεπλήρωται Cf. 15^{11} 16^{24}.
3 J ^{10} ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει.	J 9^{34} ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω.
3 J ^{11} οὐχ ἑώρακεν τὸν θεόν.	J 14^{9} ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα.
3 J ^{12} ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν ἀληθής ἐστιν.	J 8^{14} ἀληθής ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία μου.

The connection of 2. 3 J with 1 J could be shown by such examples as 2 J ^{9} θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει—1 J 5^{12} ὁ . . . ἔχων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ: 3 J ^{11} ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν—1 J 4^{2}: 2 J ^{7} ὁ ἀντίχριστος—1 J $2^{18.\ 22}$. The conception of the Antichrist in 1. 2 J is quite different from that in J^{ap}.

vi. *There are no quotations in 1. 2. 3 J. In this respect they show an affinity with J* where there are very few, and offer a strong contrast to J^{ap} where quotations abound. Even in the Epistles to the Seven Churches this feature is prominent.

vii. The Greek of 2. 3 J is far more idiomatic than that of J^{ap}. The order of the words exhibits none of the monotonous regularity of J^{ap}.

From the above evidence I conclude without hesitation that 1. 2. 3 J and J are ultimately from the same author. J has undoubtedly undergone revision, and 1. 2. 3 J may have suffered somewhat in this respect.[1]

§ 7. This conclusion of criticism, completing as it does the work of Dionysius the Great of Alexandria, is one of tremendous importance. Before his time, from 135 A.D. onward (see p. xxxix sq.), Church writers began uncritically to assign J^{ap} to the Apostle John. This false conception led necessarily to intolerable confusion. No matter how valid the evidence might be for the martyrdom of this Apostle before 70 A.D., it could only be regarded as purely legendary, seeing that according to the most current view John the Apostle wrote the Apocalypse and wrote it in Domitian's reign. If the Apostle were living about 95 A.D. he could not, of course, have been martyred before 70 A.D. This misconception has therefore vitiated the evidence of most Early Church writers on this question,[2] and has proved an *ignis fatuus* to many distinguished scholars of our own day. Hence it is not astonishing that so little evidence of the Apostle John's early martyrdom—and yet, cumulatively considered, it is not little—should have survived, but it is astonishing in the extreme that any evidence of any sort as to John's early martyrdom has survived at all, seeing that the all but universal beliefs of the Church from the earliest ages worked for its absolute deletion from the pages of history. Happily such evidence has survived in out-of-the-way corners of Church history and Church observance, which, owing to the prevailing opinions on such subjects, must have been a hopeless enigma to those who sought to understand them. One Church writer—Gregory of Nyssa in his *Laudatio s. Stephani* and *De Basilio magno*: see below, p. xlvii—has attempted to do so, and has explained away the evidence of the Church calendars for the early martyrdom of John in a way that can satisfy only those who share the same groundless hypothesis as himself as to John's joint authorship of J and J^{ap}.

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[1] 2 J^7 *οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες* 'Ι. Χ. *ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί* presents no difficulty in the face of 1 J 4^2. The *ἐρχόμενον* is timeless: "confess not J. Christ as coming in the flesh." Nor does the phrase *ὁ πρεσβύτερος*, 2 J^1 3 J^1 point to any connection with J^{ap}. For *πρεσβύτερος* there has a different meaning. Even an apostle could designate himself thus: cf. 1 Pet 5^1 *ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος*. But Peter has already called himself *ἀπόστολος 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ* in 1^1. Hence there is no risk of confusion. No weight, moreover, attaches to the use of *κοινωνεῖν* for *κοινωνίαν ἔχειν*, or the occurrence of the greeting *χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη*.

[2] Justin Martyr believes in the Apostolic authorship of J^{ap} as early as 135 A.D. or thereabouts. A myth can arise in a very few years. Hence it is not strange that such writers as Hegesippus (*ob. circ.* 180) and subsequent writers, as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, have lost all knowledge of the early martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.

III.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS.

It may assist the reader if the conclusions arrived at in this chapter are put shortly as follows. (*a*) J^{ap} and J are from distinct authors. (*b*) 2. 3 J are from the author of J and not of J^{ap}. The evidence for this fact, which in the present writer's opinion furnishes the key to some of the chief Johannine problems, is given on p. xxxiv sqq. (*c*) If John the Elder is the author of 2. 3 J, then he is according to all internal evidence the author of J and of 1 J. (*d*) John the prophet—a Palestinian Jew, who late in life migrated to Asia Minor, is the author of J^{ap}. (*e*) The above conclusions, which are arrived at on internal grounds, and on external evidence mainly of the 2nd century, are confirmed by the Papias-tradition, that John the Apostle was martyred by the Jews before 70 A.D.

§ 1. *The Apocalypse is not pseudonymous, but the work of a John.*—In Jewish literature practically every apocalyptic book was pseudonymous. I have elsewhere[1] shown the causes which forced works of this character to be pseudonymous. In the post-Exilic period the idea of an inspired Law—adequate, infallible, and valid for all time—became a dogma of Judaism. When this dogma was once established, there was no longer any room for the prophet, nor for the religious teacher, except in so far as he was a mere exponent of the Law. The second cause for the adoption of pseudonymity was the formation of the Canon of the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa. After this date —say about 200 B.C.—no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such, and all real advances to a higher ethics or a higher theology could appear only in works of a pseudonymous character published under the name of some ancient worthy. Accordingly, when a man of God, such as the author of Daniel, felt that he had a message to deliver to his people, he was obliged to issue it in this form. But with the advent of Christianity the Law was thrust into a wholly subordinate place; for the spirit of prophecy had descended afresh on the faithful, belief in inspiration was kindled anew, and for several generations no exclusive Canon of Christian writings was formed. There is, therefore, not a single *a priori* reason for regarding the Apocalypse as pseudonymous. Furthermore, its author distinctly claims that the visions are his own, and that they are not for some far distant generation, as is universally the case in Jewish pseudonymous works, but for his own (22^{10}). In four distinct passages he gives his name as John ($1^{1.4.9}$ 22^{8}). He states that he is a servant of Jesus Christ (1^{1}), a brother of the Churches in Asia and one who has shared in their tribulations (1^{9}), that he has himself seen and heard the things contained in his book (22^{8}), and that he was vouchsafed these revelations during his stay (voluntary or enforced)[1] in the island of Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus (1^{9}). To a more intimate study of our author we shall return later. So far it is clear that the Apocalypse before us was written by a prophet (22^{9}) who lived in Asia Minor, and that his actual name was John. J^{ap} is just as assuredly the work of a John as 2 Thess 2 and 1 Cor 15 are apocalypses of St. Paul.[2] Even the later Christian apocalypse of the Shepherd of Hermas bears, as is generally acknowledged, the name of its real author.

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[1] See my *Eschatology*^{2}, 173–205 (especially 198–205), 403 sq.; Daniel, p. xi sq., *Religious Development between the O. and N. Testaments*, 41–46.

Finally, if the work were pseudonymous, it would have gone forth under the aegis—not of a John who was a *prophet* of Asia Minor and otherwise unknown, but of John the Apostle. Furthermore he would not have ventured to claim the name and authorship of a prophet in the very lifetime of that prophet and in the immediate sphere of that prophet's activity. There is not a shred of evidence, not even the shadow of a probability, for the hypothesis that the Apocalypse is pseudonymous.

There is manifold early evidence of the Johannine authorship. Thus Justin, who lived about 135 A.D. in Ephesus, where one of the Seven Churches had its seat, declares that J^{ap} is by "John, one of the apostles of Christ" (*Dial.* 81). Melito, bishop of Sardis, another of the Seven Churches, wrote (*circ.* 165) a lost work on J^{ap} (τὰ περὶ . . . τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου: see Eus. iv. 26. 2). Irenaeus (*circ.* 180) upheld the Johannine authorship of all the Johannine writings in the N.T. For J^{ap}, see *Haer.* iii. 11. 1, iv. 20. 11, v. 35. 2, where John is called Domini discipulus (ὁ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητής) (a title, however, which does not exclude apostleship; cf. ii. 22. 5). Tertullian cites J^{ap} as the work of the Apostle John (*c. Marc.* iii. 14, 24). So also Origen, Hippolytus, and others: also the Muratorian Canon.

§ 2. *John, the author of J^{ap}, is distinct from the author of J.*—Tertullian,[3] Hippolytus,[4] and Origen[5] were assured that both the Gospel and the Apocalypse proceeded from the son of Zebedee. But this view, that both works proceeded from one and the same author, was rejected by Dionysius (*ob.* 265 A.D.), bishop of Alexandria, a pupil of Origen. Dionysius (Eus. *H.E.* vii. 25. 7–27) accepts J$^{\mathrm{ap}}$ as the work of a John, but declares that he could not readily agree that he was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. In the following sections he enumerates a variety of grounds. (*a*) The Evangelist does not prefix his name or mention it subsequently either in the Gospel or in his Epistle, whereas the writer of the Apocalypse definitely declares himself by name at the outset, and subsequently. That it was a John who wrote the Apocalypse he admitted, but this John did not claim to be the beloved disciple of the Lord, nor the one who leaned on His breast, nor the brother of James. (*b*) There is a large body of expressions of the same complexion and character common to the Gospel and 1 J, but wholly absent from J$^{\mathrm{ap}}$. Indeed, the latter "does not contain a syllable in common" with the two former works. (*c*) The phraseology of the Gospel and 1 J differs from that of J$^{\mathrm{ap}}$. The former are written in irreprehensible Greek (*ἀπταίστως*), and it would be difficult to discover in them any barbarism or solecism or idiotism (*ἰδιωτισμόν*). But the dialect and language of J$^{\mathrm{ap}}$ is inaccurate Greek (*διάλεκτον . . . καὶ γλῶτταν ὀυκ ἀκριβῶς ἑλληνίζουσαν*), and is characterized by barbarous idioms and solecisms. Such is Dionysius' criticism of the style of J$^{\mathrm{ap}}$; and from the standpoint of the Greek scholar it is more than justified. But that there was law and order underlying the seeming grammatical lawlessness of the Seer neither Dionysius nor any purely Greek scholar could ever discover—a fact that widens immeasurably the breach discovered by Dionysius between J and J$^{\mathrm{ap}}$. This will become apparent when we come to the grammar and vocabulary of our author (see pp. cxvii–clix). A study of these with a knowledge of the Hebraic style of our author makes it impossible to attribute J$^{\mathrm{ap}}$ and J to the same author. Thus the theory of Dionysius as to diversity of authorship has passed out of the region of hypothesis and may now be safely regarded as an established conclusion. There were at all events two Johannine authors. Who were these?

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[1] There is no evidence that John was *exiled* to Patmos before Clement of Alexandria, and that evidence is chiefly Western.

[2] Hence the attribution of the Apocalypse to the heretic Cerinthus by Caius (200–220 A.D. See Eus. ii. 25, vii. 25) and the Alogi (Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. 3,4), in ancient times and by certain modern scholars, is an utterly baseless and gratuitous hypothesis.

[3] *C. Marc.* iii. 14, 24.

[4] See his *Comment. on Daniel*, edited by Achelis, 1897, pp. 142, 240, 244, etc., and his Περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου, xxxvi., Οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Πάτμῳ . . . ὁρᾷ ἀποκάλυψιν . . . λέγε μοι, ὦ μακάριε Ἰωάννη, ἀπόστολε καὶ μαθητὰ τοῦ κυρίου, τί εἶδες.

[5] *In Joann.*, tom. i. 14: φησὶν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου Ἰωάννης: tom. v. 3: see also the quotation from Origen in Eus. vi. 25. 9.

§ 3. *There were, according to Papias, two Johns, one the Apostle and the other John the Elder. Dionysius and Eusebius suggest that the latter is the author of* J^{ap}.—Eusebius in his history (iii. 39. 4) quotes the following fragment of Papias which clearly distinguishes the Apostle and the Elder, both bearing the name John. "And if any one chanced to come who had been also a follower of the elder, I used to question (him) closely as to the sayings of the elders—as to what Andrew or Peter *had said* (εἶπεν), or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord: also as to what Aristion and the Elder John, the Lord's disciples, *say* (λέγουσιν)." Eusebius then goes on to emphasize the distinction made by Papias between these two Johns, and contends that this view is confirmed by the statements of those who said that there were two Johns in Asia and "there were two tombs in Ephesus, both of which bear the name of John even to this day. To which things it is needful also that we shall give heed; for it is probable that the second (*i.e.* the Elder), unless one will have it to be the first, saw the Apocalypse bearing the name of John (iii. 39. 6)." At an earlier date Dionysius of Alexandria threw out the same suggestion. He held that John the Apostle wrote J and 1 J (Eus. vii. 25. 7), but that another John—one of the two Johns who according to report had been in Asia and both of whose tombs were said to be there—had written the Apocalypse (vii. 25. 16). Jerome testifies to the belief ("Johannis presbyteri . . . cujus hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur," *De viris illus.* 9), and also to the fact that in his day the tradition was still current that this John the Elder was the author of 2 and 3 J (*ibid.* 18).

§ 4. *But 2 and 3 John appear on examination of the language and idiom to proceed even more certainly than 1 J from the author of J.*[1]—The traditional view assigns 1 J and J to the same authorship. But in modern days a minority of competent scholars have rejected this view. The problem is discussed with great fairness by Brooke (*Johannine Epistles*, pp. i–xix), who comes to the conclusion that "there are no adequate reasons for setting aside the traditional view which attributes the Epistle and Gospel to the same authorship. It remains the most probable explanation of the facts known to us (p. xviii)."[2] With this conclusion the present writer is in agreement.

But what as to the authorship of 2. 3 J? Some notable scholars disconnect these two Epistles wholly from J and 1 J. Thus Bousset (*Offenbarung*, 1906) at the close of a long discussion on the authorship of J$^{\text{ap}}$ (pp. 34–49) concludes that a John of Asia Minor, and not John the Apostle, was the author of J$^{\text{ap}}$: that this John was probably identical with John the Elder of whom Papias tells us, with the Elder of 2. 3 J, with the unnamed disciple in J 21, and with the teacher of Polycarp, of whom Irenaeus writes in his letter to Florinus. Von Soden (*Books of the N.T.*, pp.

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[1] I take J as it stands, since its relation to 1. 2. 3 J does not require any critical study of its composition. J and 1 J (?) have been more or less edited, but the work of the editors does not affect the question now at issue.

[2] The list of linguistic differentiae in 1 J, which is given in Moffatt's *Introd. to N.T.*^{3}, p. 590 sq., should be noted. They are important.

444–446, 1907) is also of opinion that John the Elder was the author of J^{ap} and 2. 3 J as well as 1 J. Next, Schmiedel (*Johannine Writings*, pp. 208–209, 216–217, 229–231, 1908) attributes J^{ap} and 2. 3 J to an unknown writer who assumed the pseudonym of John the Elder, and 1 J to another author. The joint authorship of J^{ap} and 2. 3 J is also supported by Moffatt (*Introd. to Lit. of the N.T.*^{3}, p. 481).

But the present writer cannot accept this hypothesis. After a considerable time spent on the linguistic study[1] of 2. 3 J in comparison with J and J^{ap}, he has been forced to conclude that 2. 3 J are connected linguistically with J, and that so closely as to postulate the same authorship. This study was first undertaken to discover what connection existed between 2. 3 J and J^{ap}, since an early tradition assigned the latter to John the Elder and the opening words (ὁ Πρεσβύτερος) of 2. 3 J received their most natural explanation on this hypothesis. In fact, this is more or less the view advocated by the scholars mentioned above.

Now on p. xxxiv sqq. I have dealt with the characteristic words and constructions common to 2. 3 J and J, or 2. 3 J and J^{ap}. The facts there set forth admit in the present writer's opinion of only one conclusion as regards the relations of 2. 3 J with J and J^{ap}, and this is that *whereas 2. 3 J have nothing whatever to do with J^{ap}, they are more idiomatically connected with J than is 1 J, and postulate the same authorship.*

§ 5. *If, then, (1.) 2. 3 J and J are derived from the same author and J^{ap} from quite a different author, and John the Elder is admitted to be the author of 2. 3 J, it follows further that John the Elder is the author not only of 2. 3 J, but also of J and of 1 J.*—There is no evidence that John the Elder wrote J^{ap} beyond the conjectures of Dionysius and Eusebius. But there is some external evidence and good internal evidence that the Elder wrote 2. 3 J. The external evidence is of the slightest. It is found in Jerome (*De viris illus.* c. 18), "rettulimus traditum duas posteriores epistulas Johannis non apostoli esse sed presbyteri." But the internal evidence is strong. As Brooke writes (*Johannine Epp.* 166 sq.): "The evidence of Papias and Irenaeus points to a prevalent Christian usage of the word (πρεσβύτερος), especially in Asia, to denote those who had companied with Apostles. . . . It is natural to suppose that throughout the fragment of his Introduction, which Eusebius quotes, Papias uses the expression πρεσβύτερος in the same sense." The elders are the men from . . . whom Papias learnt the sayings of the Apostles. "The absolute use of the phrase in Papias (καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε) and in 2 and 3 John makes it the distinctive title of some member of the circle to whom the words are addressed, or at least of one who is well known to them." Hence *it is only natural to recognize the Elder, mentioned in Papias and in 2. 3 J*, as *John the Elder, whom Papias so carefully distinguishes from John the Apostle. The writer of 2. 3 J cannot have been an apostle.*[1]

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[1] No linguistic study of 2. 3 J in relation to J and J^{ap} is known to me. But for my previous study of J^{ap} I should have missed most of the points that determine the question at issue.

But if John the Elder was the author of 2. 3 J, then we conclude further by means of the results arrived at in II. § 6 above *that he was also the author of J.*[2]

This conclusion does not exclude the possibility that John the Elder was, as Harnack suggests, the pupil of John the Apostle. In this case J embodies materials which John the Elder learnt from John the Apostle, but the form is his own.

§ 6. *If John the Elder is the author of J and (1.) 2. 3 J, is John the Apostle the author of J$^{\text{ap}}$? No. John, its author, claims to be a prophet, not an apostle. He was a Palestinian Jew who migrated to Asia Minor when probably advanced in years.*—John the author of J$^{\text{ap}}$ nowhere claims that he is an apostle. He appears to look upon the apostles retrospectively and from without, 21^{14} (cf. 18^{20}). In these two passages he enumerates as two distinct classes—apostles and prophets. He never makes any claim to apostleship: he never suggests that he knew Christ personally. But he distinctly claims to be a prophet—a member of the brotherhood of the Christian prophets, 22^9, who are God's servants in a special sense, 1^1 10^7 11^{18} 22^6, whereas other Christians are God's servants so far as they observe the things revealed by the prophets, 22^9. He is a servant of Jesus Christ, 1^1, a brother[1] of the Churches of Asia and a partaker in their sufferings, 1^9. He is commanded "to prophesy" to the nations of the earth, 10^{11}. He designates his work as "the words of the prophecy," 1^3, or "the words of the prophecy of this book," $22^{7.10.18}$. Hence it may be safely concluded that the author of J^{ap} was not an apostle.

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[1] It has, however, been urged that an apostle could designate himself an elder. This is true under certain conditions but not in 2. 3 J. That the writer is an elder and not an apostle we infer from the fact that he claims no higher title in 3 J, where, had he been an apostle, *he would naturally have availed himself of his power as an apostle to suppress Diotrephes and others who disowned his jurisdiction and authority*, which they could not have done had he been an apostle. Further, in case 1 Pet 5^1 is quoted to prove that an apostle may designate himself as an elder (πρεσβυτέρους οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συνπρεσβύτερος), we have only to observe that Peter has at the outset indicated his apostolic authority, so that the words in 5^1 form no true parallel to 2. 3 J ^{1}.

[2] The statement in Irenaeus (ii. 22. 5), that according to the elders in Asia, John the disciple declared that Jesus reached the age of 50, is professedly second-hand, and is therefore to be estimated accordingly. If this evidence were trustworthy, it would be practically impossible to assign J to John the Elder. But as we have seen elsewhere, Irenaeus is often quite untrustworthy. The extravagant account of the fruitfulness of the vine is also attributed by Irenaeus (v. 33^3) to the elders, who said that they had heard it from John the disciple. Such an expectation, if it was *literally* accepted and really transmitted by John the Elder, would be against his authorship of J. But it was obviously to be interpreted in a purely metaphorical sense. In these passages Irenæus believes that the John he is speaking of is the Apostle and not the Elder, although he never designates him as ἀπόστολος, but only as μαθητής.

The author of J^{ap} was a Palestinian Jew. He was a great spiritual genius, a man of profound insight and the widest sympathies. His intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew text of the O.T., of which his book contains multitudinous quotations based directly upon it, is best explained by this hypothesis. The fact also, that he thought in Hebrew and translated its idioms literally into Greek, points to Palestine as his original home. Though no doubt he used the Aramaic of his day, in a real sense Hebrew was his mother's tongue. His Greek also, which is unlike any Greek that was ever penned by mortal man, calls for the same hypothesis. No Greek document exhibits such a vast multitude of solecisms and unparalleled idiosyncrasies. Most writers on J^{ap} have been struck with the unbridled licence of his Greek constructions. But in reality there is no such licence. The Greek, though without a parallel elsewhere, proceeds according to certain rules of the author's own devising. Now this fact is a proof that our author never mastered Greek idiomatically—even the Greek of his own day.

But we may proceed still further. Just as his use of Hebrew practically as his mother tongue (for Hebrew was still the language of learned discussions in Palestine) points to his being a Palestinian Jew, so his extraordinary use of Greek appears to prove not only that he never mastered the ordinary Greek of his own times, but that he came to acquire whatever knowledge he had of this language when somewhat advanced in years.

Two other characteristics of the man and his work point not only to Palestine, but Galilee as his original home. The first is that he was a prophet or Seer. Now the writers of apocalypses, so far as we are aware, were generally natives of Galilee, not of Judaea. In the next place, our author exhibits an intimate acquaintance with the entire apocalyptic literature of his time, and this literature found most of its readers in Galilee, where the Law, which was hostile to it, had less power than in Judaea.

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[1] The author describes himself simply as a brother of his readers. In 2 Pet 3^{15} Paul is similarly described (ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφός); but there one apostle is supposed to be referring to another.

§ 7. *The silence of ecclesiastical writers down to 180 A.D. as to any residence of John the Apostle in Asia Minor is against his being the author of* J^{ap}.—The conclusion reached in § 6 is confirmed by external evidence. No sub-apostolic writer betrays any knowledge that John the Apostle ever resided in Ephesus. Yet the author of J^{ap} was evidently the chief authority in the Ephesian Church, or at least one of his chief authorities. Thus Ignatius (*circ.* 110 A.D.) in his letter to the Church of Ephesus (12^2) speaks only of Paul, but makes no allusion whatever to John the Apostle, *though according to the later tradition John had exercised his apostolic authority in Ephesus long after Paul, and had written both J and* J^{ap}. The reasonable inference from the above silence is that Ignatius was not aware of any residence of John the Apostle in Ephesus. That Clemens Romanus (*circ.* 96 A.D.) was silent as to John's residence in Ephesus, may have some bearing on this question when taken in connection with that of Ignatius. Justin and Hegesippus (150–180 A.D.) in like manner tell nothing of John's residence in Ephesus. Yet Justin lived in Ephesus about 135 A.D., which city, according to later tradition, was the scene of John's apostolic labours.

§ 8. *The above conclusions are confirmed by the tradition of John the Apostle's martyrdom, which, if trustworthy, renders his authorship of* J^{ap} *as well as of the other Johannine literature impossible.*[1]—That John the Apostle, like his brother James, died a martyr's death, has been inferred from the following evidence :—

(*a*) *The prophecy of Jesus.*—This is recorded in Mk 10^{35-40} = Mt 20^{20-23}, and especially the words : "The cup that I drink shall ye drink" (τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε, Mk 10^{39} = τὸ μὲν ποτήριόν μου πίεσθε, Mt 20^{23}).[2] In Mark the above words are followed by a parallel clause : "And with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized." The meaning is unmistakable. Jesus predicts for James and John the same destiny that awaits Himself. That this prediction was in part fulfilled when Herod Agrippa I. put James to death, we learn from Acts 12^2, but not in the case of John. Now, if John's martyrdom fell within the period covered by Acts, we may conclude with Wellhausen and

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[1] See Schwartz, *Über den Tod der Söhne Zebedaei*, 1904 ; Wellhausen and J. Weiss on Mk 10^{39} ; Schmiedel, *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2509–2510 ; Burkitt, *Gospel History*, 250 sq. ; Moffatt, *Introd. to Literature of the N.T.*^{3} 602 sq., 613 sq. ; Swete, *The Apocalypse*, p. clxxix sq. ; Bacon, *Fourth Gospel in Research*, 133, 147 ; Latimer Jackson, *Problem of the Fourth Gospel*, 142–150.

[2] If these words are taken to be a vaticination *post eventum*, as they are by certain scholars, then the evidence for the martyrdom of John is simply a fact of history. But the present writer accepts the words as an actual prophecy of Christ and one that was fulfilled in actual fact.

Moffatt that we have here one of the many gaps discoverable in Luke's narrative, who fails to record John's death as he does that of Peter. But it is not necessary to assume that John was martyred before 66 A.D., as we shall see presently.

(*b*) *But though Acts* 12^2 *fails us here, there is a Papias-tradition recounting the martyrdom of John.*—A MS of Georgius Hamartolus (9th cent.) states on the authority of Papias that John the son of Zebedee was slain by the Jews ((Ἰωάννης) *μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται· Παπίας γὰρ . . . φάσκει ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη, πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν*). This statement is confirmed by an extract published by De Boor (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 1888, v. 2. 170) from an Oxford MS. (7th or 8th cent.) of an epitome of the Chronicle of Philip of Sidé (5th cent.). "Papias in the second book says that John the Divine and James his brother were slain by the Jews" (Παπίας ἐν τ. δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος[1] καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθησαν). Swete (*Apoc.* clxxix. sq.) adds here the following pertinent comment: "If Papias made it (this statement), the question remains whether he made it under some misapprehension, or merely by way of expressing his conviction that the prophecy of Mk x. 39 had found a literal fulfilment. Neither explanation is very probable in view of the early date of Papias. He does not, however, affirm that the brothers suffered at the same time: *the martyrdom of John at the hand of the Jews might have taken place at any date before the last days of Jerusalem.*"[2]

This Papias-tradition is rejected by Bernard, *Studia Sacra*, 260–284; Harnack, *TLZ.*, 1909, 10–12; Drummond, 227 sq.; Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 147 sq.; Armitage Robinson, *Historical Character of John's Gospel*, 64 sqq.; Stanton, *Gospels as Historical Documents*, i. 166 sq.; but such a rejection is hazardous in face of the evidence furnished by subsequent and independent authorities, not to speak of the results already arrived at independently in this chapter.[3]

(*c*) *Certain ancient writers imply or recount the martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.*—The first evidence is that of Heracleon (an early Gnostic commentator on J, about 145 A.D.), preserved in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 9). Heracleon in connection with Lk 12^{11-12} states that "Matthew, Philip, Thomas,

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[1] ὁ θεολόγος is, of course, a late addition. It is found in most cursives of the Apocalypse in its title.

[2] The italics are mine.

[3] These results exclude the possibility of John the son of Zebedee being the author of J^{ap}, and also of 1. 2. 3 J, J, if, as is highly probable, John the Elder wrote 2. 3. J. John the Apostle may have been the teacher of John the Elder. This Papias-tradition would account perfectly for the absence of his writings from the N.T.

Levi,[1] and many others" had escaped public testimony to Christ. The omission of John's name is full of significance. He cannot, in view of his prominence both in the N.T. and in the 2nd cent., be relegated to the nameless body of the "many others." Clement does not call in question this statement of Heracleon. Archbishop Bernard weakens this evidence, but his (*Studia Sacra*, 283 sq.) argument proceeds on the hypothesis that John the Apostle was the author of the Apocalypse.

The next evidence is furnished by the *Martyrium Andreae* i. 2 (Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocr.* II. i. 46 sq.). Here it is recounted how the apostles cast lots as to which people they should severally adopt as their sphere of missionary effort. The result of the casting of the lots was that the circumcision was assigned to Peter, *the East to James and John*, and the cities of Samaria and Asia to Philip (*ἐκληρώθη* Πέτρος *τὴν περιτομήν*, Ἰάκωβος *καὶ* Ἰωάννης *τὴν ἀνατολήν·* Φίλιππος *τὰς πόλεις τῆς* Σαμαρίας *καὶ τὴν* Ἀσίαν), and so on. What is significant in this legend is that it ignores wholly any residence of John in Asia Minor.[2]

Next, in Clement (*Strom.* vii. 17) it is stated definitely that the teaching of the apostles, embracing the ministry of Paul, was brought to a close in the reign of Nero[3] (*ἡ δὲ ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ* (*i.e.* Χριστοῦ) *μέχρι γε τῆς* Παύλου *λειτουργίας ἐπὶ* Νέρωνος *τελειοῦται*). These words presuppose the death of all the apostles before 70 A.D. In Epiphanius (li. 33), John's activity is assigned to the times of the Emperor Claudius: *τοῦ ἁγίου* Ἰωάννου . . . *προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις* Κλαυδίου *καίσαρος.*

The same tradition of John's martyrdom is attested in Chrysostom (*Hom.* lxv. on Mt 20^{23}), though in *Hom.* lxxvi. he says that John long survived the fall of Jerusalem.

According to Moffatt (p. 607), even Gregory of Nyssa (*Laudatio Stephani: De Basilio Magno*) mentions Peter, James, and John as martyred apostles and places them between Stephen and Paul. But Bernard (*Studia Sacra*, 280 sqq.) has rightly objected to Gregory being cited as supporting such a thesis. The fact is that Gregory is mystified naturally by this attestation of the Church calendar to the martyrdom of John and seeks to explain it away.

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[1] This reduplication in Matthew . . . Levi is found elsewhere.

[2] As Latimer Jackson observes, "the allusion Gal 2^{9} is significant; it suggests that John, extending the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas (who had taken the Gentiles as their sphere of work), decides to cast in his lot with the circumcision (p. 149)." But we have to remember also that Peter went to the West and was martyred in Rome.

[3] It is true that elsewhere Clement (*Quis dives salv.* 42) tells the story of John and the robber, which, were it true, would imply his living to old age.

As Clement and Chrysostom reflect the conflicting traditions as to the manner of John's death and the age at which he died, the Muratorian Canon attests indirectly the survival of the older tradition. It states that Paul wrote to seven churches after the precedent set by John. This statement cannot be accepted, since most (if not all) of the Pauline Epistles were written before all the Seven Churches in Asia were founded. Thus the Church in Smyrna was not founded till 61–64 A.D. at earliest: cf. Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* ii. But the statement becomes intelligible, if John's apostolic activity belonged to the decades before 70 A.D. Thus the older tradition discovers the element of fact in this statement of the Muratorian Canon. For in its enumeration of the works of St. Paul it proceeds: "Ex quibus singulis (non) necesse est a nobis disputari, cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus, *sequens prodecessoris sui Johannis ordinem*, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat. . . ." Here the composition of J^{ap} is set before that of the Pauline Epistles. This fact justifies the assumption that the Muratorian Canon represents the composition of J as prior to the dispersion of the apostles. "Quartum evangeliorum Johannis ex discipulis. (Is) cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit: Conjejunate mihi hodie triduo, et quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum Andreae ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret" That the *condiscipuli* = the rest of the apostles, is to be inferred from John himself being called *ex discipulis*. It may be remarked in passing that the revision of J is here plainly stated.

The North African work *De Rebaptismate* (*circ.* 250 A.D.) supports the Papias-tradition: "He said to the sons of Zebedee: "Are ye able?" For he knew the men had to be baptized, not only in water but also in their own blood."

Finally, the Syrian Aphraates (*De Persecutione* (344 A.D.)) writes: "Great and excellent is the martyrdom of Jesus. . . . After Him was the faithful martyr Stephen, whom the Jews stoned. Simon also and Paul were perfect martyrs. And James and John walked in the footsteps of their Master Christ. . . . Also others of the apostles thereafter in diverse places confessed and proved themselves true martyrs." Here the actual martyrs are mentioned first, including John. Then come the confessors to whom the hononary rank of martyrs is accorded.

(*d*) *The Syriac Martyrology postulates the martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.* This martyrology (411 A.D.) was drawn up at Edessa for the use of the local church. It contains the following festivals:

Dec. 27. Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰάκωβος οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις.
Dec. 28. Ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῇ πόλει Παῦλος καὶ Συμεὼν Κηφᾶς.

Here the martyrdom of James and John in Jerusalem is commemorated between that of Stephen on Dec. 26 and that of Paul and Peter on Dec. 28.

Seeing that the statements with regard to James, Paul and Peter are trustworthy, there appears no reason for questioning that respecting John. In the Calendar of Carthage (*circ.* 505) there is the entry, "Commemoration of St. John Baptist, and of James the Apostle, whom Herod slew." Since in the same calendar the Baptist is commemorated on June 24, it is clear that John the son of Zebedee is here intended. Thus the two sons of Zebedee are here conjoined, and evidently on the ground of their common martyrdom. According to Moffatt (*Introd. Lit. N.T.* p. 605), the Armenian and Gothico-Gallic Calendars agree with the Syriac.

This considerable body of independent and diverse forms of evidence appears to the present writer to remove the Papias-tradition from the sphere of hypothesis into that of reasonably established facts of history. Finally, the date of John's martyrdom can be fixed within certain limits. He was alive when Paul had his conference with the "pillar-apostles" in Jerusalem (Gal 2^9). This was not later than 64 A.D.[1] Since he was martyred by the Jews, he must have died before 70 A.D.

That the later testimony of Irenaeus that John the Apostle resided in Asia, as well as the statement that Polycarp was a disciple of the Apostle, must be rejected if the Papias-tradition is correct, follows as a matter of course. Irenaeus is occasionally very inaccurate. His confusion of John the Elder with John the Apostle[2] finds (III. 12. 15) an exact parallel in his confusion of James the Lord's brother, who in Acts 15^{13} takes part in the Council of Jerusalem, with James the son of Zebedee, who has already been martyred in Acts 12^2. In iv. 27. 1 he states that one of his authorities is a disciple of the disciples of the apostles; yet in 32. 2 he designates the same man as a disciple of the apostles. In *H.E.* iii. 39. 2, Eusebius charges Irenaeus with wrongly representing Papias as a disciple of John the Apostle. Irenaeus states on the authority of certain elders, who maintained that they had heard it from John, that Jesus did not die till the reign of Claudius (II. 22. 5). The confusion of Philip the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle, whom Luke in the Acts distinguishes carefully, is found in several ancient writers, most probably in Polycrates of Ephesus (*circ.* 196 A.D.) and Proclus: cf. Eus. iii. 31. 3–4, v. 24. 2; in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 6. 52), Tertullian and Eusebius. See *Encyc. Bib.* (2511); Moffatt, *Introd.*^{3} 608 sqq.; otherwise Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 45 sq.

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[1] Galatians is variously dated from 53 to 64 A.D.

[2] Though Irenaeus has transferred to John the Apostle the labours of John the Elder and the scene of these labours, he still distinguishes the Elder whom he frequently quotes alike from the body of the Elders whom he also quotes, and from John the disciple of the Lord; cf. iv. 30. 4: "Si quis autem diligentius intendat his, . . . quaecunque Joannes discipulus Domini vidit in Apocalypsi," and 31. 1: "Talia quaedam enarrans de antiquis presbyter reficiebat nos"; 32. 1: "Senior apostolorum discipulus"; also iv. 28. 1. It is significant, however, that Irenaeus never calls this John, whom he regards as the author of the Johannine writings, an apostle, but only a disciple of the Lord. This element of truth still survives in his treatment of this question.

The primitive tradition as to the martyrdom of John the Apostle was gradually displaced by the later tradition represented by Irenaeus; but even so the primitive tradition maintained itself in various places down to the 7th cent., as we have shown above.

The conclusion to which the above facts and inferences point is that John the Apostle was never in Asia Minor, and that he died a martyr's death between the visit of St. Paul to the "pillar" apostles in Jerusalem, *circ.* 64 (?) and 70 A.D.

IV.

The Editor of the Apocalypse.

From the section dealing with the Plan, pp. xxiii–xxviii, we have seen that J^{ap} exhibits, except in short passages, and especially towards the close of chap. 18, a structural unity and a steady development of thought from the beginning to 20^3. In 20^4–22, on the other hand, the traditional order of the text exhibits a hopeless mental confusion and a tissue of irreconcilable contradictions. In vol. ii. 144–154 I have gone at length into this question, and shown the necessity for the hypothesis that *John died when he had completed* 1–20^3 *of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right.* Such was the solution of the problem I arrived at five years ago, and all my subsequent study has served to confirm the truth of this hypothesis. In the earlier chapters (1–20^3) I adopted tentatively and occasionally the hypothesis of an editor, but generally that of an interpolator or interpolators, but it was nothing but one hypothesis possible amongst many others, till I came to deal with 20^4–22. This present section, therefore, represents a brief restudy of the interpolations which can with most probability be attributed to the editor from the standpoint of the solution of the problem discovered in connection with 20^4–22. For the main grounds for this hypothesis the reader should consult ii. 144–154 and the commentary that follows.

On p. lvii sq. we have given a complete list of the interpolations in the text, and marked by an asterisk those which appear to proceed from the editor.

Now, if we wish to learn something about this editor we should begin with his editing of 20^{4}–22. We are here first of all seeking to learn his grammatical usages, though occasionally we shall consider his opinions so far as they have led him to change the text. He is a more accurate Greek scholar than our author, and, as he shows no sign of really knowing Hebrew, he was probably a native of Asia Minor.

As regards grammar, the construction in 20^{11} *τὸν καθήμενον ἐπ' † αὐτοῦ †* and 21^{5} *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τοῦ θρόνου †*, which is not that of our author (see p. cxxxii), is probably due to him. This construction with the gen. is more usual in classical Greek.[1] Now in the interpolation which he has made in 14$^{15-17}$ we find this same construction twice: *τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφάλης* and *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης*; and in 9^{17} we find the same non-Johannine construction *τ. καθημένους ἐπ' † αὐτῶν †*, which may be traced to the editor. In any case, in three passages at least the editor appears to have corrected the Johannine construction into the more usual Greek one. 21^{5} *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τῷ θρόνῳ †* seems to be a primitive corruption for *ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον*.

In 20^{4}–22 there are three other passages where the editor has changed the text. In 20^{4} the *οἵτινες* is an insertion of the editor to make the text possible Greek. But the construction without the *οἵτινες*, *i.e.* *τῶν πεπελεκισμένων καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησαν*, is *always* elsewhere the Hebraism used by our author. See vol. i. 14 sq. Again, in 21^{6} *τῷ διψῶντι δώσω* we should expect, in accordance with our author's usage, *αὐτῷ* after *δώσω* (which 046 and certain cursives actually add). Here again the editor was improving the author's Greek. In 22^{12} the order of the words, *τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ*, is the editor's. In any case it is not John's. Here 046 and a few cursives restore John's order.

That the editor was a better Greek scholar than the author is apparent also in his interpolations in 22$^{11. 18b-19}$. To these passages, which are interpolations (see ii. 221–224), we shall return presently.

But though a fair Greek scholar, the editor is very unintelligent. He has made a chaos of 20^{4}–22, and wherever else he has intervened he has introduced confusion and made it impossible in many cases for students, who accepted his interpolations as part of the text, to understand the author. In 1^{4} he has sought by his interpolation to make the text enumerate the Persons of the Trinity—a grotesque conception indeed, but with a parallel in Justin Martyr. His interpolation of 1^8 is singularly infelicitous as well as being impossible. Not understanding that ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ is a stock rendering of the Hebrew "God of Hosts," and that accordingly this title cannot be broken into two parts, he actually divides ὁ θεός from ὁ παντοκράτωρ by eight words, and next represents the Seer as hearing God speaking this verse, although he has not yet fallen into a trance. The intrusion 8^{7-12} with the necessary changes in the adjoining context is to be traced to him also (see vol. i. 218–223). This fragment is of unknown provenance. In order to introduce this interpolation the editor has, as already observed, made many changes in the adjoining contexts. One of these changes bears clear testimony to his ignorance of our author's style. Thus in 8^5 he represents our author as saying βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί. But our author knows well that the ἀστραπαί always precede the βρονταί: cf. 4^5 11^{19} 16^{18}. But apparently this editor neither knew this fact nor his master's usage. This interpolation made it impossible for all interpreters of the Apocalypse to understand the meaning of the clause ἐγένετο σιγὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς ἡμιώριον. Besides, 8^{7-12} is a weaker repetition of what is said elsewhere in our author, and is frequently at variance with its adjoining context.

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[1] *ἐπί*, c. gen. dat. or acc., is found in our author as elsewhere after *κάθησθαι*. But where the idea of resting on is present, the genitive is most natural. But the use of the case after *κάθησθαι ἐπί* in our author is wholly unique. See p. cxxxii.

In 9^{11} the clause καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλύων (which is good Greek) appears to come from the editor's hand. Our author would naturally have written καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ Ἀπολλύων, if he had written the words at all, since the preceding words run, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀβαδδών, and *our author never aims at variety of construction in repeating the same simple fact.* ὄνομα αὐτῷ is frequent in the LXX. See also 6^8 and the note on 9^{11}.

The next interpolation due to this editor is $14^{3e\text{-}4ab}$. If these clauses are from his pen they help us to recognize another trait in his character. He is a narrow ascetic, and introduces into Christianity ideas that had their origin in pagan faiths of unquestionable impurity. According to the teaching of $14^{3e\text{-}4ab}$, neither St. Peter nor any other married apostle nor any woman whatever would be allowed to follow the Lamb on Mt. Zion. But it is chastity not celibacy that is a Christian virtue. To regard marriage as a pollution is impossible in our author, who compares the covenant between Christ and the Church to a marriage, 19^9, and calls the Church the Bride, $21^{2.\,9}$ 22^{17}.

In 14^{14-20}, however, the editor reaches the climax of his stupidity. Here by his insertion of the impossible verses, 14^{15-17}, which he found elsewhere, he has first of all divided the Messianic judgment into two acts, the first of which—added by him—is called the harvesting of the earth, 14^{15-17}, and the second of which is called the vintaging of the earth, 14^{18-20}. The first is assigned to the Son of Man! and the second and greater part to an angel. Thus the Son of Man is treated as an angel—a conception impossible not only in J^{ap}, but in Jewish and Christian literature as a whole. But our author never speaks of the judgment as a harvesting of the earth, but as a vintaging, and this vintaging is described at length in 19^{11-21} and assigned to the Word of God (ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ), who "treadeth the winepress of the fierce anger of God Almighty" (19^{15}). The fact that our editor, in the face of this clear assignment of the *entire* Messianic judgment—described as a vintaging of the earth—to the Son of Man, could assign it to an angel, betrays a depth of stupidity all but incomprehensible, and brands him as an arch heretic of the first century though probably an unconscious one. And the irony of it is that, despite his abyssmal stupidity and heresies, he has achieved immortality by securing a covert in the great work which he has done so much to discredit and obscure.[1]

In 15^1 we have, no doubt, another of his additions. It is designed to introduce the Seven Bowls. Now every new important section our author begins with the words *μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον* (see note on 4^1 in Commentary). Less important divisions are introduced by *καὶ εἶδον*. Here, however, we find the latter words used, which at once provokes our astonishment. But that is not all. The vision breaks off, and a new vision—that of the blessed martyrs in heaven, 15^{2-4}—is recounted; and then at last we come to the real introduction to the Seven Bowls in 15^5, which rightly begins with the words *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον*—a fact which shows that the Seven Bowls are here mentioned for the first time. Such an interference with the text can hardly be assigned to any mere scribe (see vol. ii. 30–32).

Passing over 16^{2c}, which was most probably interpolated by the editor, since it exhibits a wrong construction of *προσκυνεῖν* from the standpoint of our author, we come to 16^{5a} *καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῶν ὑδάτων*—a clause which he added in order to introduce some actual sentences of our author, *i.e.* 16^{5b-7}. These verses belong after 19^4. The editor may have found them detached on a separate piece of papyrus, and owing to his inability to recognize their true context inserted them after 16^4. It is true that to the uninstructed mind they present a superficial fitness for the place they occupy in the traditional text, but they are in reality wholly unsuited to it, as its technical expressions prove. See vol. ii. 120–123. $16^{13b\text{-}14a}$ (ὡς βάτραχοι· εἰσὶν γὰρ πνεύματα δαιμονίων ποιοῦντα σημεῖα) was also apparently foisted into the text by the editor. It is against our author's grammar, which would require ὡς βατράχους. To adapt the context to the interpolation he has changed ἐκπορευόμενα into ἃ ἐκπορεύονται. 17^{9b} (ὄρη εἰσίν, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν[1] καὶ with ἑπτά added after βασιλεῖς), which gives a second explanation of the ἑπτὰ βασιλεῖς, appears also to be from his hand. $19^{9b\text{-}10}$ is quite clearly an interpolation (see vol. ii. p. 128 sq.), and owes its insertion here very probably to the editor. It has dislodged a necessary part of the original text. Was the original undecipherable, or was it simply expunged in order to receive the contributions of the editor?

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[1] History has here in part repeated itself; for in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs (see my edition, pp. xvi sq., lvii–lix) the work of a bitter assailant of the Maccabean priest-kings has gained a place in the heart of a book that was written by an ardent upholder of the earlier members of that dynasty.

We now return to 20^4–22 with which we began. I have shown at length in ii. 144–154 the chaos to which the editor has reduced the work of his master in 20^4–22. Notwithstanding, it will be instructive to touch here also on a few of the hopeless incongruities he has introduced through his sheer incapacity to understand his master's teaching. In 20^4–22, as it stood originally, *our author* sees in a vision the coming evangelization of the world by Christ and the glorified martyrs on the Second Advent. This is already foretold in advance in 15^4 by the triumphant martyrs before the throne of God, "All the nations shall come and worship before Thee," and in a vision in $14^{6\text{-}7}$, and again in 11^{15} where proleptically the angelic song declares that "the kingdom of this world hath become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." The evangelization of the world is thus committed to the glorified martyrs at once as their task and the guerdon of their faithfulness in the past. They preach afresh the Gospel to the nations of the earth, and all who receive it are healed of their diseases, cleansed from their sins, admitted to the Heavenly City, and allowed to eat of the bread of life. Thus the Millennial Reign is one of arduous spiritual toil, and the thrones assigned to these glorified martyrs are simply a symbol of faithful service, which vary in glory in the measure of their service.

Such is our author's teaching, but through the *editor's* rearrangement of the text the Millennial Reign is emptied of all significance. The glorified martyrs return to earth with Christ and enjoy a dramatic but rather secular victory, sitting on thrones in splendid idleness for full one thousand years ($20^{4\text{-}6}$)!

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[1] The editor prefers the genitive always after κάθησθαι ἐπί, as we have seen above.

Nearly all the incongruities in 20^{4}–22 are due to the editor's incompetence. But in 20^{13} there is something worse. Dishonesty has taken the part of incapacity. The editor has tampered with his master's text. In order to make the text teach a physical resurrection he has changed some such word as "treasuries" or "chambers" (*i.e.* the abode of righteous souls—not of the martyrs who went direct to heaven) and inserted *ἡ θάλασσα*. But the sea can only give up bodies, not souls. Yet the phrase "the dead" (*τοὺς νεκρούς*) implies personalities, *i.e.* souls, just as certainly as it does in the next line, where death and Hades give up "the dead" (*τ. νεκρούς*) in them. Hence it follows that *ἡ θάλασσα* cannot have stood originally in the text. Besides, before the final judgment began the sea had already vanished, 20^{11}. On this depravation of his text by the editor, see vol. ii. 194–199, where, as well as in the English trans., I have restored the text.

22^{11} is written in a form of parallelism unexampled elsewhere in our author, while its subject-matter is in conflict with other passages in our author. The last interpolation,[1] $22^{18b\text{-}19}$, exhibits the editor at his worst. Having taken the most unwarrantable liberties with his author's text by perverting its teaching in some passages and by his interpolations making it wholly unintelligible in others, he sets the crown on his misdemeanours by invoking an anathema on any person who should in any respect follow the method which had the sanction of his own example.[2] By this and other like unwarrantable devices this shallow-brained fanatic and celibate, whose dogmatism varies directly with the narrowness of his understanding, has often stood between John and his readers for nearly 2000 years. But such obscurantism cannot outlive the limits assigned to it; the reverent and patient research of the present age is steadily discovering and bringing to light the teaching of this great Christian prophet whose work fitly closes the Canon, and closes it with his benediction: "The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints."

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[1] In addition to the arguments advanced in vol. ii. 222–223 against the authenticity of $21^{18b\text{-}19}$, we should observe that in the writer's use of *ἐπιτιθέναι* there is a play on the two meanings of this verb, *i.e.* "to add" and "to inflict." The latter use is found in Luke 10^{30}, Acts 16^{23}, and frequently in classical Greek. Such a play on words is not found in our author.

[2] The use of such anathemas by writers of an inferior stamp was quite common as I have shown in vol. ii. 223–224.

V.

DEPRAVATION OF THE TEXT THROUGH INTERPOLATIONS, DISLOCATIONS, LACUNAE, AND DITTOGRAPHS.

§ 1. *Interpolations.*—There are in all some 22 or more interpolated verses in our text, if we add together all the interpolated verses, clauses, phrases, and words. The grounds for regarding these as interpolations are nearly always given in the Commentary, *in loc.*, and in footnotes to the English translation in vol. ii. in a more popular and less technical form. But in a few cases these will be found only in the latter, since they were not recognized as interpolations, or else wrongly condemned as such when the Commentary was written.

The interpolations are rejected as such either because they are wrong in their subject-matter, that is, against the context, or because they are against our author's linguistic usage. *But generally an interpolated passage betrays its intrusive character both by its linguistic form and subject-matter.* Where these two kinds of evidence combine, they are conclusive. As notable interpolations of this kind, the reader should study 1^{8} 14^{15-17}. First, as regards 1^{8} we discover that this verse is impossible in its present context; for it represents the Seer as hearing God pronounce these words, although the Seer does not fall into a trance until 1^{10}. Next, we discover that it could not occur in any context in our author, since, contrary to his universal usage and that of all Palestinian writers, he separates ὁ παντοκράτωρ from ὁ θεός by eight words, whereas it should immediately follow it, as it is a rendering of the Hebrew genitive (צבאות) immediately dependent on ὁ θεός (אלהי). Next, 14^{15-17} is against our author's usage in respect to constructions. But it errs still more grievously against the context. The interpolator, failing to recognize "one like a son of man" (14^{14}) as Christ, has treated Him merely as an angel, and assigned Him only one-half of the Messianic judgment, wherein the judgment is compared to a harvesting of the earth—a figure not used by our author. But this is not all. He has assigned to "another angel" the Messianic judgment—*i.e.*, the vintaging of the earth—the duty expressly attributed by our author to Christ in 19^{11-21}.

But interpolation sometimes leads to further depravation of the text. This occurs when the interpolated passage obliges the interpolator to adapt the immediate context to his additions to the text. The classical instance of such tampering with the text will be found in connection with the interpolation of 8^{7-12}, whereby "the three Woes," each preceded by a trumpet blast, have been transformed into "the seven Trumpets." This drastic intervention of the interpolator has necessitated slight changes in $8^{2.6.13}$ $9^{1.18}$ 10^{7} 11^{15} and the transposition of certain clauses. This addition is at variance with the entire context: it has destroyed the dramatic development of our author's theme, and represents him as indulging in vain and inconsistent repetitions.[1] The presence of this interpolation in our text has hidden from all interpreters up to the present the true meaning of the phrase—"there was silence in heaven for the space of half an hour," as well as other important matters.

Several interpolations have arisen from marginal glosses. 5^{8d} 14^{18} (*ὁ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τ. πυρός*), 17^{9b} (*ὄρη εἰσίν . . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ*)—a second interpretation of "the seven heads" from the hand of the editor or an interpolator. $19^{9b\text{-}10}$ is mainly a doublet of $22^{8\text{-}9}$, and in 11^{5b} 17^{17} the additions appear to be simply dittographs.

The complete list of interpolations in and additions to the text is as follows. Those which *appear* to be due to the editor are marked with an asterisk.

*1^{4c} (*καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ . . . αὐτοῦ*). See vol. i. 11–13. *1^{8} (*Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ*). See footnote on English translation *in loc.*, vol. ii. 1^{14} (*ὡς χιών*).

2^{5} (*ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς*). 2^{22} (*ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς*). See footnote on Eng. trans. *in loc.*, vol. ii.

4^{5} (*ἅ ἐστιν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ*): 4^{6} (*ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καί*): 4^{8} (*κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν*).

5^{8d} (*αἵ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων*): 5^{11} (*καὶ τ. ζῴων καὶ τ. πρεσβυτέρων*). See vol. i. 145, 148 respectively.

6^{8b} (*καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἠκολούθει μετ' αὐτοῦ*). See vol. i. 169 sq. 6^{8de} (*ἀποκτεῖναι . . . ὑπὸ τ. θηρίων τ. γῆς*). See i. 171.

*8^{2} (*οἳ ἐνώπιον τ. θεοῦ ἑστήκασιν*). See i. 221: also footnote on Eng. trans. *in loc.* $8^{7\text{-}12}$. To adapt this interpolation of the first four Trumpets to its new context, changes were introduced in $8^{2.6.13}$ $9^{1.18}$ 10^{7} 11^{15} and 8^{2} transposed from its original position after 8^{5}. See i. 219–222.

9^{5c} (*καὶ ὁ βασανισμὸς . . . ἄνθρωπον*? See footnote: Eng. trans.). *9^{11c} (*καὶ ἐν τῇ . . . Ἀπολλύων*). See i. 246. *$9^{16b\text{-}17a}$ (*ἤκουσα τ. ἀριθμὸν . . . ὁράσει*). Observe that the wrong construction, *τ. καθημένους* † *ἐπ' αὐτῶν* †, is due to editor. See i. 252. 9^{19b} (*καὶ ἐν ταῖς . . . κεφαλάς*). See i. 254.

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[1] Hence practically every editor who accepts the entire work as from John's hand, whether he adopts or not the hypothesis of sources, is obliged to resort to the "Recapitulation Theory" in a greater or lesser degree, that is, that the Apocalypse does not represent a strict succession of events, but that *the same events are either wholly or in part dealt with under each successive series of seven Seals, seven Trumpets, and seven Bowls.*

11^{5b} (*καὶ εἴ τις . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι*). See i. 284.

*14^{3-4} (*οἱ ἠγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τ. γῆς . . . εἰσιν* and *καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ*. See ii. 5–10, 422, footnote. *14^{15-17} *καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος . . . δρέπανον ὀξύ*). See ii. 18–19, 20–22. 14^{18} (*ὁ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός*). 14^{19} (*ὁ ἄγγελος*).

*15^{1}. See ii. 30–32. 15^{3} (*τ. ᾠδὴν . . . τ. θεοῦ καί*). See ii. 34. 15^{6} (*οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες . . . πληγάς*—a deliberate change for *ἄγγελοι ἑπτά* owing to interpolation of 15^{1}). See ii. 31–32, 38.

*16^{2c} (*τοὺς ἔχοντας . . . εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ*). See ii. 43. *16^{5a} (*καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῶν ὑδάτων λέγοντος*) added by editor when he wrongly introduced 16^{5b-7}, which properly belongs after 19^{4}. ii. 44, 120–123. *$16^{13b-14a}$ (*ὡς βάτραχοι . . . σημεῖα*). See ii. 47–48. 16^{19a} (*καί ἐγένετο . . . μέρη*). See ii. 52.

*17^{9b} (*ὄρη εἰσίν . . . ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν· καὶ* and *ἑπτά* after *βασιλεῖς*). See ii. 68–69. 17^{15}—a gloss on 17^{1}. See ii. 72. 17^{17} (*καὶ ποιῆσαν μίαν γνώμην*). See ii. 73.

18^{13} (*καὶ ἵππων . . . σωμάτων*). See ii. 104.

19^{8b} (*τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον . . . ἐστίν*). See vol. i. 127–128. 19^{9b-10}, doublet of 22^{8-9}, which has dislodged part of the original text. See ii. 128–129. 19^{12c} (*ἔχων ὄνομα . . . εἰ μὴ αὐτός*). See ii. 132. 19^{16} (*ἐπὶ τ. ἱμάτιον καί*). See ii. 137.

*20^{4} (*οἵτινες*). *20^{5} (*οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔζησαν ἄχρι τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη*). See note on text *in loc.*, vol. ii. 372. 20^{12} (*κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν*). *20^{13} (*ἡ θάλασσα*—an interpolation which has dislodged the original). ii. 194 sqq. 20^{14b} (*οὗτος ὁ θάνατος . . . πυρός*). See ii. 199 sq.

*21^{6a} (*καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Γέγοναν*). See English translation, *in loc.* ii. 443. *21^{25} text changed by editor. See ii. 173, 439.

*22^{11}. See ii. 221 sq. *22^{12} *ὡς τὸ ἔργον* † *ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ* †. The order *ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ* is due to the editor. Our author wrote *αὐτοῦ ἐστίν*. *22^{18b-19}. See ii. 222 sq.

§ 2. *Dislocations in* 20^{4}–22.—In vol. ii. 144, I have emphasized the fact that apocalyptic is distinguished from prophecy in its structural unity and its orderly development of thought to the final consummation. In the pages that follow (145–154) I have shown at some length that the text is incoherent and self-contradictory as it stands, and that these characteristics of 20^{4}–22, which are wholly impossible in apocalyptic (if the work is from one and the same author), are due to vast dislocations of the text. No mere accident could explain the intolerable confusion of the text in 20^{4}–22 (see vol. ii. 144–154). Since this entire section, with the exception of two or more verses, comes from the hand of our author, the only hypothesis that can account for the present condition of the text is that John died when he completed $1–20^3$ of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by an editor who fundamentally misunderstood the thought and visions of the Seer. Alike in the Commentary, Text, and Translation, the present writer has sought to recover the original order of the text (see vol. ii. 153–154) and given the grounds which have guided this reconstruction throughout. Manifold traces of the activity of this unintelligent editor are to be found in the earlier chapters, and it is more than probable that most of the interpolations are to be traced to his hand.

Dislocations in $1–20^3$.—Though there is nothing in the text of $1–20^3$ in the least comparable to the confusion that dominates the traditional structure of $20^4–22$, yet there are some very astonishing dislocations of isolated clauses and verses.

Of the many dislocations of the text in $1–20^3$ only one appears to have been deliberate, *i.e.* the transposition of 8^2 from its original position after 8^5 in order with other changes to adapt the interpolated section 8^{7-12} (the first four Trumpets) to its new context.

The remaining dislocations in $1–20^3$ are as follows:—

2^{27c} has been restored after 2^{26b}. See Eng. trans. *in loc.*
3^{8bc} has been restored before 3^{8a}. See Eng. trans. *in loc.*
7^{5c}–6 has been restored after 7^8. See vol. i. 207.
11^{18h} has been restored after 11^{18b}. See vol. i. 295 sq.
11^{18g} has been restored after 11^{18c}. See vol. ii. 416, footnote to Eng. transl. *in loc.*
13^{5b} has been restored after 13^{6b}. See vol. ii. 419, footnote to Eng. transl. *in loc.*
14^{12-13} has been restored after 13^{18}. See vol. i. 368 sq.
16^{5b-7} has been restored after 19^4. See vol. ii. 120–123
16^{15} has been restored after 3^{3b}. See vol. i. 80 sq.
17^{14-17} has been restored as follows: $17^{17.\ 16.\ 14}$. See vol. ii. 60 sq.
18^{14-23} has been restored as follows: $18^{15-19.\ 21.\ 14.\ 22a-d.\ 23cd.\ 22e-h.\ 23ab.\ 20.\ 23f}$.

The most startling of the above dislocations of the text is that in 18^{14-23}. How this dislocation arose we cannot determine, but that the text is dislocated is beyond question. First, we observe that 18^{14} comes in wrongly between 18^{13} and 18^{15}, and that both its sense and structure connect it immediately with 18^{22-23} and, as an introduction to these verses, which, combined with it, express in due gradation the destruction of everything in Rome from the greatest luxuries to the barest necessities. Thus $18^{14.\ 22-23}$ (four stanzas) compose a special dirge over Rome. Next, 18^{20} breaks the close sequence between 18^{19} and 18^{21} by introducing an apostrophe to heaven between the descriptive passages dealing with the ruin of Rome, 18^{19}, and the dramatic action of the angel, 18^{21}. But, though it cannot stand after 18^{19}, it comes in with the most perfect fitness at the close of the dirge over Rome ($18^{14.\ 22-23}$), as an appeal to heaven to rejoice over the doom of Rome—an appeal that is immediately answered by choir after choir from heaven of a mighty multitude of angels, of the Elders and Cherubim, and of the martyr host in 19^{1-4} 16^{5bc-7} 19^{5-7}.

The dislocations in 7^{5c-8} 11^{18} 13^{5b-6b} 17^{14-17} could easily have arisen. Parallels to such dislocations are to be found in other books of the Bible and in other documents. Only three other dislocations remain, but two of these are suggestive. As to 16^{15} which is to be restored after 3^{3b}, it is possible that it was written on a separate slip of papyrus which got displaced and was subsequently inserted after the sheet of papyrus ending 16^{14}. However this may be, it cannot possibly have stood originally after 16^{14}, with which it has no connection of any kind. Its natural place is after 3^{3b}, and nowhere else.

Now we come to the two interesting dislocations, 14^{12-13}, 17^{15}.[1] These two passages appear to have been inserted above the written columns on the papyrus sheets, the first by the Seer himself, the second by the editor. The scribe who copied the original MS incorporated these marginal additions in the wrong columns. It is noteworthy that 14^{12-13} is exactly the same number of lines from 13^{18} that 17^{15} is from 17^{1}, of which it is a gloss.

§ 3. *Lacunae in the Text.*—Apart from 20^{4}–22 where it is impossible to determine what lacunae exist (save in 21^{22}; see below) owing to the disorder of the text, there do not appear to be many in 1–20^{3}. There are, however, lacunae, and these are important. The first consists of a loss of several clauses in 16^{10} (see vol. ii. 45–46). The second is a still graver loss after 19^{9a}. These lost verses after 19^{9a} (whose place has been taken by an interpolation, *i.e.* 19^{9b-10} modelled on 22^{8-9}) recounted the destruction of the Parthian kings. Their destruction was prophesied in 17^{14}, and the vision recounting their destruction should have been given here. In $17^{17.\,16}$ there is a prophecy of the destruction of Rome: in 18 a vision of this destruction. In $14^{14.\,18-20}$ (see also $16^{13-14.\,16}$) we have a proleptic vision of the judgment of the nations by the Son of Man and a vision of their destruction by the Word of God in 19^{11-21} (20^{7-10}). Thus it is clear that a vision dealing with the destruction of the Parthian hosts by the Lamb and the Saints (see 17^{14}) should have been recorded in our text. That it actually did stand in the autograph of the Seer may be reasonably concluded from 19^{13}, where the Word of God is said to be "clothed with a garment dipped in blood." That this is the blood of the Parthian hosts follows from any just interpretation of the text. See vol. ii. 133.

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[1] That 14^{12-13} (ὧδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων κτλ.) is wholly out of place in a section that deals with the judgments inflicted on the wicked is clear at a glance, and that they should be restored at the close of the account of the persecution of the second Beast, *i.e.* 13^{18}, is at once manifest, when we compare the closing words of the persecution of the first Beast, 13^{10e} (ὧδέ ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονὴ . . . τῶν ἁγίων). These words are added for the encouragement and strengthening of the victims of the two persecutions. Next, it is clear that 17^{15} was originally an explanatory marginal gloss on 17^{1}. Since it has no connection whatever with its present context, the explanation given above for its position in its present context seems adequate.

A third lacuna occurs after 18^{22a}. The context makes the restoration easy, *i.e.* οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι. Again, in 21^{22}, where we should have a couplet, but where only the words καὶ τὸ ἀρνίον survive of the second line, we can with great probability restore the missing words by a comparison of 11^{19}. These are ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῆς. See vol. ii. 170 sq.

§ 4. *Dittographs.*—There are several dittographs, *i.e.* (*a*) $13^{3c.\,8} = 17^{8}$; (*b*) $19^{9b} = 21^{5c} = 22^{6a}$; (*c*) $19^{10} = 22^{8b.\,9}$; (*d*) $20^{14b} = 21^{8e}$.

(*a*) Both members of the first, *i.e.* $13^{3c.\,8} = 17^{8}$, belong to our text. See vol. i. 337.

(*b*) Here practically the same clause (καὶ εἶπέν μοι Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ κ. ἀληθινοί) is repeated three times. In 21^{5c} 22^{6a} it is a genuine part of the text. On 21^{5c} see note 3 on English translation, vol. ii. 443, in accordance with which the note in vol. ii. 203 (*ad fin.*) sq. is to be corrected. In 19^{9b} it is manifestly interpolated (see vol. ii. 128, 203 sq.), probably by the editor.

(*c*) Here $22^{8b.\,9}$ is original and 19^{10} is an interpolation of the editor repeated in the main from 22^{8-9} but giving to σύνδουλος quite a different meaning. See vol. ii. 128 sq.

(*d*) 21^{8e} ὅ ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος is original. But in 20^{14b}, where this phrase also occurs, it is quite meaningless. It represents the casting of death and Hades (as distinct from their inhabitants) into the lake of fire as the second death!

VI.

GREEK AND HEBREW SOURCES AND THEIR DATES.

Our author has used sources. Nearly one-fifth of his text appears to be based on sources, *i.e.* 7^{1-8} 11^{1-13} 12–13 (15^{5-8}?). 17–18. These sources he has adapted to his own purposes, and in the course of such adaptation has, except in certain details, transformed their meaning. (*a*) Sources he found in Hebrew or Greek. (*b*) Sources he found in Greek. (*c*) Sources in Hebrew.

(*a*) Chap. 7^{1-8} (before 70 A.D.). That there are two sources here is shown in vol. i. 191 sqq. Whether our author found these sources already existing in Greek and recast them in his own diction or translated them directly from the Hebrew is uncertain.

Chap. 7^{1-3}. Here "*the* four winds" (so designated though not previously mentioned) are not to be let loose till the faithful are sealed. A pause is enjoined in the course of judgment for this purpose as in 1 En 66^{1-2}, 67, and in 2 Bar $6^{4\,sqq.}$. The four winds appear in earlier tradition. See vol. i. 192–193.

Chap. 7^{4-8}. From a Jewish or Jewish-Christian source. See vol. i. 193–194. The "sealing" in our text is also derived from tradition, but the meaning is wholly transformed from what it bears in the O.T. and Pss. Sol $15^{6-10.\,13}$, which later work appears to have been before our author.

(*b*) *Greek Sources*, *i.e.* sources already existing in Greek, 11^{1-13} 12.* 17–18.

Chap. 11^{1-13} (before 70 A.D.). This section had originally a different meaning and was borrowed by our author from a source written before 70 A.D. 11^{1-13} consists of two earlier fragments, both of which presuppose Jerusalem to be still standing ($11^{1.\,8}$). The diction, idiom, and order of words differ perceptibly from that of our author, and they contain certain phrases which bear a different meaning from that which they bear in our author. In 11^{3-13} our author's hand is discernible in the additions 11^{8bc-9a} and the entire recasting of 11^{7}, so that what stood there originally cannot be known. *In our text* the temple in 11^{1} must be interpreted not as the actual temple which no longer existed, but as the spiritual temple, of which all the faithful are constituent members—a figure which our author has already used in 3^{12}, and the words "the measuring of his temple, the altar and those that worshipped therein," mean in their new context the securing of the faithful against the spiritual influences of the demonic and Satanic powers. But all the ideas in the text do not lend themselves to such reinterpretation, and the presence of such inexplicable details is *prima facie* evidence that the sections in which they occur are not original creations of our author but are derived from traditional material. See vol. i. 269–292.

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* In vol. i. 300–305 I took chapter 12 to be a translation by our author from a Hebrew source, but subsequent study has obliged me to abandon this view. See *Introd.* p. clviii n.

Chap. 12 (before 70 A.D.). In vol. i. 298–299 the meaning of this chapter in its Christian setting is given. But that this was not its original meaning, and that it could not have been written originally by a Christian, is shown in vol. i. 299–300. A full discussion of the two sources which underlie this chapter and were translated from Semitic originals but not by our author, is given in vol. i. 305–314. Our author most probably found these sources already in a Greek form, and the conclusion recorded in i. 303 is here withdrawn. These two sources, so far as they survive in our text, consist of $12^{1-5.\ 13-17}$ and $12^{7-10.\ 12}$. These were adapted by our author to their new Christian context by the addition of $12^{6.\ 11}$ and by certain additions in 12^{3} (?), 12^{5} (ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ), 12^{9} (ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος. . . . ἐβλήθη), 12^{10} (καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ and τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν dislodging a Jewish phrase), 12^{13} (ὅτε εἶδεν and ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν), 12^{17} (τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ). The expectation expressed in 12^{14-16} is a survival of an earlier time, being found by our author in his source. It referred to or prophesied the escape of Jewish Christians before 70 A.D. But the idea of such an escape during the entire sway of the Antichrist (12^{14} καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ) is impossible in our text, where our author's expectation is that of a martyrdom of the entire Christian Church. No part of the Church escapes.

Chaps. 17–18 (71–79 A.D.). These chapters, though recast by our author to serve his own main purpose, preserve incongruous elements and traces of an earlier date. Thus 17^{10-11} cannot be reasonably interpreted of a later time than Vespasian. And yet our author's additions in $17^{8.\ 11}$, which refer to the demonic Nero coming up from the abyss, can only be explained by a Domitianic date. The sense is confused, but the date is clear. To leave this passage unaltered was an oversight on the part of our author. Similarily, 18^{4} (see vol. ii. 96 sq.) postulates a Vespasianic date.

These chapters, the greater part of which our author found in a Greek form, were derived from two Hebrew sources, which for convenience' sake we designate A and B. A consisted originally of $17^{1c-2.\ 3b-6.\ 7.\ 18.\ 8-10\ (\text{greater part})}$ 18^{2-23}. See vol. ii. 88–89, 94–95. B consisted of $17^{11\ (\text{greater part}),\ 12-13.\ 17.\ 16}$. See vol. ii. 59–60.

Our author has adapted these sources to his own purposes by inserting the following clauses: 17^{1} (καὶ ἦλθεν . . . δείξω σοι), ^{3a}(καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με . . . πνεύματι), ^{3c}(καὶ κέρατα δέκα), ^{6b}(καὶ ἐκ τ. αἷματος . . . Ἰησοῦ), ^{8} (ἦν καὶ οὐκ . . . ὑπάγει), and (ὅτι ἦν . . . πάρεσται), ^{9} (ὧδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν), ^{11} (ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν), and (καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει),^{14}. But the text of 17^{11-17} is in disorder. 17^{15} is a gloss (see vol. ii. 72), 17^{17} should precede 17^{16}, and 17^{14} (our author's addition) should follow immediately on 17^{16}. Hence the right order of the text (see vol. ii. 61) is $17^{11-13.\ 17.\ 16.\ 14}$. After 17^{14} our author transferred 17^{18}, which originally belonged to A (see above), to the close of the chapter in order to introduce chap. 18.

Chap. $18^{2-23a-e}$. This chapter, as we have already seen, belongs to the source A. Our author apparently found it in some disorder in a Greek form. He has made few changes in it. He has introduced it by prefixing 18^{1}, by inserting 18^{20}, and closing it by $18^{23f.\ 24}$. Since 18^{20} is an appeal to the heavenly hosts—an appeal that is immediately answered in 19^{1-7}, our author would naturally have placed it at the close of 18 and not where it stands in the traditional text. $18^{20.\ 23f.\ 24}$ would thus form the close of this chapter coming from our author's hand and serving to introduce the theme of 19^{1-4} 16^{5bc-7} 19^{5-7}.

Since, therefore, 18^{20} does not apparently stand where our author inserted it, it is reasonable to conclude that some of the great disorder that exists in 18^{14-23} arose subsequently to our author's composition of the work as a whole.

(*c*) *Hebrew Sources.* One chapter, *i.e.* 13, is mainly composed of translations from three Hebrew sources by our author (see vol. i. 334–338). To the first source, written by a Pharisaic Quietist before 70 A.D., is to be traced $13^{1abd.\ 2.\ 4-7a.\ 10}$. See vol. i. 340–342. To the second source, $13^{3c.\ 8}$, of which we find a second Greek translation from another hand in 17^{8}. See vol. i. 337. To the third, $13^{11.\ 12ab.\ 13-14ab.\ 16ad-17a}$. See vol. i. 342–344. The date is probably prior to 70 A.D.

The original meaning of these sources is transformed by their incorporation into our author's text. He has adapted them to his own purpose by the insertion of the following clauses: 13^{1c} (καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν . . . διαδήματα), ^{3ab}(καὶ μίαν . . . ἐθεραπεύθη), ^{6c}(τοὺς . . . σκηνοῦντας), ^{7b}(καὶ ἐδόθη . . . ἔθνος), $^{8b-9}$(τοῦ ἀρνίου . . . ἀκουσάτω), ^{10c} (ὧδε . . . ἁγίων), ^{12bc}(τὸ θηρίον τὸ πρῶτον οὗ ἐθεραπεύθη . . . αὐτοῦ), $^{14b-15}$(ἐνώπιον . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν), ^{16}(τ. μικροὺς . . . δούλους), $^{17-18}$(τὸ ὄνομα . . . ἕξ).

Possibly 15^{5-8} is translated from a Hebrew source by our author. The grounds for this hypothesis are to be found in the two impossible phrases in $15^{5.\ 6}$. It is remarkable that both these phrases can be explained by retranslation into Hebrew. See vol. ii. 37–38. On this hypothesis we should expect the whole narrative of the Bowls to be likewise a translation from the Hebrew. But if it is, it is so thoroughly recast that no evidence for this hypothesis survives.

If we reject this hypothesis, we might assume that *λίνον* is a primitive error for *λινοῦν* in 15^6, and that *τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου* was originally a marginal gloss which was derived from Ex. 40^{29}, on which our text is based, and was subsequently incorporated in the text against both the sense and grammar. The editor, however, was capable of the grossest misconceptions, as we have been elsewhere: see pp. l–lv.

VII.

BOOKS OF THE O.T., OF THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND OF THE N.T. USED BY OUR AUTHOR.

§ 1. *General statement of our author's dependence on the above books.*—Our author makes most use of the prophetical books. He constantly uses Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; also, but in a less degree, Zechariah, Joel, Amos, and Hosea; and in a very minor degree Zephaniah and Habakkuk. Next to the prophetical books he is most indebted to the Psalms, slightly to Proverbs, and still less to Canticles. He possessed the Pentateuch and makes occasional use of all its books, particularly of Exodus. Amongst others, that he and his sources probably drew upon, are Joshua, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 2 Kings.

The evidence for the above summary of facts will be found below in §§ 3–5.

Of the Pseudepigrapha the evidence that our author used the Testament of Levi, 1 Enoch, and the Assumption of Moses, is sufficiently strong; see below, § 7. It is not improbable that he was acquainted with 2 Enoch and the Psalms of Solomon. See below, § 7. But the direct evidence is not so convincing as the indirect. Repeatedly in the commentary that follows it is shown that without a knowledge of the Pseudepigrapha it would be impossible to understand our author. As a few proofs of this fact, see on 4^6 (the Cherubim), pp. 117–123; 6^3 ("a great sword"), p. 165; 6^9 (Martyrs = a sacrifice to God, cf. 14^4), p. 174, vol. ii. 6; 6^9 (the one altar in heaven), p. 172 sqq.; 6^{11} (world to come to an end when the roll of the martyrs is complete), pp. 177–79; (white robes = spiritual bodies), pp. 184–188 and *passim.*

From an examination of the passages given below in § 8, it follows quite decidedly that our author had the Gospels of Matthew and Luke before him, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Colossians (or else the lost Ep. to the Laodiceans, which presumably was of a kindred character), Ephesians, and possibly

Galatians, 1 Peter, and James. Our author shows no acquaintance with St. Mark.

That our author used Matthew is deducible from the following facts. In 1^{7} he has had Matt 24^{30} before him, where our author's combination of Dan 7^{13} and Zech $12^{10.\,12}$ occurs already. Our author derives from Matthew the words *πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς*, which are not in the O.T. or Versions. Next, a reference to 2^{7} shows that it is the Matthaean (or Lucan: cf. 8^{8}) form of the command, *ὁ ἔχων οὖς κτλ.*, Matt 11^{15} 13^{9} etc., that our author was familiar with. The dependence of 3^{3}, 16^{15} on Matt $24^{42.\,43.\,46}$ is obvious at the first glance. 3^{5} presupposes both Matt 10^{32} and the parallel passage in Luke 12^{8}. Other passages showing dependence on Matthew, though not so conclusively, will be found under 1^{3d} 1^{16} 6^{4} 11^{15} below.

That our author used Luke appears certain, though the evidence is less conclusive, from a comparison of 1^{3} with Luke 11^{28}, 3^{5} with Luke 12^{8}, 11^{6} with Luke 4^{25}, and 18^{24} with Luke 11^{50}. Unless we assume our author's acquaintance with the Little Apocalypse (embodied in Luke 21, Matt 24, Mark 13), then he is indebted to Luke for his fourth plague, *i.e.* the pestilence, Luke 21^{11} (*λοιμοί*).[1]

Possibly 13^{8} (*τ. ἀρνίου τ. ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*) implies an acquaintance with 1 Pet $1^{19\text{-}20}$. Compare also 16^{19} and 1 Pet 5^{13}, and 1^{6} and 1 Pet 2^{9}.

§ 2. *John translated directly from the O.T. text. He did not quote from any Greek Version, though he was often influenced in his renderings by the LXX and another later Greek Version, a revised form of the* ο′ (i.e. *the LXX*), *which was subsequently revised and incorporated by Theodotion in his version.* Our author never definitely makes a quotation, though he continually incorporates phrases and clauses of the O.T. The question naturally arises: Do he and his sources ($11^{1\text{-}13}$ 12–13. 17–18) derive such phrases and clauses directly from the Hebrew (or Aramaic), or from ο′ or from the Hebrew combined with ο′? (see §§ 3–5).

An examination of the passages based on the O.T. makes it clear that our author draws his materials directly from the Hebrew (or Aramaic) text, and apparently never solely from ο′ or any other version.[2] And this is no less true of the sources our author incorporated and edited. But this fact does not exclude the possibility that our author was acquainted with and at times guided by ο′ and some other Greek version. The latter clause is added deliberately, "and some other Greek version."

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[1] If, however, our author used Matthew and Luke only and not the Little Apocalypse, how are we to account for his using *θάνατος* and not *λοιμός*? But if he had the Aramaic document behind the triple tradition in the Synoptics this would be explicable, since מותא = "death" or "pestilence." If he had the Little Apocalypse in Aramaic, we should have the explanation of this and other difficulties.

[2] It is important to recognize the results arrived at in §§ 3–6, seeing that several German scholars have definitely declared that certain classes of O.T.

That our author was influenced in his renderings of O.T. passages by ο′ may be taken as proved after an examination of the list of passages given in § 4. But in the list of passages that follow in § 5, we discover that our author's renderings of the Hebrew are closely related to those which appear in θ′ (*i.e.* Theodotion), where θ′ differs from ο′. But since Theodotion lived several decades later than our author, we must assume with Gwynn (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* iv. 974–978) that side by side with ο′ (preserved in a corrupt form in the Chisian MS of Daniel) there existed a rival Greek version from pre-Christian times.[1]

But Gwynn's hypothesis, although adequate to a certain extent, is inadequate when confronted with fresh facts that have emerged in my study of this question. For from § 5 we learn that in 1^{17b} our text agrees not with ο′ but θ′ in Is 48^{12}: similarly 3^{7} with θ′ of Is 22^{22} and 3^{9c} with θ′ of Is 60^{14}. Again the quotation 15^{3-4} ὁ βασιλεὺς τ. ἐθνῶν· τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ; agrees word for word (though differing in case and tense) with θ′ of Jer 10^{7}, whereas ο′ is here wholly defective. Finally, 1^{6} (5^{10}) βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς is found in θ′ of Ex 19^{6} where ο′ is different. Now one or more of these might be coincidences, but it is highly improbable that all five are. Hence we have good grounds for concluding that there existed either a rival Greek version alongside ο′ from pre-Christian times or a revised version of ο′, which was revised afresh by Theodotion and circulated henceforth under his name. How many books of the O.T. were so translated afresh cannot be determined. The above evidence would imply that Isaiah and Jeremiah were so translated.[2] Possibly all the prophetic books were rendered

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passages are directly from the Hebrew and others just as definitely from the LXX. The greatest offender in this respect is Von Soden (*Books of the NT*, 372 sq.), who states that "quotations from the O.T. in the Johannine portion (of Revelation, *i.e.* 1^{5}–7) are constantly made according to the LXX, while in the Jewish portion (8–22^{5}) the Hebrew text is taken into account." There is no foundation in fact for this statement.

[1] This hypothesis (first suggested by Credner, *Beiträge*, ii. 261–272) was practically accepted by Salmon (*Introd.* p. 547) and by Swete (*Introd. to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 48).

Gwynn supports this hypothesis by evidence drawn from 1 Bar 1^{15}–2^{20}. Since the date of 1^{2}–3^{8} is generally accepted as earlier than 80 A.D., and since numerous passages in 1^{15}–2^{20} are clearly based on θ′ and not ο′ of Dan 9^{7-19}, Gwynn (*op. cit.* 976) rightly infers the existence of a version of Daniel differing from ο′ and of a type closely akin to that which θ′ bears.

[2] There is, of course, the possibility that our author was using a collection of *Testimonia*. But this explanation could not be used in the case of the passages wherein our author's text shows numerous and very close affinities to θ′. It is noteworthy that the author of the Fourth Gospel never agrees

afresh into Greek and this work incorporated and revised by Theodotion in his version. But the matter calls for further investigation.

§ 3. *Passages based directly on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic in Daniel). These are hardly ever literal quotations: in any case the words carry with them a developed and often different meaning.*

1^{7b} ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν[1] καὶ κόψονται ἐπ’ αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς.[2]	Zech 12^{10} ο′ θ′. ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ, ἀνθ’ ὧν κατωρχήσαντο (θ′. εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν) καὶ κόψονται ἐπ’ (>θ′) αὐτόν. 12^{12} ο′. κόψεται ἡ γῆ κατὰ φυλὰς φυλάς.
1^{10} ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι . . . ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ὄπισθέν μου.	Ezek 3^{12} ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα, καὶ ἤκουσα κατόπισθέν μου . . . φωνὴν σεισμοῦ μεγάλου.
1^{13} (14^{14}) ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου.	Dan 7^{13} (ο′ θ′) ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.
ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη.	Dan 10^{5} לָבוּשׁ בדים. ο′ θ′. ἐνδεδυμένος βύσσινα (θ′. βαδδείν). Ezek 10^{2} renders the same words, ἐνδεδυκότα τὴν στολήν.
περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τ. μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν. Cf. 15^{6} where the text recalls the present.	Dan 10^{5} מתניו חגרים בכתם. θ′. ἡ ὀσφὺς αὐτοῦ περιεζωσμένη ἐν χρυσίῳ. ο′. τ. ὀσφὺν περιεζωσμένος βυσσίνῳ.
1^{14a} ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν.[3]	Dan 7^{9} θ′. καὶ ἡ θρὶξ τ. κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον καθαρόν. ο′. καὶ τ. τρίχωμα τ. κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρόν.
1^{14b} (19^{12}) οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός.	Dan 10^{6} (ο′ θ′) οἱ ὀφλαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες πυρός.
οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ.	Dan 10^{6} ο′ θ′ quite different.

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exclusively with θ′ (see 19^{37} where it agrees in part), and only a few times literally with ο′ in 2^{17} = Ps 68 $(69)^{10}$, 10^{34} = Ps 81 $(82)^{6}$, 12^{13} = Ps 117 $(118)^{26}$, 12^{38} = Is 53^{1}, 19^{24} = Ps 21 $(22)^{19}$. But the author of the Fourth Gospel seldom quotes—even indirectly—from the O.T., whereas our author's text shows its influence directly and indirectly, wherever his subject admits of it.

[1] Here our author renders דקרו as θ′. But this proves nothing; for ἐκκεντεῖν (ἀποκεντεῖν or κατακεντεῖν) is its normal rendering in the Versions. ο′, of course, presupposes רקדו. Cf. John 19^{37} ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν.

[2] The words κόψονται ἐπ’ αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς agree exactly with Matt 24^{30} save that the latter omits ἐπ’ αὐτόν. Now, since Matt 24^{30} combines Zech 12^{10} and Dan 7^{13} just as our author does in 1^{7}, it is highly probable that our author was acquainted with Matt 24^{30}, or that our author and Matt 24^{30} drew here upon an independent source—*i.e.* a collection of O.T. passages relating to the Messiah. I have placed 1^{7a} ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τ. νεφελῶν under § 5, but possibly it ought to be under § 3, as 1^{7b}. In Zech 12^{10} the people mourn for him that is cut off, whereas in our text and in Matt 24^{30} they mourn for themselves. κόπτεσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτόν = "mourn in regard to him."

[3] Our author here diverges greatly from θ′, and here alone approximates to ο′ against θ′ in Dan., though not necessarily presupposing a knowledge of ο′. Our text and ο′, however, really point to the same Aramaic וּשְׂעַר ראשה כעמר חִוָּר נקה. This appears to have been the original text "And the hair of his head was spotless as white wool."

1^{15} (19^{6}) *ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν.*	Ezek 43^{2} (ο′) *φωνὴ τ. παρεμβολῆς ὡς φωνὴ διπλασιαζόντων πολλῶν.* But our text is a literal rendering of the Hebrew קולו כקול מים רבים. Dan 10^{6} is based on Ezek 43^{2} but only remotely, and is not followed by our author. Jerome remarks how Rev 1^{15} supports the Mass. here.
1^{16a} *ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαῖα . . . ὀξεῖα.* Cf. 2$^{12. 16}$ 19^{15}.	Is 49^{2} *ἔθηκεν τ. στόμα μου ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν.*
1^{17} *ἔπεσα πρὸς τ. πόδας αὐτοῦ ὡς νεκρός· καὶ ἔθηκεν τ. δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ λέγων Μὴ φοβοῦ.*	Dan 10$^{9. 10. 12}$ Heb. ≐ "Then was I fallen into a deep sleep on my face. . . . And behold a hand touched me. . . . And he said unto me, Fear not." (Greek Versions very different from our text).
1^{18} *ζῶν εἰμὶ εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων.*	Dan 4^{31} (θ′) 12^{7}, 1 Enoch 5^{1}
2^{14} *ἐδίδασκεν . . . φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι.*	Num 25$^{1-2}$ *ἐβεβηλώθη ὁ λαὸς ἐκπορνεῦσαι . . . καὶ ἔφαγεν.*
2^{18} *τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κτλ.* See 1^{14} above.	
2^{23} *Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας, καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν.*	Jer 17^{10} *Ἐγὼ κύριος ἐτάζων καρδίας καὶ δοκιμάζων νεφρούς, τοῦ δοῦναι* (לתת) *ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τ. ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ.*[2]
3^{9a} *ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τ. ποδῶν σου.*[1]	Is 60^{14} ο′. *πορεύσονται πρὸς σέ.* θ′. *πορεύσονται πρὸς σέ, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐπὶ τ. ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν σου*: cf. 45^{14}.
3^{10} *τ. κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τ. γῆς.*	Though this construction occurs in the LXX it is comparatively rare and represents a special Hebrew phrase: see vol. i. 289 sq., 336.
3^{17} *πλούσιός εἰμι καὶ πεπλούτηκα.*	Hos 12^{9}. See vol. i. 96.
3^{19} *ἐγὼ ὅσους ἐὰν φιλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω.*	Prov 3$^{11. 12}$ *μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας κυρίου . . . ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος ἐλέγχει* (אA *παιδεύει*).[3]
3^{20} *ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τ. θύραν καὶ κρούω· ἐάν τις . . . ἀνοίξῃ.*	Cant 5^{2} *κρούει ἐπὶ τ. θύραν. Ἄνοιξόν μοι.*
4^{1} (7^{9}) *μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδού.*	Dan 7^{6} θ′. *ὀπίσω τούτου ἐθεώρουν καὶ ἰδού.* ο′. *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐθεώρουν.*

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[1] Based on the Hebrew of Is 60^{14}. The clause omitted by ο′ is supplied by θ′, but as we see in a different form. See on 15^{4} below under § 4, where a closely related text is derived from Ps 85 (86)^{9}.

[2] Alone in the O.T. does Jer 17^{10} combine the two ideas in our text. Hence correct my note in vol. i. 72. Jeremiah also uses נתן in the rather unusual meaning of "to requite." With the second line cf. also Prov 24^{12} *ἀποδίδωσιν* (השׁיב) *ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τ. ἔργα αὐτοῦ*: Ps 61 (62)^{13}. Moulton and Milligan, *Voc. of GT*, p. 160, try to explain this meaning of *διδόναι* by a quotation: *λίθῳ δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ μου* (*sc. πληγήν*) = "he gave it him with a stick." This is not a parallel. Our text involves no ellipse. It is a Hebraism. Our author's use of *διδόναι* here = "to requite" is due wholly to Jer 17^{10}; for in 22^{12} he naturally uses *ἀποδιδόναι* in this sense (= השׁיב or שִׁלֵּם) as in Prov 24^{12}, Ps 61^{13}.

[3] See note in vol. i. 99. 3^{19} might be classed under § 4.

4^{5} *ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί.*	Ex 19^{16} *ἐγίνοντο φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί.* See vol. i. 116. Cf. Jub 2^{2} *ἄγγελοι φωνῶν βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν.*
4^{6} *κύκλῳ τ. θρόνου τέσσερα ζῷα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν.*	Ezek 1^{5} *ἐν τ. μέσῳ ὡς ὁμοίωμα τεσσάρων ζῴων.* 1^{18} *πλήρεις ὀφθαλμῶν κυκλόθεν.* See vol. i. 118.
4^{7} *ὅμοιον λέοντι . . . μόσχῳ . . . ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου . . . ὅμοιον ἀετῷ.*	Ezek 1^{10} *ἡ ὁμοίωσις . . . πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου . . . λέοντος . . . μόσχου . . . ἀετοῦ.*
4^{8a} *ἓν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἕξ.*	Is 6^{2} *ἓξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ ἓξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἑνί* (שׁשׁ כנפים שׁשׁ כנפים לאחר),
4^{8c} *λέγοντες Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ.*[1]	Is 6^{3} *ἔλεγον Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ.*
5^{1} *ἐπὶ τ. δεξιὰν . . . βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν, κατεσφραγισμένον.*	Ezek $2^{9.\ 10}$ *ἐν αὐτῇ (i.e. χειρὶ) κεφαλὶς βιβλίου . . . ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα ἦν τὰ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω.* Is 29^{11} *τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένου:* Dan 8^{26}.
5^{6} (5^{12} 13^{8}) *ἀρνίον . . . ὡς ἐσφαγμένον.*	Is 53^{7} *ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνός.*
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑπτά, οἵ . . . ἀπεσταλμένοι (משׁוטטים) *εἰς πᾶσαν τ. γῆν.*	Zech 4^{10} *ἑπτὰ οὗτοι ὀφθαλμοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τ. γῆν.*
5^{9} *φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους.*	From an older Aramaic text of Daniel than that preserved in the Canon. See vol. i. 147 sq.
5^{11} *μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων.*	Dan 7^{10} *ο′ θ′. χίλιαι χιλιάδες . . . μύριαι μυριάδες.*
6^{2-8} *ἵππος λευκός . . . ἵππος πυρρός . . . ἵππος μέλας . . . ἵππος χλωρός.*	From Zech 1^{8} 6^{1-8}. Our author has not used the Greek Versions but the Hebrew freely for his own purposes. See vol. i. 161 sq.
6^{13} *οἱ ἀστέρες τ. οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν . . . ὡς συκῆ βάλλει τ. ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς.*	Is 34^{4} *ο′. πάντα τ. ἄστρα πεσεῖται . . . ὡς πίπτει φύλλα ἀπὸ συκῆς.* Our text is independent of the *ο′* here, but like *ο′* and *σ′* presuppose יפול (*πεσεῖται*) instead of the Mass. יבול.
6^{15} *ἔκρυψαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τ. σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τ. πέτρας τ. ὀρέων.*	Is $2^{10.\ 19}$ *εἰσέλθετε εἰς τ. πέτρας καὶ κρύπτεσθε . . . καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα . . . εἰσενέγκαντες εἰς τ. σπήλαια.* See vol. i. 182.
6^{16} *καὶ λέγουσιν τ. ὄρεσιν καὶ τ. πέτραις Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. καθημένου κτλ.* Contrast Luke 23^{30} which is drawn from *ο′*.	Hos 10^{8} *καὶ ἐροῦσιν τ. ὄρεσιν Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς, καὶ τ. βουνοῖς Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.* Is 2^{10} *κρύπτεσθε εἰς τ. γῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. φόβου κυρίου.*
6^{17} *ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τ. ὀργῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι;*	Joel 2^{11} *μεγάλη ἡμέρα τ. κυρίου . . . καὶ τίς ἔσται ἱκανὸς αὐτῇ* (יכילנו); 2^{31b} *πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τ. μεγάλην.* Nah 1^{6} *ἀπὸ προσώπου ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ τίς ὑποστήσεται* (יעמוד).
7^{1} (20^{8}) *ἐπὶ τ. τέσσαρας γωνίας τ. γῆς.*	Ezek 7^{2} *ἐπὶ τ. τέσσαρας πτέρυγας* (כנפות) *τ. γῆς.*

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[1] On the critical importance of this rendering, *ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*, see vol. ii., English translation, footnote on 1^{8}. This epithet, *ὁ παντοκράτωρ*, is not found in any version of Isaiah.

7^{3} (9^{4} 14^{1} 22^{4}) *ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν . . . ἐπὶ τ. μετώπων.*	Ezek 9^{4} *δὸς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τ. μέτωπα.*[4]
7^{10} *ἡ σωτηρία τ. θεῷ.*	Ps 3^{9} *τ. κυρίου ἡ σωτηρία* (ליהוה הישועה).
7^{16-17} *οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι, κτλ.*	Is 49^{10}. See vol. i. 216.
7^{17} (21^{4}) *ἐξαλείψει . . . πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τ. ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.*	Is 25^{8} *ἀφεῖλεν . . . πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου* (מחה . . . דמעה מעל־כל־פנים).
[8^{2} *ἐνώπιον τ. θεοῦ ἑστήκασιν.*]	[A common Hebrew expression.]
8^{3} *ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τ. θυσιαστήριον.*	Amos 9^{1} *τ. κύριον ἐφεστῶτα ἐπὶ τ. θυσιαστηρίου.*
8^{4} *ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιαμάτων.*	Ezek 8^{11} *ἡ ἀτμὶς τ. θυμιάματος ἀνέβαινεν.*
[8^{7} *χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα.*]	[Ex 9^{24} (see i. 233).]
9^{6} *ζητήσουσιν . . . τ. θάνατον καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρωσιν αὐτόν.*	Job 3^{21} *οἳ ὁμείρονται τ. θανάτου καὶ οὐ τυγχάνουσιν.*
9^{7} *τὰ ὁμοιώματα τ. ἀκρίδων ὅμοια ἵπποις ἡτοιμασμένοις εἰς πόλεμον.*	Joel $2^{4.5}$ *ὡς ὅρασις ἵππων ἡ ὅρασις αὐτῶν· . . . παρατασσόμενος εἰς πόλεμον* (i. 244).
9^{8} *οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὡς λεόντων.*	Joel 1^{6} (i. 245).
9^{9} *φωνὴ ἁρμάτων ἵππων . . . τρεχόντων.*	Joel 2^{4-5} (i. 245).
9^{20} *οὔτε βλέπειν . . . οὔτε ἀκούειν*[1] *οὔτε περιπατεῖν* (or under § 4).	Ps 113^{13-15} (115^{5-7}) *οὐκ ὄψονται . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσονται . . . καὶ οὐ περιπατήσουσιν.*
10^{1} *οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρός.*	Dan 10^{6} (*θ′. τὰ σκέλη. ο′. οἱ πόδες*).
ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδιον.	Ezek 2^{9} *ἐν αὐτῇ* (*i.e. χειρὶ*) *κεφαλὶς βιβλίου.*
10^{2} *ὥσπερ λέων μυκᾶται.*	Hos 11^{10} *ὡς λέων ἐρεύξεται.*
10^{5-6} *ἦρεν*[2] *τ. χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τ. δεξιὰν εἰς τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ ὤμοσεν ἐν τ. ζῶντι εἰς τ. αἰῶνας.*	Dan 12^{7} (*θ′ ο′*) *ὕψωσεν τ. δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ* . . . (> *ο′*) *εἰς τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ ὤμοσεν ἐν τ. ζῶντι* (*τ. ζῶντα εἰς ο′*) *τ. αἰῶνα.*
10^{6b} *ὃς ἔκτισεν*[3] *τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ τ. ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τ. γῆν καὶ τ. ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τ. θάλασσαν καὶ τ. ἐν αὐτῇ.* See on 14^{7} under II.	Ex 20^{11} *ο′. ἐποίησεν* (עָשָׂה) *κύριος τ. οὐρ. καὶ τ. γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς* : Neh 9^{6}.
10^{7} *τὸ μυστήριον τ. θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγγέλισεν τ. ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τ. προφήτας.*	Amos 3^{7} *ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν* (= מוסר corrupt for סודו = *τ. βουλὴν αὐτοῦ θ′* and *μυστήριον* in our text) *πρὸς τ. δούλους αὐτοῦ τ. προφήτας.*
10^{9} *τὸ βιβλαρίδιον καὶ λέγει μοι . . . μέλι.*	Ezek $3^{1.3}$ (i. 267–268).

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[1] But Dan 5^{23} was doubtless in the mind of our author: *θ′. θεοὺς . . . οἳ οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν*, seeing that the preceding words in our author, *τὰ εἴδωλα τ. χρυσᾶ καὶ τ. ἀργυρᾶ, κτλ.*, are based on Dan 5^{23}.

[2] Both *ο′* and *θ′* read *ὕψωσεν*, but *ο′* reads *τ. ζῶντα εἰς τ. αἰῶνα θεόν* instead of the last five words in *θ′*. *αἴρειν* is the usual rendering of נשׂא in the phrase נשׂא יד, but Daniel has here הרים.

[3] Our author uses *κτίζειν* as a rendering of עָשָׂה, but none of the O.T. versions do so. In 14^{7} he uses *ποιεῖν*—the usual rendering. Hence 14^{7} is given under § 4. Observe that *ο′* > *καὶ τ. θάλ.*

[4] The idea first suggested by Ezekiel is reproduced in the Pss. Solomon and the Little Apocalypse in the Synoptics. But in our text the idea is wholly transformed: see vol. i. 194 sqq. While the Pss. Solomon use *σημεῖον* (*i.e.* תָּו) our author uses *σφραγίς* (*i.e.* חוֹתם). See later (p. lxxxv) on this verse in connection with Eph 4^{30}.

11^{2} μῆνας τεσσεράκοντα καὶ δύο.	Dan 7^{25} 12^{7} (i. 279).
11^{4} αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τ. κυρίου τ. γῆς ἑστῶτες.	Zech 4^{2} λυχνία χρυσῆ. 4^{3} δύο ἐλαῖαι. 4^{14} παρεστήκασιν κυρίῳ πάσης τ. γῆς.
11^{5} πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τ. στόματος αυτῶν καὶ κατεσθίει.	2 Sam 22^{9} πῦρ ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ κατέδεται. Cf. Jer 5^{14} δέδωκα τ. λόγους μου εἰς τ. στόμα σου πῦρ . . . καὶ καταφάγεται.
11^{7} (13^{1} 17^{8}) τ. θηρίον τ. ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τ. ἀβύσσου.	Dan 7^{3} θ′. τέσσερα θηρία . . . ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τ. θαλάσσης.
11^{7} (13^{7}) ποιήσει μετ᾽ αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς.	Dan 7^{21} θ′. ἐποίει πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἁγίων καὶ ἴσχυσεν πρὸς αὐτούς. ο′. πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τ. ἁγίους καὶ τροπούμενον αὐτούς.
11^{15} τ. κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τ. Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων.	Ps 2^{2} κατὰ τ. κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τ. Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. 9^{37} (10^{16}) βασιλεύσει κύριος εἰς τ. αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τ. αἰῶνα τ. αἰῶνος.
12^{3} ἔχων . . . κέρατα δέκα.	Dan 7^{7} θ′. κέρατα δέκα αὐτῷ.
12^{4} σύρει τ. τρίτον τ. ἀστέρων τ. οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τ. γῆν.	Dan 8^{10} (θ′) ἔπεσεν (ἐρράχθη, ο′) ἐπὶ τ. γῆν ἀπὸ τ. δυνάμεως τ. οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τ. ἄστρων.
12^{5} ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἄρσεν.	Is 66^{7} ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν (Mass. בן זכר).
12^{8} οὐδὲ τόπος εὑρέθη αὐτῶν.	Dan 2^{35} (θ′) τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς. This clause is missing in ο′.
12^{9} ὁ ὄφις . . . ὁ πλανῶν.	Gen 3^{13} ὁ ὄφις ἠπάτησέν με.
13^{2} τὸ θηρίον . . . ὅμοιον παρδάλει . . . ὡς ἄρκου . . . ὡς . . . λέοντος.	Dan 7^{6} θ′ ο′. θηρίον ὡσεὶ πάρδαλις (ο′. πάρδαλιν) . . . 7^{5} ὅμοιον ἄρκῳ (ο′. ὁμοίωσιν ἔχον ἄρκου) . . . 7^{4} ὡσεὶ λέαινα.
13^{7} ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἁγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτούς. See above under 11^{7}. Here our text agrees closely with θ′.	Dan 7^{21}.
13^{8} (17^{8}) γέγραπται . . . ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ τ. ζωῆς.	Dan 12^{1} θ′. ὁ γεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βίβλῳ. Ps 68 $(69)^{29}$ ἐκ βίβλου ζώντων.
13^{8} τ. ἀρνίου τ. ἐσφαγμένου.	Is 53^{7} ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγήν.
13^{10} εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, | εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει· | εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι | †αὐτὸν† ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι. Our author combines the first two clauses in the Hebrew.	Jer 15^{2} ὅσοι εἰς θάνατον, εἰς θάνατον· καὶ ὅσοι εἰς μάχαιραν, εἰς μάχαιραν . . . καὶ ὅσοι εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν. Cf. also 50 $(43)^{11}$ where the same Hebrew words are rendered for the most part by different Greek words.
14^{2} φωνὴν . . . ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν. See on 1^{15} above.	
14^{5} καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὑρέθη ψεῦδος.	Zeph 3^{13} οὐ λαλήσουσιν μάταια, καὶ οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν γλῶσσα δολία. The Seer's words are a compression of the last four words of the Hebrew, ולא ידברו כזב ולא ימצא בפיהם.
14^{8} ἔπεσεν, ἔπεσεν Βαβυλών.	Is 21^{9} ο′. πέπτωκεν, πέπτωκεν (B). So also θ′.
14^{8} Βαβυλὼν . . . ἣ ἐκ τ. οἴνου [τ. θυμοῦ] τ. πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν πάντα τ. ἔθνη. See on 18^{3} below.	

14^{10} *πίεται ἐκ τ. οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τ. θεοῦ τ. κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τ. ποτηρίῳ τ. ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ.*	Is 51^{17} *ἡ πιοῦσα ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου τ. ποτήριον τ. θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ.* Ps 74 $(75)^{9}$ *ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, οἴνου ἀκράτου πλῆρες κεράσματος.*[3]
14^{14} *ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλην καθήμενον.* See 1^{7a} in § 5 below.	
[14^{15} *πέμψον τὸ δρέπανόν σου καὶ θέρισον, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι, ὅτι ἐξηράνθη ὁ θερισμὸς τῆς γῆς.*]	Joel 3 $(4)^{13}$ *ἐξαποστείλατε δρέπανα ὅτι παρέστηκεν τρυγητός* (כי בשל קציר).[4]
14^{18} *πέμψον σου τ. δρέπανον τὸ ὀξύ, καὶ τρύγησον τ. βότρυας τ. ἀμπέλου τ. γῆς, ὅτι ἤκμασαν αἱ σταφυλαὶ αὐτῆς.*[1]	Joel 3 $(4)^{13}$. See preceding passage.
14^{20} (19^{15}) *ἐπατήθη ἡ ληνός.*	Is 63^{3} פורה דרכתי לבדי : *ο′. πλήρης καταπεπατημένης. σ′. ληνὸν ἐπάτησα.* Lam 1^{15} *ο′. ληνὸν ἐπάτησεν κύριος.*
15^{3} *μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τ. ἔργα σου.*	Ps 110 $(111)^{2}$ *μεγάλα τ. ἔργα κυρίου.* 138 $(139)^{14}$ *θαυμάσια τ. ἔργα σου.*
15^{3} *δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοί σου* (cf. 16^{7} 19^{2}).	Ps 144 $(145)^{17}$ *δίκαιος κύριος ἐν πάσαις τ. ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ.* 118 $(119)^{151}$ *πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοί σου ἀλήθεια.*
15^{6} *ἐνδεδυμένοι* † *λίθον* †.[2] But *λίθον* = שֵׁשׁ, which should here have been rendered *βύσσινον*. See vol. ii. 38. *περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τ. στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς.* See on 1^{13} above.	Dan 10^{5} *θ′. ἐνδεδυμένος βαδδείν.*
15^{8} *ἐγεμίσθη ὁ ναὸς καπνοῦ . . . καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τ. ναόν.*	Is 6^{4} *ὁ οἶκος ἐνεπλήσθη καπνοῦ.* Ex $40^{29. (35)}$ *οὐκ ἠδυνάσθη Μωσῆς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τ. σκηνὴν τ. μαρτυρίου . . . καὶ δόξης κυρίου ἐπλήσθη ἡ σκηνή.*
16^{2} *ἐγένετο ἕλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρὸν ἐπὶ τ. ἀνθρώπους.*	Ex 9^{10} *ἐγένετο ἕλκη . . . ἐν τ. ἀνθρώποις.* Deut 28^{35} *ἕλκει πονηρῷ.*

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[1] Just as the interpolation 14^{15} refers only to the harvest of judgment—an idea which is not used metaphorically by our author (see ii. 19, 20 sqq.)—so 14^{18} refers only, and rightly, to the vintage of judgment.

[2] This tracing of 15^{6} to Dan 10^{5} rests on the supposition that *λίθον* is a corruption of *λίνον*. But the use of this word is questionable in itself, and our author does not use it, but *βύσσινος*. See vol. ii. 38.

[3] In Ps 75^{9} *οἴνου ἀκράτου* is a rendering of יֵין חֶמֶר where the Mass. punctuates differently. Cf. Jer 32^{1} (25^{15}) where we find *τ. οἴνου τ. ἀκράτου.* The two terms are brought together in Pss. Sol 8^{15} *ἐκέρασεν . . . οἶνου ἀκράτου.* By our author, *ο′* and Pss. Sol חֶמֶר is taken as = "unmixed wine," but it is pointed חָמַר and rendered "(which) foams" by modern scholars.

In 14^{10} 16^{19} the cup is God's cup of judgment, whereas in 17^{4} 18^{6} (sources) the cup is in the hand of Babylon. The former refers to God's judgments, the latter to Babylon's corrupting of the world.

[4] The Mass. קציר = *θερισμός*, whereas *ο′* presupposes בציר. These words are confused in Jer 48^{32} where some MSS read one and some the other. Possibly קציר in Is 16^{9} is also corrupt for בציר (= *ο′*). Thus in our text 14^{15} follows the Mass. קציר. But בשל is only used here in O.T. of the ripening of grain, if indeed it is so used. In Gen 40^{10} it is used of vines, and so possibly it should be here. Thus קציר would be corrupt for בציר, and Joel 4^{13} would rightly relate only to the vintage (so R.V. in marg.), just as in 14^{18} of our text.

16^{3} *πᾶσα ψυχὴ ζωῆς.*	Gen 1^{21} *πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ζῴων.*
16^{4} *ἐξέχεεν τ. φιάλην αὐτοῦ εἰς τ. ποταμοὺς . . . καὶ ἐγένοντο αἷμα.*	Ex 7^{20} *ἐπάταξεν τὸ ὕδωρ . . . καὶ μετέβαλεν* (but Mass. יֵהָפֵךְ = *ἐγένετο*) *πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ . . . εἰς αἷμα.*
16^{7} *ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου.*	Ps 18 (19)^{20}. See on 19^{2} below.
16^{18} *οἷος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' οὗ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τ. γῆς.*	Dan 12^{1} *θ'. οἵα οὐ γέγονεν ἀφ' ἧς γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐν τῇ γῇ* (*ἐπὶ τ. γῆς*, AK).[1]
16^{19} *δοῦναι αὐτῇ τ. ποτήριον τ. οἴνου τ. θυμοῦ τ. ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ.*	Jer 32^{1} (25^{15}) *Λάβε τ. ποτήριον τ. οἴνου τ. ἀκράτου.* See on 14^{10} above.
16^{21} *χάλαζα μεγάλη.*	Ex 9^{24} *χάλαζα πολλή.*
17^{1} *τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν.*	Jer 28 (51)^{13} *κατασκηνοῦντας* (= שכנתי *κατασκηνοῦσα*, Q) *ἐφ' ὕδασι πολλοῖς.*
17^{2} *μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς*	Is 23^{17} *ἔσται ἐμπόριον* (וזנתה = *πορνεύσει*) *πάσαις τ. βασιλείαις . . . τ. γῆς.*
ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τ. γῆν.	Jer 28 (51)^{7} *ποτήριον . . . Βαβυλὼν . . . μεθύσκον πᾶσαν τ. γῆν.*
17^{3} *ἀπήνεγκέν με . . . ἐν πνεύματι.* See 21^{10} below.	
17^{4} *ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ἐν τ. χειρὶ αὐτῆς.*	Jer 28 (51)^{7} *ποτήριον χρυσοῦν . . . ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου.*
17^{8} *γέγραπται . . . ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς.* See 13^{8} above.	
ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. See 13^{8} above.	
17^{16} *μισήσουσι τ. πόρνην καὶ ἠρημωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ γυμνήν.*	Ezek 23^{29} *ποιήσουσιν ἐν σοὶ ἐν μίσει καὶ ἔσῃ* (ועזבוך) *γυμνὴ καὶ αἰσχύνουσα.*
18^{1} *ἡ γῆ ἐφωτίσθη ἐκ τ. δόξης αὐτοῦ.*	Ezek 43^{2} *ἡ γῆ ἐξέλαμπεν ὡς φέγγος ἀπὸ τ. δόξης*, הארץ הֵאִירָה מכבודו.
18^{2} *ἔπεσεν ἔπεσεν, κτλ.* See 14^{8} above.	
ἐγένετο κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων.	Is 13^{21} Possibly a combination of ושכנו . . . שְׂעִירִים or based on 1 Bar 4^{35} *κατοικηθήσεται ὑπὸ δαιμονίων.*
18^{3} *ἐκ τ. οἴνου τ. πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν πάντα τ. ἔθνη.* This is without doubt the original reading and explains the later corruptions. See 14^{8} 17^{2}.	Jer 28 (51)^{7} *ποτήριον χρυσοῦν Βαβυλὼν . . . μεθύσκον πᾶσαν τ. γῆν. ἀπὸ τ. οἴνου αὐτῆς ἐπίοσαν ἔθνη.* 32^{1} (25^{15}) *λάβε τ. ποτήριον τ. οἴνου . . . καὶ ποτιεῖς πάντα τ. ἔθνη.* See note on ii. 14.
18^{3} *οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς μετ' αὐτῆς ἐπόρνευσαν.* See 17^{2} above.	
18^{4} *ἐξέλθατε ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ λαός μου.*	Jer 51^{45} Heb. צאו מתוכה עמי. > *ο'*.
18^{5} *ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἄχρι τ. οὐρανοῦ.*	Jer 28 (51)^{9} *ἤγγικεν* (נגע) *εἰς οὐρανόν.*
18^{6} *ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέδωκεν.*	Ps 136 (137)^{8} *ἀνταποδώσει σοι . . . ὃ ἀνταπέδωκας ἡμῖν.*
ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ᾧ ἐκέρασεν.	See above on 14^{10}.
18^{7} *ὅτι ἐν τ. καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς λέγει ὅτι Κάθημαι βασίλισσα, καὶ χήρα οὐκ εἰμί, καὶ πένθος οὐ μὴ ἴδω.*	Is 47$^{7-8}$ *εἶπας Εἰς τ. αἰῶνα ἔσομαι ἄρχουσα . . . ἡ λέγουσα ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς . . . οὐ καθιῶ χήρα οὐδὲ γνώσομαι ὀρφανείαν.*

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[1] Our text and *θ'* agree in adding the last three words *ἐπὶ τ. γῆς* and *ἐν τ. γῇ*. I am inclined to infer the existence of בארץ in the Hebrew text of Dan 12^{1} in the first cent. A.D.

18^{9} *οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς οἱ μετ' αὐτῆς πορνεύσαντες.*	See 17^{2} 18^{3} above.
18^{13} *ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων.*	Ezek 27^{13} *ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων.*
18^{18} *τίς ὁμοία τ. πόλει τ. μεγάλῃ.*	Ezek 27^{32} *θ'. τίς ὥσπερ Τύρος;*
18^{19} *ἔβαλον χοῦν ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν.*	Ezek 27^{30} *ἐπιθήσουσιν ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν γῆν.*
ἔκραξαν.	Ezek 27^{30} *κεκράξονται.*
18^{22} *φωνὴ . . . μουσικῶν . . . οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ . . . ἔτι.*	Ezek 26^{13} *ἡ φωνὴ τ. ψαλτηρίων σου οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἔτι.*
$18^{23\,c.\,d}$ $22^{g.\,h}$ $23^{a.\,b}$ *φωνὴ νυμφίου καὶ νύμφης . . . καὶ φωνὴ μύλου . . . καὶ φῶς λύχνου.*	Jer 25^{10} *φωνὴν νυμφίου καὶ φωνὴν νύμφης, † ὀσμὴν μύρου † καὶ φῶς λύχνου.* (Here *φωνὴ μύλου* in Apoc. is right = קול רחים).
[18^{23e} *οἱ ἔμποροί σου ἦσαν οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τ. γῆς.*]	Is 23^{8} *οἱ ἔμποροι αὐτῆς ἔνδοξοι, ἄρχοντες τ. γῆς.*
19^{2} *ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ.* See 15^{3} 16^{7} above.	Ps 18 $(19)^{10}$ *τὰ κρίματα κυρίου ἀληθινά, δεδικαιωμένα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* (משפטי יי' אמת צדקו יחדו), Ps 118 $(119)^{75.\,137}$.
19^{4} *'Αμήν, 'Αλληλουιά.*	Ps 105 $(106)^{48}$ *γένοιτο.*
19^{6} *ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου πολλοῦ . . . ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν.* See 1^{15} above.	Dan 10^{6} *θ'. φωνὴ ὄχλου (ο'. φ. θορύβου).*
19^{6-7} *ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος . . . χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλιῶμεν.*	Ps 96 $(97)^{1}$ *ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ γῆ, εὐφρανθήτωσαν.*
19^{11} *εἶδον τ. οὐρανὸν ἠνεῳγμένον, καὶ ἰδού.*	Ezek 1^{1} *ἠνοίχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ εἶδον.*
ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει.	Is 11^{4} ושפט בצדק. *ο'* presupposes a different text—*κρινεῖ ταπεινῷ κρίσιν.*
19^{12} *οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ, κτλ.* See 1^{14} 2^{18} above.	
19^{15} *ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα.*[1] Cf. 1^{16}.	
ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη.	Is 11^{4} *πατάξει γῆν τ. λόγῳ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ.*
καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.[2] Cf. 2^{27} 12^{5}. This line will be treated under § 4.	Ps 2^{9} *ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.*
πατεῖ τ. ληνὸν τ. οἴνου τ. θυμοῦ . . . τ. θεοῦ. See on 14^{20} above.	Is 63^{3}. For diction, cf. Lam 1^{15}.
19^{17-18} *λέγων πᾶσι τ. ὀρνέοις . . . Δεῦτε συνάχθητε εἰς τ. δεῖπνον . . . τ. θεοῦ.* ^{18} *ἵνα φάγητε σάρκας βασιλέων . . . καὶ σάρκας ἰσχυρῶν.*	Ezek 39^{4}. See ii. 138.
19^{21} *πάντα τ. ὄρνεα ἐχορτάσθησαν ἐκ τ. σαρκῶν αὐτῶν.*	Ezek 39^{4} *τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μετὰ σοῦ δοθήσονται εἰς πλήθη ὀρνέων . . . καταβρωθῆναι.* 39^{20} *καὶ ἐμπλησθήσεσθε.*
20^{4} *εἶδον θρόνους καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς.*	Dan 7^{9} *θ'. ἐθεώρουν ἕως ὅτου θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν.* 7^{26} *τὸ κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν.* 7^{22} *τὸ κρίμα (τ. κρίσιν ο') ἔδωκεν (+τ. ο') ἁγίοις (+τ. ο') ὑψίστου.*

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[1] Cf. Heb. 4^{12} *ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ . . . τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον.*

[2] These ideas of smiting the Gentiles with the word of His mouth (Is 11^{4}) and of breaking them in pieces like potter's vessels (Ps 2^{9}) have already been combined in Pss. Sol $17^{26-27.\,39}$.

20^{11} εἶδον θρόνον . . . καὶ τ. καθήμενον.	Dan 7^{9} θ′ ο′. ἐκάθητο . . . ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ >ο′.
20^{12} βιβλία ἠνοίχθησαν.	Dan 7^{10} θ′ ο′. βίβλοι ἠνεῴχθησαν.
20^{12} ἄλλο βιβλίον ἠνοίχθη, ὅ ἐστιν τ. ζωῆς.	Ps 68 (69)^{29} βίβλου ζώντων.
21^{3} ἡ σκηνὴ τ. θεοῦ μετὰ τ. ἀνθρώπων καὶ σκηνώσει μετ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἔσονται.	Ezek 37^{27}, Lev $26^{11.\,12}$. See ii. 207.
21^{4} ἐξαλείψει πᾶν δάκρυον. See 7^{17} above.	
$21^{4\text{-}5}$ τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν . . . ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ.	Is $43^{18\text{-}19}$ μὴ μνημονεύετε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μὴ συλλογίζεσθε, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ποιῶ καινά. See ii. 203.
21^{6} τῷ διψῶντι . . . δώσω ἐκ . . . τ. ὕδατος τ. ζωῆς δωρεάν (22^{17}).	Is 55^{1} οἱ διψῶντες, πορεύεσθε ἐφ᾽ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ ἔχετε ἀργύριον . . . ἀγοράσατε.
21^{7} ἔσομαι αὐτῷ θεὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι υἱός.	2 Sam 7^{14} ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.
21^{10} ἀπήνεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπὶ ὄρος . . . ὑψηλόν. Cf. 17^{3} above.	Ezek $40^{1\text{-}2}$ ἤγαγέν με ἐν ὁράσει θεοῦ . . . καὶ ἔθηκέν με ἐπ᾽ ὄρος ὑψηλόν (הביאני . . . ויניחני אל הר גבה).
21^{12} ὀνόματα . . . τ. δώδεκα φυλῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. 21^{13} ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς πυλῶνες τρεῖς καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ πυλῶνες τρεῖς, κτλ.	Ezek 48^{31} αἱ πύλαι τ. πόλεως ἐπ᾽ ὀνόμασιν φυλῶν τ. Ἰσραήλ· πύλαι τρεῖς πρὸς βορρᾶν. $48^{32\text{-}34}$ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς . . . πύλαι τρεῖς κτλ.
21^{18} ἡ ἐνδώμησις τ. τείχους αὐτῆς ἴασπις.	Is 54^{12} θήσω τ. ἐπάλξεις σου ἴασπιν.
21^{19} ὁ θεμέλιος . . . ὁ δεύτερος σάπφειρος.	Is 54^{11} τὰ θεμέλιά σου σάπφειρον.
21^{23} (22^{5}) ἡ πόλις οὐ χρείαν ἔχει τ. ἡλίου οὐδὲ τ. σελήνης ἵνα φαίνωσιν αὐτῇ, ἡ γὰρ δόξα τ. θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν.	Is 60^{19} οὐκ ἔσται σοι ἔτι ὁ ἥλιος εἰς φῶς ἡμέρας οὐδὲ ἀνατολὴ σελήνης φωτιεῖ σου τ. νύκτα, ἀλλ᾽ ἔσται . . . ὁ θεὸς δόξα σου.
21^{24} καὶ περιπατήσουσιν τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τ. φωτὸς αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς φέρουσιν[1] τ. δόξαν αὐτῶν . . . 21^{25} καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας . . . 21^{26} καὶ οἴσουσιν τ. δόξαν . . . τ. ἔθνων εἰς αὐτήν.	Is 60^{3} καὶ πορεύσονται . . . τῷ φωτί σου . . . ἔθνη. 60^{11} αἱ πύλαι σου . . . ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς οὐ κλεισθήσονται, εἰσαγαγεῖν πρὸς σὲ δύναμιν ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἀγομένους.[1] 60^{5} † πλοῦτος . . . ἐθνῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ ἥξουσιν †.[2]
21^{27} οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ . . . πᾶν κοινὸν.	Is 52^{1} οὐκέτι προστεθήσεται διελθεῖν . . . ἀκάθαρτος. See ii. 173 sq.
εἰ μὴ οἱ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ τ. ζωῆς. See 13^{8} 17^{8} above.	Dan 12^{1} θ′. ὁ γεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βίβλῳ ο′. ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ.

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[1] In the Mass. as well as the LXX the text is clearly corrupt : *i.e.* "that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the nations and their kings led (by them)." As modern scholars recognize, נְהוּגִים (= "led") is corrupt for נֹהֲגִים = "leading." Hence instead of "and their kings led (by them)," render : "under the leadership of these kings." The kings lead and are not led by their people. Now apparently our author anticipated our modern scholars ; for he represents the kings as acting on their own initiative : "they bring the glory of the nations into it."

[2] Here the LXX is quite corrupt 21^{26} is nearer the Mass. חיל גוים יבאו לך, "the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee." Our author either read יָבאוּ instead of יֻבָאוּ, or followed the Mass. in 60^{11}.

22^{1-2} *ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς . . . ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τ. θρόνου τ. θεοῦ.* The idea is to be found in its developed form in 1 and 2 Enoch.	Ezek 47^{1} *ὕδωρ ἐξεπορεύετο . . . ἀπὸ νότου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.*[3] Zech 14^{8} *ἐξελεύσεται ὕδωρ ζῶν ἐξ Ἰερουσαλήμ.*
22^{2} *ἐν μέσῳ . . . τ. ποταμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ξύλον ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀποδιδοῦν τ. καρπὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τ. φύλλα τ. ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τ. ἐθνῶν.*	Ezek 47^{12} ο′. *ἐπὶ τ. ποταμοῦ ἀναβήσεται ἐπὶ τ. χείλους αὐτοῦ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν . . . οὐδὲ μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ· τῆς καινότητος αὐτοῦ* (לְחֳדָשָׁיו) *πρωτοβολήσει, ὅτι . . . ἔσται . . . ἀνάβασις αὐτῶν* (עָלֵהוּ) *εἰς ὑγίειαν.* Here the LXX has missed the sense and misrendered several times where our author has rightly reproduced it.[4] None of the Greek renderings is so close to the Mass. as our author. See ii. 176–7.
22^{3a} *πᾶν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι.*	Zech 14^{11} *ἀνάθεμα* (חֵרֶם) *οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι.*
22^{4} *ὄψονται τ. πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.*	Ps 16 $(17)^{15}$ אחזה פניך. But ο′ has *ὀφθήσομαι τ. προσώπῳ σου.* Contrast Mass. and ο′ in 83 $(84)^{7}$.
22^{5} *οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρείαν φωτός, κτλ.* See 21^{23} above.	
κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει[1] *ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς.*	Ps 117 $(118)^{27}$ *θεὸς κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν*—an abbreviated form of the Aaronic blessing: see ii. 210–211.
22^{12a} *ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ, καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ.*	Is 40^{10} *Ἰδοὺ κύριος . . . ἔρχεται . . . ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ.* 62^{11}.
22^{12b} *ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ ὡς τ. ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.*[2]	Prov 24^{12} *ἀποδίδωσιν ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τ. ἔργα αὐτοῦ.* Cf. Ps 61 $(62)^{12}$ *ἀποδώσεις ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τ. ἔργα αὐτοῦ.*
22^{17} *ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω . . . ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν.* See 21^{6} above.	Is 55^{1} *~~οἱ~~ διψῶντες πορεύεσθε.*
[22^{18b-19} *ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ᾽ αὐτά, ἐπιθήσει . . . καὶ ἐάν τις ἀφέλῃ, κτλ.*]	Deut 4^{2} *οὐ προσθήσεσθε πρὸς τ. ῥῆμα. . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀφελεῖτε ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ*

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[1] In 18^{1} our author renders האירה of Ezek 43^{2} by *ἐφωτίσθη*, just as he renders יָאֵר, Ps 117 $(118)^{27}$ by *φωτίσει*.

[2] Clem. Rom. *ad Corinth.* xxxiv. 3 has a close but independent parallel to 22^{12ab}. *ἰδοὺ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ* (cf. Is 40^{10}) *πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ* (cf. Is 62^{11}), *ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ* (cf. Pr 24^{12}). Here Clement is a mosaic of the ο′ of these three passages, but not so our author. The ο′ of Is 62^{11} is *ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μισθόν, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ.* The order of the words, *ὡς τ. ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ*, is not our author's: see p. clvii *ad fin.* The clause = כפעלתו. *ὡς* here = "according as"—a classical meaning not elsewhere found in our author. But in our author's mind *ὡς* is the regular rendering in our author for כְּ in Hebrew (see vol. i. 35–36). The Hebrew particle has this meaning. Yet we should expect *κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ* (cf. 22^{12}).

[3] The throne of God in the Apocalypse is in the heavenly temple. But since there is no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, only the throne of God is mentioned here.

[4] R.V. of this passage shows how faulty the LXX is here. "By the river . . . on this side and on that side shall grow every tree . . . neither shall the fruit thereof fail: it shall bring forth new fruit every month . . . and the leaf thereof for healing."

§ 4. *Passages based on the Hebrew of the O.T.* (*or the Aramaic in Daniel*) *but influenced* (*in some cases certainly, in others possibly*) *by* o′.

1^{4} *ἀπὸ ὁ ὤν.*	Ex 3^{14} *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν.*
1^{5a} *ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός.*	Ps 88 $(89)^{38}$ *ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός.*[3]
1^{5b} *ὁ πρωτότοκος τ. νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τ. βασιλέων τ. γῆς.*	Ps 88 $(89)^{28}$ *κἀγὼ πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτόν, ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τ. βασιλεῦσιν τ. γῆς.*
2^{23a} *ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ.*	Ezek 33^{27} *θανάτῳ ἀποκτενῶ* (Mass. ברבר ימותו).
2^{26b} *δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τ. ἐθνῶν.*	Ps 2^{8-9} *δώσω σοι ἔθνη τ. κληρονομίαν σου . . . ποιμανεῖς αὐτους ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς.* See vol. i. 75–77 and Pss. Sol 17^{26}.
2^{27} *καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, ὡς τ. σκεύη τ. κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται.*	
3^{5} *οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τ. ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τ. βίβλου*[1] *τ. ζωῆς.*	Ex 32^{32-33} *ἐξάλειψόν με ἐκ τ. βίβλου σου.* Ps 68 $(69)^{29}$ *ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ βίβλου ζώντων* See i. 84.
3^{9c} *ἐγὼ ἠγάπησά σε.*	Is 43^{4} *ἐγώ σε ἠγάπησα.*
4^{2} (7^{10} 19^{4}) *ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος.*	Is 6^{1} *τ. κύριον καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου.* 1 Kings 22^{19} *θεὸν . . . καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου αὐτοῦ.*
[5^{8} *θυμιαμάτων, αἵ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαί.*	Ps 140^{2} *ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα.*
5^{9} (14^{3}) *ᾄδουσιν ᾠδὴν καινήν.*	Ps 143 $(144)^{9}$ *ᾠδὴν καινὴν ᾄσομαί σοι.* Is 42^{10}.
[6^{8} *ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τ. θηρίων τ. γῆς.*]	Ezek 14^{21} *ῥομφαίαν καὶ λιμὸν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ θάγατον* (דֶּבֶר).
6^{10} *ἕως πότε . . . οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τ. αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τ. κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τ. γῆς;* cf. 19^{2}.	2 Kings 9^{7} *ἐκδικήσεις τ. αἵματα τ. δούλων μου . . . ἐκ χειρὸς Ἰεζάβελ.*
6^{14} *ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον † ἑλισσόμενον †.*	Is 34^{4} *ἑλιγήσεται ὡς βιβλίον ὁ οὐρανός.*
7^{14} *ἔπλυναν τ. στολὰς αὐτῶν . . . ἐν τ. αἵματι.* Cf. 22^{14}.	Gen 49^{11} *πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τ. στολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αἵματι.*
9^{2} *ἀνέβη καπνὸς . . . ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου.*	Ex 19^{18} *ἀνέβαινεν ὁ καπνὸς ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου.*
ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ἥλιος.	Joel 2^{10} *ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη συσκοτάσουσιν.*
11^{6} *πατάξαι τ. γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ.*	1 Sam 4^{8} *οἱ θεοὶ οἱ πατάξαντες τ. Αἴγυπτον ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ* (. . . המכים בכל־מכה).
11^{11} *πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τ. θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔστησαν*[2] *ἐπὶ τ. πόδας αὐτῶν.*	Ezek 37^{10} *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ . . . ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τ. πόδων αὐτῶν.*
$11^{17d-18a}$ *ἐβασίλευσας καὶ τ. ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν.*	Ps 98 $(99)^{1}$ *κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν· ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί.*

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[1] Here and in 20^{15} our author appears to use *βίβλος* owing to o′ in the first passage and θ′ in his second. For, when writing independently, he uses *βιβλίον*, even when using the phrase *τὸ βιβλίον τ. ζωῆς*, 13^{8} 21^{27} (cf. 17^{8}). In all *βιβλίον* occurs 23 times (3 times in an interpolation).

[2] Our author uses *ἐστάθην* (8^{3} 12^{18}) as the aorist of *ἵστημι*. Chapter 11 is a source, and the use of *ἔστησαν* in it may be due to o′.

[3] The ideas in the Apoc. 1^{5a} and Ps 88 $(89)^{38}$ are wholly dissimilar, but the dependence in case of the diction is clear.

11[18d-g] *τ. δούλοις σου τ. προφήταις καὶ τ. ἁγίοις καὶ τ. φοβουμένοις τ. ὄνομά σου τ. μικροὺς καὶ τ. μεγάλους.*	Amos 3[7] *τ. δούλους αὐτοῦ τ. προφήτας.* Ps 113[21] (115[13]) *τ. φοβουμένους τ. κύριον τ. μικροὺς μετὰ τ. μεγάλων.*
12[1. 2] *σημεῖον . . . γυνὴ . . . ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ κράζει ὠδίνουσα . . . τεκεῖν.*[1]	Is 7[14] *σημεῖον· ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει* (ℵA *λήμψεται*, B). 26[17] *ἡ ὠδίνουσα ἐγγίζει τεκεῖν, ἐπὶ τῇ ὠδῖνι αὐτῆς ἐκέκραξεν.*
12[5b] *ποιμαίνειν πάντα τ. ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.*	See on 2[27] above.
12[12] *εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοί.*	Is 49[13] *εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοί.* Cf. 44[23].
14[7] *τ. ποιήσαντι τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ τ. γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν.* Contrast 10[6] under § 3 above. On this phrase see Acts 4[24] 14[15].	Ex 20[11] (quoted on 10[6b] under § 3 above). Neh 19[6] *ἐποίσηας τ. οὐρανὸν . . . τ. γῆν . . . τ. θαλάσσας.*
14[11] *ὁ καπνὸς . . . εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων ἀναβαίνει . . . ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.*	Is 34[10] *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας . . . καὶ . . . εἰς τ. αἰῶνα χρόνον καὶ ἀναβήσεται ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς.*
15[3] *ᾄδουσιν* [*τ. ᾠδὴν* Μωυσέως *τ. δούλου τ. θεοῦ*].	Ex 14[31] Μωυσῇ *τ. θεράποντι αὐτοῦ.* Ex 15[1] *ᾖσεν* Μωυσῆς *. . . τ. ᾠδὴν ταύτην.*
15[4] *δοξάσει τ. ὄνομα σου.*	Ps 85 (86)[9] *δοξάσουσιν τ. ὄνομά σου.*
15[4] *πάντα τ. ἔθνη ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου.*	Ps 85 (86)[9] *πάντα τ. ἔθνη . . . ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου.*
15[6] *περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τ. στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς.*	See on 1[13] under § 3.
16[5] *δίκαιος εἶ . . . ὅσιος.*	Ps 144 (145)[17] *δίκαιος κύριος . . . καὶ ὅσιος.*
αἷμα . . . πεῖν.	Is 49[26] *πίονται . . . τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν.*
17[16] *καὶ τ. σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται.*	Is 49[26] *φάγονται . . . τ. σάρκας αὐτῶν.*
19[2] *ἐξεδίκησεν τ. αἷμα τ. δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῆς.* See on 6[10] above.	
19[3] *ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τ. αἰῶνας.* See on 14[11] above.	
19[5] *αἰνεῖτε τ. θεῷ ἡμῶν, πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ, οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι.*	Ps 134 (135)[1. 20] *αἰνεῖτε τ. ὄνομα κυρίου, αἰνεῖτε δοῦλοι κύριον*[2] *. . . οἱ φοβούμενοι τ. κύριον.* See on 11[18] above.
19[15] *ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.* See 2[27] above.	Is 11[4] *καὶ πατάξει γῆν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.*
20[9] *ἐπὶ τ. πλάτος τ. γῆς.*	Hab 1[6] *ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη* (*τὸ πλάτος*—A) *τ. γῆς.*
κατέβη πῦρ ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν. (This could be registered under § 3, since the Hebrew could hardly be rendered differently.)	2 Kings 1[10] o′ exactly as in our text.
21[1] *οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν.*	Is 65[17] *ἔσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινή.*
21[2] (21[10]) *τ. πόλιν τ. ἁγίαν* Ἰερουσαλήμ.	Is 52[1] Ἰερουσαλήμ, *πόλις ἡ ἁγία.* Cf. Dan 9[24] θ′.
21[12] *ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ, καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ᾿ ἐμοῦ.* Already registered under § 3 above.	Is 40[10] *ἰδοὺ κύριος κύριος . . . ἔρχεται . . . ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ.*

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[1] Possibly this passage should have been given under § 3.

[2] Our author rightly follows the Hebrew here, עַבְדֵי יהוה, against *o′*.

§ 5. *Passages based on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic of Daniel), but influenced (in some cases certainly, in others probably) by a later form of ο′, such as is preserved in Theodotion θ′.*

1^{1} *ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι.*	Dan θ′. $2^{28.\ 29.\ 46}$ *ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι.*[3]
1^{6} (5^{10} 20^{6}) *ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς τ. θεῷ.*	Ex 19^{6} θ′. *βασιλεία ἱερεῖς*, which = ממלכה כהנים. But the Mass. has ממלכת כ״, and also ο′. *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα*. See vol. i. 16.
1^{7a} *ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ*[1] *τ. νεφελῶν.*	Dan 7^{13} θ′. *ἰδοὺ μετὰ τ. νεφελῶν . . . ἐρχόμενος* = Mass. ארו עם ענני אתה. ο′. *ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν . . . ἤρχετο.*
1^{17b} (2^{8} 22^{13}) *Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος.*	Is 48^{12} (cf. 44^{6}) אני ראשון אף אני אחרון. Is 48^{12} θ′. *Ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσχατος.* ο′. *Ἐγώ εἰμι πρῶτος καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι εἰς τ. αἰῶνα.*
1^{19} *ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.*	Dan 2^{29} θ′. *τί δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα* > ο′.
3^{7} *ὁ ἔχων τ. κλεῖν . . . ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει.*	Is 22^{22} θ′. *δώσω τ. κλεῖδα οἴκου Δαβὶδ . . . καὶ ἀνοίξει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀποκλείων· καὶ κλείσει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀνοίγων.* ο′. *δώσω τ. δόξαν Δαυεὶδ . . . καὶ ἄρξει, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀντιλέγων, καὶ κλείσει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀνοίγων.*
3^{9c} *ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τ. ποδῶν σου.* See on 15^{4} under § 4.	Is 60^{14} θ′. *καὶ πορεύσονται . . . παροξυνάντων . . . καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐπὶ τ. ἴχνη τ. ποδῶν σου.* ο′ om. last eight words.
4^{1} *ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.* See on 1^{19} above.	
9^{30} *τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τ. εἴδωλα*[2] *τ. χρυσᾶ καὶ τ. ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τ. χαλκᾶ καὶ τ. λίθινα καὶ τ. ξύλινα, ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν.*	Dan 5^{23} θ′ (> ο′). *τ. θεοὺς τ. χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς*[4] *καὶ χαλκοῦς καὶ σιδηροῦς καὶ ξυλίνους καὶ λιθίνους, οἳ οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν* (ο′ < entire passage). Cf. Ps 113 $(114)^{12\text{-}15}$ *τ. εἴδωλα . . . οὐκ ὄψονται . . . οὐκ ἀκούσονται . . . οὐ περιπατήσουσιν.*
10^{6} *ὤμοσεν ἐν τ. ζῶντι εἰς τ. αἰῶνας.*	Dan 12^{7} θ′. *ὤμοσεν ἐν τ. ζῶντι τ. αἰῶνα.*

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[1] Our author knows only עם, as does θ′, whereas ο′ presupposes על. In 14^{14} *ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλην καθήμενον* does not presuppose על, for *καθήμενον* requires *ἐπί* here. Thus עם is presupposed by *μετά* in Rev 1^{7}, Mk 14^{62} *ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τ. νεφ.*: by *ἐν* in Mk 13^{26} *ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφ.*, Lk 21^{27}: whereas Matt 24^{30} 26^{64} *ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τ. νεφ.* presuppose ο′ and על. See vol. i. 18.

[2] This combination of demons and idols is first found in 1 En 99^{7}.

[3] ο′ has this phrase also in $3^{28.\ 29}$; but since there is no other passage in our author based on Daniel that agrees with ο′ against θ′, and many that agree with θ′ against ο′, we conclude that where they agree, as here, our author is influenced by a version of the character of θ′.

[4] The Mass. here trs. *χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς*. But, since θ′ and Peshitto here, as well as all the authorities for the same list of substances in 5^{4}, support the order *χρ. καὶ ἀργ.*, there can be no doubt that the Mass. is wrong here and that our author and θ′ attest the true order in 5^{23}. Our author is following 5^{23} here, as the concluding clauses prove.

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12^{14} καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ.	Dan 12^{7} θ′ ο′. καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς (AQΓ) καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ. Cf. 7^{25}.
13^{5} στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα.	Dan 7^{8} θ′ ο′. στ. λαλ. μεγ.
13^{7} ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἁγίων.	Dan 7^{21} θ′. ἐποίει πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἁγίων. ο′. πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τ. ἁγίους.
13^{15} ὅσοι ἐὰν μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τ. εἰκόνα.	Dan 3^{6} θ′ ο′. ὃς ἂν μὴ (+πεσὼν ο′) προσκυνήσῃ (τ. εἰκόνι).
14^{8} Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη.	Dan 4^{27} θ′ ο′. Βαβ. ἡ μεγ.
15^{3-4} ὁ βασιλεὺς τ. ἐθνῶν· τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ;	Jer 10^{7} θ′ (>ο′). τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσεται, βασιλεῦ τ. ἐθνῶν;
20^{11} τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς (cf. 12^{8}).	Dan 2^{35} θ′. τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς. ο′. ὥστε μηδὲν καταλειφθῆναι ἐξ αὐτῶν.
20^{15} εἴ τις οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν τ. βίβλῳ[1] τ. ζωῆς γεγραμμένος.	Dan 12^{1} θ′. πᾶς (+ὁ εὑρεθεὶς AQ) ὁ γεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βίβλῳ. ο′. ὃς ἂν εὑρεθῇ ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ.
22^{10} μὴ σφραγίσῃς τ. λόγους . . . τ. βιβλίου τούτου.	Dan 12^{4} θ′. σφράγισον τ. βιβλίον. ο′. σφράγισαι τ. βιβλίον. 12^{9} θ′. ἐσφραγισμένοι οἱ λόγοι. ο′. ἐσφραγισμένα τὰ προστάγματα.

§ 6. *Phrases and clauses in our Author which are echoes of O.T. passages.*

2^{20} τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ.	1 Kings 20 $(21)^{25}$ Ἰεζάβελ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.
5^{5} ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τ. φυλῆς Ἰούδα.	Gen 49^{9} σκύμνος λέοντος, Ἰούδα.
ἡ ῥίζα Δαυείδ (cf. 22^{16}).	Is 11^{1} ἐκ τ. ῥίζης Ἰεσσαί.
9^{3} ἐξῆλθον ἀκρίδες εἰς τ. γῆν.	Ex 10^{12} ἀναβήτω ἀκρὶς ἐπὶ τ. γῆν.
9^{14} τ. ποταμῷ τ. μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ.	Gen 15^{18} τ. ποτ. τ. μεγ. Εὐφ.
9^{21} φόνων . . . πορνείας . . . κλεμμάτων.	Ex 20^{13} (Mass., but different order in ο′).
φαρμάκων . . . πορνείας.	2 Kings 9^{22} αἱ πορνεῖαι Ἰεζάβελ . . . καὶ τ. φάρμακα αὐτῆς.
10^{11} δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς καὶ ἔθνεσιν . . . καὶ βασιλεῦσιν.	Jer 1^{10} ἰδοὺ καθέστακά σε . . . ἐπὶ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας.
11^{1} κάλαμος . . . μέτρησον τ. ναόν.	Ezek 40^{3} ἐν τ. χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν . . . κάλαμος μέτρον. 41^{13} διεμέτρησεν κατέναντι τ. οἴκου.
11^{2} ἐδόθη τ. ἔθνεσιν καὶ τ. πόλιν τ. ἁγίαν πατήσουσιν.	Zech 12^{3} θήσομαι τ. Ἰερουσαλὴμ λίθον καταπατούμενον. Dan 9^{24} (θ′) τ. πόλιν τ. ἁγίαν.
11^{8} πνευματικῶς Σόδομα.	Is 1^{10} Israel addressed as "Sodom."
11^{10} δῶρα πέμψουσιν ἀλλήλοις.	Esth 9^{19} ἀποστέλλοντες μερίδας ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον.
φόβος . . . ἐπέπεσεν ἐπί.	Frequent in the O.T.
11^{12} ἀνέβησαν εἰς τ. οὐρανόν.	2 Kings 2^{11} ἀνελήμφθη . . . εἰς τ. οὐρανόν.
11^{13} ἔδωκαν δόξαν τ. θεῷ (cf. 14^{7}).	Josh 7^{19}, Jer 13^{16} etc.
τ. θεῷ τ. οὐρανοῦ (cf. 16^{11}).	Dan θ′. $2^{18.\,19.\,37}$; θ′ ο′. 2^{44}.
11^{15} βασιλεύσει εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων.	Ps 9^{37} (10^{16}) βασιλεύσει κύριος εἰς τ. αἰῶνα.

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[1] See note on 3^{5} under § 4. θ′ explains our author's use of βίβλος here instead of his own word βιβλίον.

14^{7} *φοβήθητε τ. θεόν.*	Eccles 12^{13}.
14^{10} *πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ.*	Gen 19^{24}.
15^{1} *πληγὰς ἑπτά.*	Lev 26^{21} *πληγὰς ἑπτά.*
16^{1} *ἐκχέετε τ. φιάλας τ. θυμοῦ τ. θεοῦ.*	Jer 10^{25} *ἔκχεον τ. θυμόν σου ἐπὶ ἔθνη.*
16^{10} *ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐσκοτωμένη.*	Ex 10^{21} *γενηθήτω σκότος ἐπὶ γῆν Αἰγύπτου.*
16^{12} *ἐξηράνθη τ. ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ.*	Ex 14^{21} *ἐποίησεν τ. θάλασσαν ξηράν.*
18^{9} *κλαύσονται καὶ κόψονται.*	2 Sam 1^{12} *ἐκόψαντο . . . καὶ ἔκλαυσαν.*
18^{14} *σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς.*	Deut $12^{15. 20. 21}$, Ps 20 $(21)^{3}$ etc.
18^{21} Suggested by	Jer 28 $(51)^{63\text{sq.}}$ *λίθον . . . ῥίψεις καὶ ἐρεῖς Οὕτως καταδύσεται Βαβυλών.*
20^{9} *τ. πόλιν τ. ἠγαπημένην.*	Ps 77 $(78)^{68}$ *τ. ὄρος τ. Σειὼν ἠγάπησεν.* 86 $(87)^{2}$ *ἀγαπᾷ κύριος τ. πύλας Σιών.*
21^{4} *οὔτε πένθος οὔτε κραυγὴ οὔτε πόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι.*	Is 35^{10} *ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός.*
21^{10} *τ. δόξαν τ. θεοῦ.*	Is 58^{8}.
21^{16} *ἡ πόλις τετράγωνος κεῖται.*	Ezek 48^{16} where the measures of the city show that it was *τετράγωνος.*

§ 7. *Passages dependent on or parallel with passages in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha.*

1^{13} *ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου.* See on 14^{14} below.	
2^{7} *δώσω αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τ. ξύλου τ. ζωῆς.*	T. Lev 18^{11} *δώσει τ. ἁγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τ. ξύλου τ. ζωῆς.* See vol. i. 54.
2^{17} *ὄνομα καινόν.*	T. Lev 8^{14} *ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν.*
4^{1} *καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἠνεῳγμένη ἐν τ. οὐρανῷ.*	1 En 14^{15} *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄλλην θύραν ἀνεῳγμένην* (*i.e.* in heaven): T. Lev 5^{1}.
4^{6} (15^{2}) *θάλασσα ὑαλίνη.*	2 En 3^{3} "They showed me a great sea" (*i.e.* in the first heaven). Cf. T. Lev 2^{7}.
6^{11} *ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται . . . ἕως πληρωθῶσιν . . . οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτέννεσθαι.*	In 1 En 47 the end will come when the number of the martyrs is complete exactly as in our text. 47^{3-4} "I saw the Head of Days when He seated Himself upon the throne of His glory. . . . And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy, Because the number of the righteous had been offered."[1]
6^{12} *ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας . . . καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα.*	Ass. Mos. 10^{5} Sol non dabet lumen et in tenebras convertent se cornua lunae . . . et (luna) tota convertet se in sanguinem.[2]

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[1] Here the martyrs are regarded as an offering to God just as in our text 14^{4} (*ἀπαρχὴ τ. θεῷ*). See vol. i. 174.

[2] Ezek. 32^{7} (*ο′. ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φάος αὐτῆς*) and Joel 2^{31} (3^{4}) (*ο′. ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα*) are the sources of Ass. Mos 10^{5}. Hence the latter passage should be read as in my edition, (sol) in tenebras convertet se, et luna non dabit lumen et tota convertet se in sanguinem. The *tota* appears in this connection only in this passage and in our text. See vol. i. 180.

7^{1} τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους . . . ἐπὶ τ. τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς γῆς, κρατοῦντας τ. τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τ. γῆς.	See vol. i. 204, 192 (note), where this conception is shown to be in 1 Enoch.
[8^{8} ὡς ὄρος μέγα πυρὶ καιόμενον.][1]	1 En 18^{13} ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα καιόμενα : 21^{3} ὁμοίους ὄρεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ ἐν πυρὶ καιομένους.
9^{1} ἀστέρα ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκότα εἰς τ. γῆν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ κλεὶς τ. φρέατος, κτλ.[2]	1 En 86^{1} "Behold a star fell from heaven and it arose" etc.
9^{20} ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τ. δαιμόνια καὶ τ. εἴδωλα.[3]	1 En 99^{7} "Who worship stones . . . impure spirits and demons."
14^{10} βασανισθήσεται ἐν πυρὶ . . . ἐνώπιον τ. ἀγγέλων.	1 En 48^{9} "As straw in the fire, so shall they burn before the face of the holy."
14^{14} ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου.[4]	1 En 46^{1} which first applies to *the Messiah*, this phrase which in Dan 7^{13} = "the saints." 4 Ezra 13^{3} where the Syriac presupposes ὅμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου. See vol. ii. 20.
17^{14} (Cf. 19^{16}) Κύριος κυρίων ἐστὶν καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.	1 En 9^{4} (G s^{2}) Κύριος τ. κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τ. βασιλευόντων (E = βασιλέων).
19^{15} ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.	Pss. Sol $17^{26-27.\,39}$ quoted in vol. ii. 136 where already Is 11^{4} and Ps 2^{9} are applied in the same Ps. to the Messiah.
20^{8} τὸν Γὼγ καὶ Μαγώγ.	See vol. ii. 188.
20^{13} ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἔδωκαν τ. νεκροὺς τ. ἐν αὐτοῖς.	1 En 51^{1} "Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, and hell shall give back that which it owes." See vol. ii. 194 sqq.
22^{3} τ. θρόνου τ. θεοῦ καὶ τ. ἀρνίου.	1 En $62^{3.\,5}$. See vol. ii. 175 sq. The throne is the throne of God and of the Son of Man.

§ 8. *Passages in some cases directly dependent on and in others parallel with earlier books of the N.T. Our author appears to have used Matthew, Luke,* 1 *Thessalonians,* 1 *and* 2 *Corinthians, Colossians, Ephesians and possibly Galatians,* 1 *Peter and James. The possibility of his having had one or more other books of the N.T. is not excluded.*

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[1] The diction is almost identical, but the ideas are quite different. In 1 En the stars are really spirits or angels undergoing punishment. In this interpolated passage 8^{7-12} the "burning mountain" in 8^{8} and "the burning star" in 8^{10} are purely physical things. Contrast our author's use in 9^{1}.

[2] The parallel is good. The star in each case is an angel, and in each case falls from heaven. A parallel is found also in Is 14^{12} ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἑωσφόρος.

[3] Combined worship of demons and idols first mentioned in 1 En 99^{7}.

[4] The fact that the expression ὅμοιος υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου occurs in 4 Ezra 13^{3} shows that it may have been more current in certain circles than is generally believed. On the other hand, it is simply the apocalyptic form of ὁ υἱὸς τ. ἀνθρώπου.

1^{1} *δεῖ γενέσθαι.*	Matt 24^{6}, Luke 21^{9}.
1^{3} *μακάριος . . . καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τ. λόγους . . . καὶ τηροῦντες.*	Luke 11^{28} *μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες.*[7]
ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς.	Matt 26^{18} *ὁ καιρός μου ἐγγύς ἐστιν.*
1^{4} *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη.*	Col 1^{2} *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη* and eight other Pauline epp. Not earlier than N.T. apparently.
1^{5} *ὁ πρωτότοκος τ. νεκρῶν.*[1]	Col 1^{18} *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τ. νεκρῶν.*
1^{5} *τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς.*	Gal 2^{20} *τοῦ υἱοῦ τ. θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με.*
1^{6} *βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τ. θεῷ.*	1 Pet 2^{9} *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα.*
1^{7} *ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τ. νεφελῶν, καὶ ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν, καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς.*[2]	Matt 24^{30} *τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τ. υἱὸν τ. ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν τ. οὐρανοῦ.*
1^{7} *ναί, ἀμήν.*	2 Cor 1^{20} *τὸ ναί . . . τὸ ἀμήν.*
1^{16} *ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει.*	Matt 17^{2} *ἔλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος.*
1^{18} *νεκρὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν.*	2 Cor 6^{9} *ἀποθνήσκοντες καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν.*
2^{7} *ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω*[3] (seven times).	Matt 11^{15} $13^{9.\ 43}$, Luke 8^{8} 14^{35} *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω*: Mark $4^{9.\ 23}$ *ὃς (εἴτις)* (4^{23}) *ἔχει ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.*
2^{9} *οἶδά σου . . . τ. πτωχείαν, ἀλλὰ πλούσιος εἶ.*	2 Cor 6^{10} *ὡς πτωχοὶ πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες.* Jas 2^{5} *τ. πτωχοὺς τ. κόσμῳ πλουσίους ἐν πίστει.*
2^{10} *τ. στέφανον τ. ζωῆς.*[4]	Jas 1^{12} *τ. στέφανον τ. ζωῆς.*
2^{20} *πλανᾷ τ. ἐμοὺς δούλους πορνεῦσαι καὶ φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα.* 2^{24} *οὐ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος· πλὴν ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε.*[5]	Acts 15^{28} *ἔδοξεν . . . ἡμῖν μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν . . . ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων . . . καὶ πορνείας.*
2^{24} *τ. βαθέα τ. Σατανᾶ.*	1 Cor 2^{10} *τ. βάθη τ. θεοῦ.*
3^{3} *ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς, ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης καὶ οὐ μὴ γνῷς ποίαν ὥραν ἥξω ἐπὶ σέ.*	Matt 24^{42} *γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται.*
16^{15} *ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης· μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν.*[6]	24^{43} *ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε, ὅτι εἰ ᾔδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποίᾳ φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης*

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[1] Peculiar to Paul and our author in this sense.

[2] The combination of Dan 7^{13} and Zech $12^{10.\ 12}$ is first found in the N.T. and is peculiar to Matt. and our author. This combination is not found in the parallel passages of Mark 13^{26}, Luke 21^{27}, which omit the quotation from Zech. Further, the phrase *πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς* is peculiar to our text and Matt 24^{30}, and the meaning assigned to *κόψονται* ("mourn for themselves") is peculiar to our author and Matt 24^{30}. On the other hand, our author keeps to the Hebrew in rendering *μετὰ τ. νεφελῶν*, whereas Matt 24^{30} reads *ἐπὶ τ. νεφ.* as *ο'*. Observe that our author has *ἐπ' αὐτόν* (so Heb. and LXX), but not Matt.

[3] Our author's use of this phrase clearly goes back to our Lord, and his form of it is closer to that in Matthew and Luke than to that in Mark.

[4] Jas 1^{12} contains the earliest instance of the phrase. Cf. T. Benj. 4^{1} *στεφάνους δόξης.*

[5] Our author was clearly acquainted with the Apostolic edict, but that he also used Acts is doubtful.

[6] The dependence of 3^{3} 16^{15} on Matt $24^{42.\ 43.\ 46}$ is obvious.

[7] *φυλάσσειν* is a Lucan word: cf. Luke 18^{21}, Acts 7^{53} 16^{4} 27^{24}, whereas our author does not use *φυλάσσειν* at all, but uses *τηρεῖν* in the same sense.

	ἔρχεται, ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴασεν διορυχθῆναι τ. οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ. [46] *Μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος.* 1 Thess 5^{2} *ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς κλέπτης . . . ἔρχεται.*
3^{8} *δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἠνεῳγμένην.*	1 Cor 16^{9} *θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνέῳγεν.* 2 Cor 2^{12} *θύρας μοι ἀνεῳγμένης.*
3^{5} *ὁμολογήσω τ. ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τ. πατρός μου καὶ ἐνώπιον τ. ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ.*	Matt 10^{32} *ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τ. πατρός μου* (contrast Luke 12^{8} *ἔμπροσθεν τ. ἀγγέλων τ. θεοῦ*).
3^{14} *ἡ ἀρχὴ τ. κτίσεως τ. θεοῦ.*	Col 1^{18} *ὅς ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχή.* 1^{15} *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.*
3^{17} *πλούσιός εἰμι . . . καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ . . . πτωχός.* See on 2^{9} above.	Contrast Col 1^{27} *τ. πλοῦτος τ. δόξης τ. μυστηρίου . . . ὅ ἐστιν Χ. ἐν ὑμῖν.*
3^{21} *δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐν τ. θρόνῳ μου, ὡς . . . ἐκάθισα μετὰ τ. πατρός μου ἐν τ. θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ.*	Col 3^{1} *τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε, οὗ ὁ Χ. ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τ. θεοῦ καθήμενος.* Eph 2^{6} *συνεκάθισεν ἐν τ. ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χ.᾽ Ι.*
5^{5} *μὴ κλαῖε.*	Luke 7^{13} (8^{52}) *μὴ κλαῖε.*
6^{4} *λαβεῖν τ. εἰρήνην ἐκ τ. γῆς.*	Matt 10^{34} *μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τ. γῆν· οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν.*
6^{2-17} 7^{1} Subject-matter of the Seals suggested by the Little Apocalypse.[1]	Matt $24^{6-7.\ 9a.\ 29}$ and parallels in Luke $21^{8-12a.\ 25-26}$. See vol. i. 158 sqq.
6^{10} *ἕως πότε . . . οὐ . . . ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν.*	Luke $18^{7.\ 8}$ *ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τ. ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ, . . . ποιήσει τ. ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει.*
6^{12-13} *ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τ. οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν εἰς τ. γῆν.*[2]	Matt 24^{29} *ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τ. φέγγος αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τ. οὐρανοῦ.* So Mark 13^{24-25} save that for last four words it reads *ἔσονται ἐκ τ. οὐρ. πίπτοντες.* Luke 21^{25} *ἔσονται σημεῖα ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις.*
6^{15-16} *οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς . . . καὶ πᾶς δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἔκρυψαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τ. σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τ. πέτρας τ. ὀρέων· καὶ λέγουσιν τ. ὄρεσιν καὶ τ. πέτραις Πέσατε ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου, κτλ.*[3]	Luke 23^{30} *τότε ἄρξονται λέγειν τ. ὄρεσιν Πέσατε ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ τ. βουνοῖς Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς.*
6^{17} *τίς δύναται σταθῆναι.*	Luke 21^{36} *ἀγρυπνεῖτε . . . ἵνα κατισχύσητε . . . σταθῆναι ἔμπροσθεν τ. υἱοῦ τ. ἀνθρώπου.*
7^{3} *ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ.*	Eph 4^{30} *ἐσφραγίσθητε εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως.*[4]

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[1] Our text seems to presuppose the use of Luke and Matthew in the enumeration of the seven evils following on the opening of the Seals, or else of the Little Apocalypse behind the three Gospels. See vol. i. 158–160.

[2] The parallelism of 6^{12-13} with Matt 24^{29} is very close, but not with Luke. It is not, however, dependent directly on the former.

[3] There is a remote parallelism with Luke, but not with Matthew.

[4] The meaning of *σφραγίζω*, 7^{3-8}, may be partly due to Eph 4^{30} 1^{13}: cf. 2 Cor 1^{22}. In fact, in Eph 4^{30} the sealing gives the faithful assurance of their spiritual preservation to the day of redemption, and this thought is allied to

7^{17} τὸ ἀρνίον . . . ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς.	1 Pet 2^{25} τ. ποιμένα . . . τ. ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.
9^{20} οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (20^{5}).	Luke 18^{11}.
11^{3} προφητεύσουσιν ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα. 11^{6} κλεῖσαι τ. οὐρανόν, ἵνα μὴ ὑετὸς βρέχῃ τ. ἡμέρας τ. προφητείας αὐτῶν.	Luke 4^{25} ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. Jas 5^{17} οὐκ ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ τ. γῆς ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ.
11^{15} ἡ βασιλεία τ. κόσμου.	Matt 4^{8} τ. βασιλείας τ. κόσμου.
12^{9} ὁ Σατανᾶς . . . ἐβλήθη εἰς τ. γῆν.	Luke 10^{18} ἐθεώρουν τ. Σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα.
13^{8} τ. ἀρνίου τ. ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.	1 Pet 1^{19-20} ἀμνοῦ . . . προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.
13^{11} θηρίον (*i.e.* ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης, 16^{13} 19^{20}) . . . εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ καὶ ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων.	Matt 7^{15} τ. ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσιν λύκοι ἅρπαγες.
14^{4} οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγει.	Luke 9^{57} ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἂν ἀπέρχῃ. Cf. Mk 2^{14} 10^{21}.
14^{7} τ. ποιήσαντι τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ τ. γῆν καὶ τ. θάλασσαν.[1]	Acts 4^{24} 14^{15} ὁ ποιήσας (ὃς ἐποίησεν, 14^{15}) τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ τ. γῆν καὶ τ. θάλασσαν.
14^{13} οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες.	1 Thess 4^{16} οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ.
17^{14} κύριος κυρίων ἐστὶν καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.[2]	1 Tim 6^{15} ὁ βασιλεὺς τ. βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τ. κυριευόντων.
17^{14} κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί.	Matt 20^{16} 22^{14} πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί.
16^{19} (14^{8} 17^{5} etc.) Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη.	1 Pet 5^{13} ἐν Βαβυλῶνι (=Rome as in Apoc.).
18^{4} ἐξέλθατε ἐξ αὐτῆς . . . ἵνα μὴ συνκοινωνήσητε ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις.	2 Cor 6^{17} ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν. Eph 5^{11} μὴ συνκοινωνεῖτε τ. ἔργοις . . . τ. σκότους.
18^{24} αἷμα προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων εὑρέθη καὶ πάντων τ. ἐσφαγμένων ἐπὶ τ. γῆς.	Luke 11^{50} ἵνα ἐκζητηθῇ τ. αἷμα πάντων τ. προφητῶν τὸ ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.
19^{7} χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλιῶμεν.[3]	Matt 5^{12} χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε.
19^{9} μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τ. δεῖπνον τ. γάμου . . . κεκλημένοι.	Luke 14^{16} ἐποίει δεῖπνον μέγα . . . καὶ ἀπέστειλεν . . . τοῖς κεκλημένοις.
$21^{4d.\,5b}$ τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν· ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα.	2 Cor 5^{17} τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά.
21^{10} ἀπήνεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπὶ ὄρος μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἔδειξέν με.	Matt 4^{8} παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν . . . εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν λίαν, καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ.
22^{21} ἡ χάρις τ. κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τὸ ἁγίων.	Some form of this grace is found at the close of the Pauline Epp. and Hebrews, and in them only in the N.T. Cf. Eph 6^{24} ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων τ. ἀγαπώντων τ. κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ., Col 4^{18} ἡ χάρις μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν.

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that of our author, according to whom the *faithful* are secured, not against physical evils, but against their spiritual enemies. These latter recognize this divine mark on the faithful and cannot injure them.

[1] On the O.T. originals of this passage see 10^{6b} above under § 3, and 14^{7} under § 4. It will be seen that 14^{7} is closer verbally to Acts 4^{24} than to any of the O.T. passages.

[2] See list of passages influenced by Pseudepigrapha.

[3] The thought in both passages is not unrelated. The words in Matt. come in at the close of the Beatitudes which promise that the righteous shall inherit the earth. 19^{7} in our author represents in vision the fulfilment of this promise.

VIII.

Unity of the Apocalypse.

§ 1. *Unity of thought and dramatic development.*—When the interpolations of the editor are removed and the dislocations of the text set right (see p. lvii sqq.), the unity of thought and development in the Apocalypse is immeasurably greater than in any of the great Jewish apocalypses of an earlier or contemporary date. In fact, the order of development is at once logical and chronological save where our author deliberately, as in 7^{9-17} $10–11^{13}$ $14^{1-11. 14. 18-20}$, breaks with the chronological order and in 7^{9-17} $14^{1-11. 14. 18-20}$ adopts the logical, that he may show the blessed future in store for those that were faithful in the tribulations which are recounted in the text immediately preceding these sections. The dramatic movement of the book is independent of all these sections. But the superiority of the Apocalypse to other apocalypses in this respect is not merely relative but absolute, as a short study of the Plan of the Apocalypse (see p. xxiii sqq.) will abundantly prove.

Smaller unities[1] maintained and developed within the Apocalypse might be brought forward, such as: (*a*) the Seven Beatitudes, 1^{3} 16^{15} (which is to be restored after 3^{3b}) 14^{13} 19^{9a} 22^{14} 20^{6} 22^{7}. (*b*) The judgment demanded by the souls under the altar is dealt with in various stages of fulfilment in 8^{3-4} 9^{13} 14^{18} 16^{7} (which with 16^{5b-6} is restored in this edition to its original context after 19^{4}). (*c*) The promises of the re-evangelization of the heathen world in 11^{15} 14^{6-7} 15^{4} are fulfilled in

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[1] In respect to the angels sent to instruct the Seer with the revelation of God, there is no unity observed in the Apocalypse. Our author apparently set out with the intention of committing this revelation to one angel. To this intention he holds fast (as I now see) in $1^{1. 10-11}$ 4^{1} $10^{4. 8}$. In 10^{11} it is possible that λέγουσιν is an oversight for λέγει, which 025 Tyc Pr gig vg^{dfv} s arm bo eth attest. But the adoption of sources (11^{1-13} 12–13. 17–18), where this angelic guide is not mentioned, interfered with his original purpose, and hence there is no reference to him till 19^{9a} 22^{9}. But even in 1–10 various other heavenly beings instruct the Seer—one of the Elders in 5^{5} 7^{13-17}, the Cherubim in $6^{1. 3. 5. 7}$. This fact prepares us for the intervention of one of the Seven Angels of the Bowls in 17^{1} $21^{9. 10}$ 22^{1}. But there is a special fitness in this intervention. These angels have to execute judgment on the world now subject to the Antichrist, and so it is one and the same angel that shows the Seer the destruction of Rome (17^{1-10}), the capital of the Antichrist on earth, and that shows the city that is to replace it—the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down to be the capital of Christ's kingdom on earth for 1000 years ($21^{9}–22^{2. 14-15. 17}$ 20^{4-6}).

But the above phenomena are not inconsistent with unity of authorship, though on revision the author would, no doubt, have removed some of the incongruities. In other apocalypses there are several angelic guides. Thus in Dan $10^{10 \text{ sqq.}}$ one of the holy watchers, $8^{16 \text{ sqq.}}$ Gabriel, and possibly in $10^{1 \text{ sqq.}}$. Many angels act in this capacity in 1 Enoch 21–36: two angels in 2 Enoch.

21^{9}–$22^{2. 14-15. 17}$ when restored to their right context immediately after 20^{3}.

§ 2. *Unity of style and diction.*—The grammar and the style of our author are unique, as the Grammar which I give, pp. cxvii–clix, amply proves. This unity is discoverable in every part of the Apocalypse save in the sources which our author has taken over in a Greek form (such as 11^{1-13} 12. 17. 18; see p. lxii sqq.), and even in these the hand of our author is constantly manifest, as he edits them to serve his main purpose. Moreover, in the introduction to every chapter (save in the case of the sources) its essential affinities of diction and idiom with the rest of the book are given almost in full.

This unity, therefore, does not exclude the use of visions of his own of an earlier date or of sources.

A few examples of the essential unity of diction between different parts of the Apocalypse may here be added.

(*a*) Chaps. 1–3 and 20^{4}–22.

1^{1} *δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει.*	22^{6} *δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει.*
1^{3} *μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ . . . τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας . . . τηροῦντες.*	22^{7} *μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας.*
1^{17} *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος.*	22^{13} *ἐγὼ . . . ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος.*
2^{7} *τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει.*	22^{17} *τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νυμφὴ λέγουσιν.*
2^{11} *τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου.*	21^{8} *ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος* (cf. 20^{6}).
2^{28} *τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωϊνόν.*	22^{16} *ὁ ἀστὴρ . . . ὁ πρωϊνός.*
3^{11} *ἔρχομαι ταχύ.*	22^{12} *ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ.*
3^{12} *τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου.*	21^{2} *Ἰερουσαλὴμ καινὴν . . . καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.*

(*b*) Chaps. 1–3 and 4–20^{3}.

1^{1} *δεῖξαι . . . ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι.*	4^{1} *δείξω σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι.*
1^{6} *ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ.*	5^{10} *ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς.*
1^{10} *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι.*	4^{2} *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι.*
1^{13} *ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου.*	14^{14} *ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου.*
1^{13} *περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν.*	15^{6} *περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς.*
1^{14} *οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός.*	19^{12} *οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός.*
2^{7} *τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει.*	14^{13} *λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα.*
2^{16} *πολεμήσω μετ᾽ αὐτῶν.*	13^{4} *πολεμῆσαι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ*: cf. 17^{14}.
2^{21} *μετανοῆσαι ἐκ.*	$9^{20. 21}$ 16^{11}.
2^{23} *ἐν θανάτῳ* (= "by pestilence").	6^{8} *ὁ θάνατος.*
2^{27} *ποιμανεῖ* (= "shall break").	19^{15} (12^{5}).
3^{7} *ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινός*, where *ἀληθινός* (= "faithful").	6^{10}.
3^{9} *ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.*	15^{4} *ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου.*
3^{10} *τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης.*	12^{9} 16^{14}.
3^{10} *τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* (in a technical sense).	6^{10} 8^{13} 13^{8}.

The above examples could be increased indefinitely. But there is still weightier evidence. The recurrence of idioms—in many cases idioms *unique and peculiar* to our author's style—throughout the Apocalypse, from the earliest chapters to the last, presents still stronger proofs of the unity of authorship. Since these are recorded in the introduction to each chapter and summarized in the Grammar, I shall not dwell further on them here.

§ 3. *But this unity in the dramatic movement of the Apocalypse does not necessitate the assumption that all and every part of the Apocalypse is our author's own creation. As a matter of fact this is not the case. Our author has, as we have seen elsewhere, used sources.*—These sources, together with earlier visions of his own, he has re-edited and brought in the main into harmony with their new contexts. But the work of editing has not been thorough. Certain incongruities survive in the incorporated sections, which our author would no doubt have removed if he had lived to revise his work. Traces of an earlier date and often expectations of an earlier generation still survive. Thus in vol. i. 43–47 I have shown that our author wrote the Seven Epistles under Vespasian, when the Church had no apprehension of a universal martyrdom of the faithful, but expected to survive till the Second Advent of Christ. By various additions and changes this expectation is changed for the expectation that pervades the rest of the book, and the letters to the Seven Churches are transformed into letters to entire Christendom.[1] But traces of

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[1] Their inclusion in this work has given them this new meaning. The fact that there are seven letters and only seven, suggests that the Seer is now addressing himself—not merely to Seven Churches out of the many others to which he could have written with authority, nor yet to all the Churches of the province of Asia, but—through these Seven Churches to all the Churches of Christendom. The approaching struggle, as the entire Apocalypse presupposes, is not between the Christian Churches of a single province and the Empire, but between Christendom and the Antichrist impersonated in the Empire and its head, though the storm is threatening to break first on the Churches of Asia.

This suggestion gains support from the following considerations. Seven is a sacred number with our author and is capable of a symbolic meaning. That the Seven Churches embrace all the Churches, appears to follow from $1^{12.13}$ combined with $1^{16.20}$. In 1^{12} seven candlesticks and only seven are visible, and in 1^{16} seven stars and only seven stars. Now, since from 1^{20} we learn that the seven candlesticks are the Seven Churches—*i.e.* the Churches in their actual condition—and that the stars are the angels of the Seven Churches—*i.e.* the Churches as they should be ideally, and since in 1^{13} the Son of Man stands in the midst of these Churches, and holds in His hands the seven stars or the ideals they have to achieve, the natural conclusion is that it is all the Churches of Christendom in the midst of which Christ stands, and not an insignificant group, and that the stars which He holds in His right hand are the ideals which they are summoned through His help to realize. As all Christians, according to the rest of the Apocalypse, are to share in the earlier date survive. As I have elsewhere shown, these letters came from our author and from none other.

Again in 4^{1-8} our author re-edits a vision of his own, $4^{2b-3.\ 5-8acde}$. See vol. i. 104–106 and the commentary *in loc.* In the course of incorporation certain infelicities have been incurred. It is said of the Seer in 4^{2a} ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι—a phrase which denotes the state of trance as in 1^{10}. But according to 4^{1} he was already in this state, as the words μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον show. See vol. i. 109–111, 106–107. Again 4^{4} is a later addition from our author's hand; but the grammar is wrong, and the subject-matter does not harmonize well with the context. The Apocalypse is clearly a first sketch and needed revision: see vol. i. 115–116.

In 7^{1-8} our author makes use of traditional material, but the language is his own. See vol. i. 191–199. The four angels and the four winds, which are here introduced and introduced in terms that lead us to expect their subsequent appearance in the way of judgment (7^{3} μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν . . . ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν, κτλ.), are not directly referred to again.

In 11^{1-13} our author has made use of two sources (11^{1-2} 11^{3-13}), both written before 70 A.D., in which, if the text is taken literally, the historic Jerusalem is supposed to be standing ($11^{2.\ 8}$), and the Temple to be inviolable (11^{1}). These references have been taken literally by many scholars as determining the date of the whole Apocalypse, especially by those who accept its *absolute* unity and its composition by one author. But to construe such statements literally implies a complete misconception of our author's attitude to the earthly Jerusalem. Our author could not possibly have regarded the earthly Jerusalem as τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν (11^{2}). Such a definition he reserves for the New Jerusalem, the eternal abode of the saints (21^{2}), and the Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the seat of the Messianic kingdom for 1000 years (21^{10}). This latter he calls also τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἠγαπημένην (20^{9}). But for him the actual city is that ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη (11^{8}). But our author has re-edited this section by the addition of $11^{4\,(?).\ 8bc.\ 9a}$ and the recasting of 11^{7}, according to his own thought and in his own diction, and thus the inviolable security which the Jews attached to the Temple is reinterpreted by our author as meaning *the spiritual security of the Christian community despite the attacks of Satan and the Antichrist.* But such spiritual security does not exclude martyrdom, as 11^{3-13} makes clear. See

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coming tribulation, they are all here addressed in these letters. After the first chapter the numeral is dropped and our author speaks only in his later additions to the letters ($2^{7.\ 11.\ 17.\ 29}$ $3^{6.\ 13.\ 22}$ (see vol. i. p. 45) of αἱ ἐκκλησίαι. The larger thought of all the Churches seems to be here before him.

vol. i. 269–270. 11^{1-13} has so far as possible to be reinterpreted from the later standpoint of the Apocalypse as a whole. But in some cases this is hardly possible.

12 is a source, or rather a combination of two sources, which our author has borrowed in its Greek form and re-edited. Thus we find in 12^1 *ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς* where our author would have used *ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλάς*: in 12^3 *ἑπτὰ διαδήματα* instead of *διαδήματα ἑπτά*: in 12^7 *τοῦ* before the infinitive—not elsewhere in J^{ap}: in 12^{12} *οὐρανοί* instead of *οὐρανέ*: in 12^{14} *ἀπὸ προσώπου* = "because of." Contrast 6^{16} 20^{11}. Hence I here withdraw the thesis maintained in vol. i. 300 sqq. § 3, that our author translated this source himself. See also p. clviii n.

12^{13-15}, though full of significance in their original context and at their original date, do not admit of interpretation from the standpoint and date of our author's work (see vol. i. 330).

In 17–18 our author has edited two sources already existing in a Greek form (see p. lxiii sq., vol. ii. 56–58, 88 sqq.). But traces of the original date of their composition survive in 17^{10-11} and 18^4. See vol. ii. 59 sq., 93. Another trace of 18 being a source survives in 18^2, where it is stated that Rome has become *κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων καὶ φυλακὴ . . . πάντος ὀρνέου ἀκαθάρτου*, whereas our author himself in 19^3 represents the smoke of her burning as ascending age after age to the end of the world.

Such incongruities as the above do not affect the main movement of thought and development in the book. Without the sources, in which these incongruities occur, the book would suffer irreparably. These sources, with the exception of $10–11^{13}$ which is a proleptic digression, form organic members of the whole. The survival, therefore, of such incongruities requires the hypothesis that our author not only used sources but also did not live to revise his work.

IX.

DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

The date of J^{ap} can be established by external and internal evidence.

§ 1. *External evidence.*—This evidence almost unanimously assigns J^{ap} to the last years of Domitian. But some ancient, but not the earliest, authorities assign it to the reigns of Claudius, Nero, or Trajan. This may be in part due to the survival in the sources used by our author of statements and situations presupposing an earlier date than that of Domitian. That these survivals explain the great divergence of scholars of the past fifty years on the dating of the Apocalypse, we shall see when we turn to the internal evidence.

The Trajan date.—To return, however, to the three dates just mentioned, *i.e.*, the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Trajan, we shall treat first of the last. This dating is found only in very late authorities. Theophylact on Matt. 20^{22}: Ἰωάννην δὲ Τραϊανὸς κατεδίκασε μαρτυροῦντα τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας. *Synopsis de vita et morte prophetarum* (attributed to Dorotheus): ὑπὸ δὲ Τραϊανοῦ βασιλέως ἐξωρίσθη ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Πάτμῳ . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν Τραϊανοῦ ἐπάνεισιν ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου . . . εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ λέγουσιν μὴ ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ αὐτὸν ἐξορισθῆναι ἐν Πάτμῳ ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ.[1] These statements appear, as Swete suggests (Introd. p. c), to have arisen mainly from a misunderstanding of such words as those in Irenaeus, ii. 22. 5, παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς (ὁ Ἰωάννης) μεχρὶ τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, or those cited below from Origen on Matt. tom. xvi. 6.

The Claudian and Neronic dates.—11^{1-2} and 6^{9} of the Apocalypse, if taken literally, refer to Jerusalem and the Temple as still standing, and the martyrdoms under Nero (64–68 A.D.). Other sources, though less clearly, postulate a Neronic date. Hence it is not difficult to understand the assignment of the banishment of John to the reign of Nero in the title prefixed to both the Syriac versions of the Apocalypse and by Theophylact (*Praef. in Ioann.*). I do not see, however, how we are to explain the Claudian date (41–54 A.D.), which is maintained by Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 12, μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου ἐπάνοδον, τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην καίσαρος: li. 33, αὐτοῦ δὲ προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαυδίου καίσαρος ἀνωτάτω, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νῆσον ὑπῆρξεν.

The Domitianic date.—The earliest authorities are practically unanimous in assigning the Apocalypse to the last years of Domitian. Melito of Sardis (160–190 *floruit*) may possibly be cited as upholding the Domitianic date, as he wrote a commentary on J^{ap} and addressed a protest to Marcus Aurelius declaring that Nero and Domitian had at the instigation of certain malicious persons slanderously assaulted the Church (Eus. iv. 26. 9: cf. Lact. *De Mort. Persecutorum*, 3).

Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 180–190). In his account of the persecution of Christians by Domitian, Eusebius (iii. 18. 3) quotes the following words from Irenaeus: εἰ δὲ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοὔνομα αὐτοῦ, δι᾽ ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς. This passage is found in Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. 30. 3, almost exactly as quoted in Eusebius.

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[1] The above two quotations are drawn from Swete, *Introd.* p. c.

Clement of Alexandria. In his *Quis Dives*, 42, we find: *τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον.*

Origen (185–253). *In Mt.* xvi. 6 (Lommatzsch, iv. p. 18), *ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς, ὥς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον.* Neither in Clement nor Origen is Domitian's name given, but it may be presumed that it was in the mind of these writers. Victorinus (*circ.* 270), Eusebius, and Jerome are quite explicit. Victorinus in his *In Apoc.* 10^{11} writes: "Hoc dicit propterea quod quando haec Ioannes vidit, erat in insula Patmos, in metallum damnatus a Domitiano Caesare. Ibi ergo vidit Apocalypsin. Et cum jam senior putaret se per passionem accepturum receptionem, interfecto Domitiano, omnia judicio ejus soluta sunt. Et Ioannes, de metallo dimissus, sic postea tradidit hanc eandem quam acceperat a Deo Apocalypsin." Also on 17^{10} "Unus exstat sub quo scripta est Apocalypsis, Domitianus scilicet." Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 18. 1: *Ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἔτι τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἕνεκεν μαρτυρίας, Πάτμον οἰκεῖν καταδικασθῆναι τὴν νῆσον.* iii. 20. 9: *Τότε δὴ οὖν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς τὴν ἐπὶ Ἐφέσου διατριβὴν ἀπειληφέναι ὁ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος.* iii. 23. 1: *Ἀπόστολος ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς.* Jerome (*De viris illustr.* 9): "Quarto decimo anno post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano in Patmos insulam relegatus scripsit Apocalypsim . . . interfecto autem Domitiano et actis ejus ob nimiam crudelitatem a senatu rescissis sub Nerva principe redit Ephesum."

§ 2. *Internal evidence.*—To the cursory reader the internal evidence as to the date is hopelessly confusing. But this evidence is confusing not only to the cursory reader, but also to the earnest student, as the history of the interpretation of J^{ap} clearly shows. The students of J^{ap} fall into three groups on this question. (1) Those who assign it to the reign of Nero after the Neronic persecution, 64–68 A.D., such as Baur, Reuss, Hilgenfeld, Lightfoot, Westcott, Selwyn, B. W. Henderson. (2) Those who place it under Vespasian, as B. Weiss, Düsterdieck, Bartlett, Anderson Scott. (3) Those who maintain the Domitianic date.

For these three datings internal evidence is undoubtedly forthcoming. Our author has used sources, and several of these were written under Nero, or at all events before the fall of Jerusalem, as the reader will see under the section *Greek and Hebrew Sources and their Dates*, p. lxii sqq. But such a date cannot be maintained in the face of $17^{10\text{-}11}$ (see vol. ii. 59–60, 69–70) and 18^{4}, both of which postulate a Vespasianic date. Hence such statements as clearly presuppose a Neronic date (*i.e.*, in 11^{1-13} 12 (?). $13^{1-7.\,10}$) are simply survivals in the sources used by our author.

Hence it appears that the Apocalypse was written either under Vespasian or under Domitian. The external evidence is, as we have already seen, unanimous in favour of the latter as against the former. We have now to discuss the bearing of the internal evidence on this question. This evidence, which is clearly in favour of the Domitianic date, is as follows.

(*a*) *The use of earlier N.T. Books.*—See pp. lxxxiii–lxxxvi. There it is shown that our author most probably used Matthew and Luke. If this is so, it makes the Vespasianic date impossible, unless these Gospels were written before 70 or 75 A.D.

(*b*) *The present form of the Seven Letters, although in their original form of Vespasianic date, point to a Domitianic.*—The Church of Smyrna did not exist in 60–64 A.D.—at a time when St. Paul was boasting of the Philippians in all the Churches. Cf. Polycarp (*Ad Phil.* xi. "Beatus Paulus . . . gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quae solae tunc Dominum cognoverant; nos autem nondum cognoveramus"). But though Polycarp's letter tells us that the Church of Smyrna was not founded in 60–64 A.D., he gives no hint as to when it was founded. Hence several years may have elapsed after that date before it was founded. When, however, we turn to Rev 2^{8-11} we find that our text presupposes a Church poor in wealth but rich in good works, with a development of apparently many years to its credit. This letter, then, may have been written in the closing years of Vespasian (75–79) but hardly earlier. But if the present writer's hypothesis (see vol. i. 43–46) is correct, then the Seven Letters, all of which probably belong to the same period, were re-edited; for whereas they speak generally of local persecutions, there is not a hint, save in 3^{10}, of the universal martyrdom that is taught or implied in the rest of the book. Nor again is there a single clear reference to the imperial cult of the Caesars, unless possibly in 3^{10}. (See vol. i. 43–46.) The Letters, therefore, in their original form, acquaint us with the experiences and apprehensions of the Churches in Vespasian's reign. But what worlds divide their original outlook from that of the Book in which they are incorporated! The natural conclusion, therefore, is that though our author wrote the Letters in the reign of Vespasian, he re-edited them in the closing years of Domitian for incorporation in his Book.

(*c*) *The imperial cult as it appears in J^{ap} was not enforced until the reign of Domitian.*—There is no evidence of any kind to prove that the conflict between Christianity and the imperial cult had reached the pitch of antagonism that is presupposed in the J^{ap} before the closing years of Domitian's reign. In the reign of Vespasian the Christians, as Moffatt (*Introd.*^{3} 504) writes, "seem to have enjoyed a comparative immunity . . . and our available knowledge of the period renders it unlikely (cf. Linsenmayer's *Bekämpfung des Christentums durch den römischen Staat*, 1905, 66 f.) that anything occurred either under him or Titus to call forth language so intense as that of the Apocalypse." Moreover, Vespasian did not take his claims to divinity seriously. But Domitian insisted on the public recognition of these claims, and in the last year of his reign he began to persecute the Church in the capital of the Empire. Thus in Rome he had his own cousin Flavius Clemens executed, and his niece Flavia Domitilla and others banished for their faith to the island of Pontia. Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 18. 4) states that there were many others.[1] Now, if Christians of the highest rank were exposed to martyrdom in Rome, what would be expected in Asia Minor, where the cult of the Emperor had been received with acclamation as early as the reign of Augustus, and had by the time of Domitian become the one religion of universal obligation in Asia, whereas the worship of the old Greek divinities only took the form of local cults? Compliance with the claims of the imperial cult was made the test of loyalty to the Empire. In the earlier days, Christians had been persecuted for specific crimes, such as anarchy, atheism, immorality, etc. But in the latter days of Domitian the confession of the name of Christ (cf. J^{ap} $2^{3.13}$ 3^8 12^{11} 20^4) was tantamount to a refusal to accede to the Emperor's claims to divinity, and thereby entailed the penalty of death (13^{15}). Now, with the insight of a true prophet John recognized the absolute incompatibility of the worship of Christ and the worship of the Emperor, even if this worship were conceived merely as a test of loyalty to the Empire. Therein he penetrated to the eternal issues underlying the conflict of his day, and set forth for all time the truth that it is not Caesar but Christ, not the State but the Church that should claim the absolute allegiance of the individual. Nay more: the prophet maintains that the conflict between the claims of Christianity and the absolutism of the State can never be relinquished till the State itself, no less than the individual, tenders its submission and becomes an organ of the will of the Lord and of His Christ (11^{15}).

(*d*) *The Nero-redivivus myth appears implicitly and explicitly in several forms in our text, the latest of which cannot be earlier than the age of Domitian.*

The Jewish source lying behind $17^{12\text{-}17}$ was probably written in the reign of Titus. It embodies the expectation that the living Nero will return from the East at the head of the Parthian hosts—an expectation to be found in the Sibylline Oracles of this period (see vol. ii. 81). Another phase of this myth which appears in our text (in 11^7), but with which we are not here concerned, is dealt with in vol. ii. 83. But the last phase of this expectation attested in our text is given in 13 and 17. At this stage there is a fusion of the Nero myth with those of the Antichrist and Beliar. The expectation of a living Nero returning from the East has been abandoned. Nero is now a demon from the abyss, combining in his own person the characteristics of Beliar and the Antichrist. This phase of the myth belongs to the last decade of the 1st century. For this form of the myth, see vol. ii. 84–87.[1] I do not see how it is possible to assign 13 and 17 *in their present form* to the reign of Vespasian, though the sources behind both these chapters were mainly of a Vespasianic date, and in part of that of Titus.

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[1] On the persecution under Domitian, see Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* I. i. 104–115.

Before we leave this section it will be well to touch again on the interpretation of $17^{10\text{-}11}$. Bousset (p. 416) has rightly protested against the identification of Domitian with the eighth head. This is done by some commentators, but can only be done by misinterpreting the text or misunderstanding the nature of Christian apocalyptic. Some, who accept the Vespasianic date, are guilty of the first offence; others, who accept the Domitianic date, are guilty of both.

Let us consider the latter offence first—that which consists in misunderstanding Christian apocalyptic. If we accept the Domitianic date and assume absolute unity of authorship, we must conclude that the writer "transfers himself in thought to the time of Vespasian, interpreting past events under the form of a prophecy, after the manner of apocalyptic writers" (Swete). Such a procedure belongs to Jewish apocalyptic *but not to Christian*, till we advance well into the 2nd century. Those who urge the Vespasianic date are not guilty of this misconception, but the Apocalypse does not admit of the Vespasianic date. Hence, if we accept the Domitianic date, $17^{10\text{-}11}$ must be regarded as a survival from sources belonging to the time of Vespasian and Titus. In its present context, therefore, $17^{10\text{-}11}$ does not admit of precise interpretation. For Domitian cannot be identified with Nero redivivus. This brings us to the first offence.

Domitian cannot be identified with Nero redivivus. Not a single phrase descriptive of the latter can be rightly applied to Domitian, if we accept the Domitianic date as the evidence requires. Nero redivivus is described in 17^8 as *τὸ θηρίον* . . .

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[1] A critical study of all the forms assumed by the Antichrist myth is given in vol. ii. 76–87.

ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει, and again ὅτι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ πάρεσται. So again in 17^{11}, where it is further added that he ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστιν. See also 11^{7}. Another description is given in 13^{3} καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον, καὶ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐθεραπεύθη. Cf. 13^{14}. Now I have shown in vol. ii. 71: (α) Domitian cannot be described as οὐκ ἔστιν, seeing that ἔστιν must be affirmed of him. (β) Pre-existence cannot be ascribed to him, as the clause ὃ ἦν would require. (γ) It cannot be said of him that he is ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά. (δ) It is impossible to connect μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν ὡς ἐσφαγμένην (13^{3}) with Domitian. (ε) It cannot be maintained of Domitian, who is already seated on the throne of the Beast, that μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου. (ζ) There is no ground for making Domitian the leader of the Parthian hosts against Rome, as Nero redivivus is represented in $17^{12\text{-}13.\ 17.\ 16}$, and fighting against the Lamb, 17^{14}. (η) Nor can we conceive Domitian in $19^{11\text{-}19}$ as mustering the nations to battle against the Word of God in the Messianic war that prepares the way for the Messianic kingdom.[1]

It is not an actual Roman emperor, but a supernatural monster from the abyss that is to play the part of the Nero redivivus, and that in the immediate future.

X.

CIRCULATION AND RECEPTION.

§ 1. *There are most probable but no absolutely certain traces of J^{ap} in the Apostolic Fathers.*—In the Shepherd of Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 2. 7, there is a very probable connection with our author.[2] Thus μακάριοι ὑμεῖς ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην: iv. 2. 5, θλίψεως τῆς μελλούσης τῆς μεγάλης, and in iv. 3. 6, τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐρχομένης μεγάλης, all but certainly recall Rev 7^{14} τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, and 3^{10} τῆς ὥρας . . . τῆς μελλούσης ἔρχεσθαι, i. 1. 3, πνεῦμα . . . ἀπήνεγκέν με διὰ ἀνοδίας, is reminiscent of 17^{3} ἀπήνεγκέν με εἰς ἔρημον ἐν πνεύματι. Barn. xxi. 3, ἐγγὺς ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ, seems to suggest some dependence on Rev 22$^{10. 12}$ ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν . . . ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχὺ καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ. (See, however, Is 40^{10}.) Barn. vii. 9, ἐπειδὴ ὄψονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδήρη ἔχοντα . . . καὶ ἐροῦσιν Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὅν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν, has affinities with Rev 1$^{7. 13}$ ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν . . . ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη. (See, however, *N.T. in the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 16.) But as for the passages in Ignatius, *Ad Phil.* vi. 1 (see vol. i. 92) has nothing to do with Rev 3^{12}, nor *Ad Eph.* xv. 3, ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί, καὶ αὐτὸς ᾖ ἐν ἡμῖν θεός, with Rev 21^{3}: nor does Barn. vi. 13, λέγει δὲ Κύριος Ἰδοὺ ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, reflect Rev 21^{5} Ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα (see vol. ii. 203): for the sense is absolutely different. Nor should we connect Clem. Rom. *Ad Cor.* xxxiv. 3 (see p. lxxvii, footnote) with Rev 22^{12}.

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[1] If it were possible to ascribe the Apocalypse to the reign of Vespasian the objections given in β, γ, δ above would be fatal to the identification of Domitian with Nero redivivus. ζ and η would also stand in the way.

[2] The fact that Hermas used the same imagery as J^{ap} may be rightly used as evidence that he knew it. Thus the Church, *Vis.* ii. 4, is represented by a woman (cf. J^{ap} $12^{1\ sqq.}$); the enemy of the Church by a beast (θηρίον), Vis. iv. 6–10, J^{ap} 13: out of the mouth of the beasts proceed fiery locusts, Vis. iv. 1, 6, J^{ap} 9^{3}: whereas the foundation stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem bear the names of the Twelve Apostles, J^{ap} 21^{14}, and those who overcome are made pillars in the spiritual temple, J^{ap} 3^{12}, in Hermas the apostles and other teachers of the Church form the stones of the heavenly tower erected by the archangels, Vis. iii. 5. 1. The faithful in both are clothed in white and are given crowns to wear, J^{ap} 6^{11} etc., 2^{10} 3^{11}; Hermas, *Sim.* viii. 2. 1, 3.

§ 2. *In the 2nd cent. J^{ap} was all but universally accepted in Asia Minor, Western Syria, Africa, Rome, South Gaul.*

In Asia Minor.—Papias was the first, according to Andreas in the prologue to his Commentary on J^{ap}, to attest, not its apostolic authorship, but its credibility. (Περὶ μέντοι τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς βίβλου περιττὸν μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον ἡγούμεθα, τῶν μακαρίων Γρηγορίου . . . καὶ Κυρίλλου, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων Παπίου, Εἰρηναίου, Μεθοδίου καὶ Ἱππολύτου προσμαρτυρούντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον.) Eusebius, however, never definitely says that J^{ap} was known to Papias (*H.E.* iii. 39). The statement, however, in iii. 39. 12 which he attributes to Papias, seems to be an echo of J^{ap} (χιλιάδα τινά φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης). But Eusebius proceeds to say that this statement of Papias was due to his misunderstanding of certain apostolic statements (ἀποστολικὰς . . . διηγήσεις), which he took literally instead of figuratively.

Melito, bishop of Sardis (160–190 A.D. fl.), wrote a commentary (Τὰ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου), Eus. iv. 26. 2: Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* 9, understands this title to refer to two distinct books. This work of Melito is noteworthy, since Sardis was one of the Seven Churches. Justin, who lived at Ephesus (*circ.* 135) before he went to Rome, is the first to declare that J^{ap} was written by John, one of the apostles of Christ: *Dial.* lxxxi. 15, παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτῃ ποιήσειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε: cf. also *Apol.* i. 28 (which refers to Apoc. 12^{9}); Eus. iv. 18. 8. Irenaeus maintained the apostolic authorship of all the Johannine writings in the N.T., but the evidence for his views has to be drawn from the great work which he wrote as bishop of Lyons: see below. Apollonius, a writer against the Montanists in Phrygia (*circ.* 210 A.D.), used J^{ap} of John as an authority in his controversy (Eus. v. 18. 14).

In Western Syria.—Theophilus, bishop of Antioch in the latter half of the 2nd century, cites J^{ap} in a treatise against Hermogenes (Eus. iv. 24), ἐν ᾧ ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις.

In South Gaul.—Irenaeus, who defended the apostolic authorship of all the N.T. Johannine writings, carried with him to Gaul the views that prevailed in Asia Minor; and there, as Bishop of Lyons (177–202 A.D.), he wrote his great work, *Against all Heresies.* In this work he uses such expressions as Ioannes in Apocalypsi, iv. 14. 2, 17. 6, 18. 6, 21. 3, v. 28. 2, 34. 2. Ioannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, iv. 20. 11, v. 26. 1; in Apocalypsi videt Ioannes, v. 35. 2; per Ioannis Apocalypsin, i. 26. 3. See Zahn, *Gesch. N.T. Kanons*, i. 202, note 2. At a slightly earlier date, 177, the Churches of Vienne and Lyons addressed an epistle to the Churches in Asia and Phrygia (Eus. v. 1. 10, 45 (where τῇ παρθένῳ μητρί = the Christian Church), 55, 58) in which reference is made to Apoc. 14^4 12^1 19^9 22^{11}, the last being introduced by the N.T. formula of Canonical Scripture—ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ.

In Alexandria.—Clement follows the general tradition of the Church, and cites J^{ap} as scripture, *Paed.* ii. 119 (τὸ συμβολικὸν τῶν γραφῶν), and the work of John the apostle, *Quis dives*, 42, *Strom.* vi. 106–107 (see Zahn, *Gesch. d. N.T. Kanons*, i. 205). Origen accepts John the Apostle as the author of the J^{ap}, the Gospel, and the first Epistle (*In Ioann.* tom. v. 3; Lommatzsch, i. 165; Eus. vi. 25. 9). The upholders of Millenarianism in Egypt, against whom Dionysius wrote, appealed to the Apocalypse (Eus. vii. 24).

In Rome.—On the very probable use of our author by Hermas we have adverted above. Of this work the Muratorian Canon writes: "Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit." But whether Hermas used our author or not, this Canon implies that J^{ap} was universally recognized at Rome: "Iohannes enim in apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit," while a few lines later, according to the most natural restoration of the text, he states that the Apocalypse of Peter had not such recognition. Hippolytus (190–235 fl.), in his Περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ (ed. Achelis, 1897), constantly quotes the Apocalypse. He speaks of it as ἡ γραφή (chap. 5) and its author ἀπόστολος καὶ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου (36). See Zahn, i. 203 (note).

In Carthage.—In this Church, which was the daughter of the Roman Church, J^{ap} enjoyed an unquestioned authority at the close of the 2nd century. Tertullian cites quotations from eighteen out of its twenty-two chapters. He knows of only one John, the Apostle, and he is unacquainted with any doubts of its canonicity save on the part of Marcion. He names it the instrumentum Joannis (*De Resurrectione*, 38) and the instrumentum apostolicum (*Pud.* 12). See Zahn, i. 111, 203 sq. The Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas show many traces of dependence on our author, as § 4, "circumstantes candidatos milia multa": § 12, "introeuntes vestierunt stolas candidas . . . et audivimus vocem unitam dicentium Agios agios agios sine cessatione . . . et vidimus in medio loco sedentem quasi hominem canum . . . et in dextra et in sinistra seniores viginti quattuor." See Zahn, i. 203 sq.

Thus throughout the Christian Church during the 2nd cent. there is hardly any other book of the N.T. so well attested and received as J^{ap}.

§ 3. *There were, however, two distinct protests against its Johannine authorship and validity in the 2nd century.*—(*a*) The first of these came from Marcion. He rejected it on the ground of its strongly Jewish character (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5), and he refused to recognize John as a canonical writer (iii. 14, "Quodsi Ioannem agnitum non vis, habes communem magistrum Paulum").

(*b*) The more important attack came from the Alogi—the name given to them by Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 3).[1] This sect (*Haer.* li. 33) rejected both the Gospel and Apocalypse and attributed them to Cerinthus. They objected to the sensuous symbolism of the book, and urged that it contained errors in matters of fact, seeing that there was no Church at Thyatira. Since Epiphanius draws most probably upon Hippolytus (190–235) for his information, we have in Epiphanius a nearly contemporaneous account of these opponents of J^{ap}.

With these Alogi, as Zahn urges (i. 223–227, 237–262, ii. 967–973), the sect mentioned by Irenaeus (iii. 11. 9) is to be identified. This sect was anti-Montanist. It rejected the Johannine books because of the support they gave—the Gospel through the doctrine of the Spirit and the Apocalypse through its prophetic character—to this Montanist party. Caius, a Roman Churchman, though not one of the Alogi, also rejected J^{ap} in a manifesto (*circ.* 210 A.D.) against Proclus the Montanist on the ground of its marvels and its sensuous doctrine of the Millennium, and ascribed it to Cerinthus (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 28. 1–2). There is no conclusive evidence that Caius and his school rejected the Gospel.

[1] *Τί φάσκουσι τοίνυν οἱ Ἄλογοι: ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς τίθημι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.*

The writing of Caius was answered by Hippolytus[1] (215 A.D.) in a work entitled Κεφάλαια κατὰ Γαίου καὶ ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τ. ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάνου, fragments of which have been preserved in a Commentary of Bar-Salibi (Gwynn, *Hermathena*, vi. 397–418, vii. 137–150). From this date forward no Western Churchman seriously doubted J^{ap}. In Africa, Cyprian repeatedly makes use of it.

§ 4. *The question of the authenticity of J^{ap} reopened by Dionysius of Alexandria, bishop of Alexandria,* 247–265 A.D.—Fragments of this scholarly and temperate criticism of the Apocalypse (Περὶ Ἐπαγγελιῶν) are preserved in Eusebius (vii. 24–25). This book was written as a refutation of a work by Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, entitled Ἔλεγχος Ἀλληγοριστῶν, which sought to prove that the promises made to the saints in the Scriptures were to be taken literally in a Jewish sense and particularly with regard to the Millennium (Eus. vii. 24). In his refutation of this book Dionysius advances many grounds to prove that J^{ap} was not written by the author of the Gospel and 1 John. He admits its claim to have been written by a John, but not by the Apostle. Some of the arguments we have given elsewhere (see p. xl).

If modern scholars had followed the lines of criticism laid down by Dionysius their labours would have been immeasurably more fruitful.

§ 5. *J^{ap} rejected for some time by the Syro-Palestinian Church and by the Churches of Asia Minor.*—The criticism of Dionysius in discrediting the apostolic authorship of J^{ap} discredited also its canonicity. Eusebius (260–340 A.D.) evidently agreed with the conclusions of Dionysius. Seeking to carry further the conclusions of that scholar, he suggests that J^{ap} was written by John the Elder of whom Papias wrote (Eus. iii. 39. 6). He is doubtful (iii. 24. 18, 25. 4) whether to reckon it among the accepted (ὁμολογούμενα) or the rejected (νόθα). Some years later Cyril of Jerusalem (315–386) not only excluded it from the list of canonical books, but also forbade its use in public and private. After enumerating the books of the N.T. in which the Apocalypse is not mentioned, he proceeds to say (*Catech.* iv. 36, τὰ δὲ λοιπά, πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκεται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σαυτὸν ἀναγίνωσκε).

The influence of Dionysius' criticism spread also to Asia Minor. Thus J^{ap} does not appear in Canon 60 of the Synod of Laodicea (*circ.* 360), nor in Canon 85 of the *Apost. Constitutions*

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[1] Another work of Hippolytus in defence of the Johannine writings may be inferred from the list of works engraven on the back of the chair on which the statue of the bishop was seated: ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως. See Lightfoot, *St. Clement*, I. ii. 420.

(Zahn, ii. 177 sqq., 197 sqq.), nor in the list of Gregory of Nazianzus (*ob.* 389). Amphilochius of Iconium (*ob.* 394) states that J^{ap} is rejected by most authorities (*οἱ πλείους δέ γε | νόθον λέγουσιν*).

The school of Antioch did not look with favour on J^{ap}. Chrysostom (*ob.* 407) represented this school in Constantinople. Theodore (350–428) carried with him the views of this school to Mopsuestia in Cilicia, and Theodoret (386–457) to the east to Cyrrhus. None of the three appears to have mentioned it.

Other lists from which it is excluded are the so-called Synopsis of Chrysostom, the List of 60 Books, and the Chronography of Nicephorus.

§ 6. *Quite independently of the criticism of Alexandria, J*^{ap} *was either ignored or unknown in the Eastern-Syrian and Armenian Churches for some centuries.*—The Apocalypse formed no part of the Peshitto Version of the N.T. which was made by Rabula of Edessa, 411 (Burkitt, *St. Ephraem's Quotations*, p. 57). The gap was afterwards supplied by a translation in 508 by Polycarpus for Philoxenus of Mabug, and by that of Thomas of Harkel, 616. On these the reader should consult Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of John in Syria*, pp. xc–cv, and Bousset's *Offenbarung*, 26–28. But it took centuries for J^{ap} to establish itself in the Syrian Churches. Junilius (*De partibus divinae legis*, i. 4), who reproduces the lectures of Paul of Nisibis, writes (551 A.D.), "De Ioannis apocalypsi apud Orientales admodum dubitatur." Jacob of Edessa (*ob.* 708) cites it as Scripture, and yet Bar Hebraeus (*ob.* 1208) regards it as the work of Cerinthus or the other John. In the Armenian Church it first appears as a canonical book in the 12th century (Conybeare, *Armenian Version of Revelation*, p. 64).

§ 7. *J*^{ap} *was always accepted as canonical in the West, and this same attitude towards it was gradually adopted by the Eastern Churches.*—In the Church of the West, notwithstanding the attacks of Gaius and the rejection of its apostolic authorship by Dionysius, writers were unanimous after the elaborate defence by Hippolytus of the canonicity of J^{ap}. Only Jerome takes up a doubtful attitude towards it; for, while in *Ep. ad Dardanum*, 129, he appears inclined to accept it, elsewhere (*In Ps.* 149) he ranks it in a class midway between canonical and apocryphal. J^{ap} found a succession of expounders in Victorinus of Pettau (*ob.* 303), Tyconius, Primasius, and is duly recorded in all the Western lists of the canonical books.

In Alexandria, Athanasius (293–373) recognized its Johannine authorship and canonicity, and in due course the Greek commentaries of Oecumenius, Andreas, and Arethas.

Thus throughout the world the full canonicity of the Apocalypse was accepted in the 13th century save in the

Nestorian Church. With the views of later times the present work is not here concerned. For these, readers may consult Bousset, *Offenbarung*, 19–34; or the present writer's *Studies in the Apocalypse*, 1–78.

XI.

Object of the Seer and his Methods—Vision and Reflection.

§ 1. *The object of the Seer* is to proclaim the coming of God's kingdom on earth, and to assure the Christian Church of the final triumph of goodness, not only in the individual or within its own borders, not only throughout the kingdoms of the world and in their relations one to another, but also throughout the whole universe. Thus its gospel was from the beginning at once individualistic and corporate, national and international and cosmic. While the Seven Churches represent entire Christendom, Rome represents the power of this world. With its claims to absolute obedience, Rome stands in complete antagonism to Christ. Between these two powers there can be no truce or compromise. The strife between them must go on inexorably without let or hindrance, till the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ. This triumph is to be realized on earth. There is to be no legislation, no government, no statecraft which is not finally to be brought into subjection to the will of Christ. J^{ap} is thus the Divine Statute Book of International Law, as well as a manual for the guidance of the individual Christian. In this spirit of splendid optimism the Seer confronts the world-wide power of Rome with its blasphemous claims to supremacy over the spirit of man. He is as ready as the most throughgoing pessimist to recognize the apparently overwhelming might of the enemy, but he does not, like the pessimist, fold his hands in helpless apathy, or weaken the courage of his brethren by idle jeremiads and tears. Gifted with an insight that the pessimist wholly lacks, we can recognize the full horror of the evils that are threatening to engulf the world, and yet he never yields to one despairing thought of the ultimate victory of God's cause on earth. He greets each fresh conquest achieved by triumphant wrong, with a fresh trumpet call to greater faithfulness, even when that faithfulness is called to make the supreme self-sacrifice. The faithful are to follow whithersoever the Lamb that was slain leads, and for such, whether they live or die, there can be no defeat, and so with song and thanksgiving he marks each stage of the world strife which is carried on ceaselessly and inexorably till, as in

1 Cor 15$^{24-27}$, every evil power in heaven, or earth, or under the earth is overthrown and destroyed for ever.

§ 2. *Methods of the Seers generally—psychical experiences and reflection or reason.*—Prophecy and apocalyptic for the most part use the same methods for learning and teaching the will of God. The knowledge of the prophet as of the Seer came through dreams, visions, trances, and through spiritual, and yet not unconscious, communion with God—wherein every natural faculty of man was quickened to its highest power. When we wish to distinguish the prophet and the seer, we say that the prophet *hears* and announces the word of God, whereas the seer *sees* and recounts his vision. But this definition only carries us but a little way, for these phenomena are common to both. Hence we must proceed further, and deal with the means which the seer uses in order to set forth his message. These are *psychical experiences, and reflection or rather reason embracing the powers of insight, imagination, and judgment.*

Psychical experiences.—These consist of (*a*) dreams; (*b*) dreams combined with translation of the spirit; and (*c*) visions.

(*a*) *Dreams.* — *Dreams conveying a revelation.* — Dreams play a great rôle in Jewish apocalypses. They are found in Dan 2^1 4^5 7^1; in 1 Enoch 83-90, 2 Enoch 1^2 etc.; Test. Naph. 5^1 6^1 7^1; 4 Ezra 11^1 12^3 13$^{1.13}$. Such dreams are assigned to a divine source and are regarded as conveying revelations of God. Now such dreams are in many of these passages called visions: cf. Dan 4^5 7^1 8$^{1sqq.}$; 1 Enoch 83–90, where the two dreams 85^1 are called two visions in 83^2; Test. Levi, where the vision of 8^1 is called a dream in 8^{18}; Test. Naph., where what is called dreams in 7^1 is called visions in 5^1; 4 Ezra, where what is called dreams in 11^1 13^1 is called visions in 12^{10} 13$^{21.25}$ 14^{17}. In 2 Bar. the Seer seems to have waking visions, except in 36^1 53^1.

Now in these apocalypses dreams and visions are equally authoritative sources of divine knowledge as well as in the O.T. Cf. 1 Sam 28$^{6.15}$, Deut 13$^{1-3}$, Jer 23$^{25-32}$ 27^9 29^8, Joel 2^{28}. But it is remarkable that dreams fall into the background in the 1st cent. A.D. in Christian literature.[1] Thus the Hebrew Test. Naph. (date uncertain) 2^1 4^1 7$^{1.5}$ speaks only of visions, and in 3^{13} treats a dream as no true source of divine knowledge. See my edition of the *Test. XII Patriarchs*, pp. 221–223. In the N.T. dreams are not divine means of revelation unless in Matt 1^{20} 2$^{12-13.19.22}$ 27^{19}. Hence it is only visions that are recounted in the Apocalypse. It is not even said that the Seer fell asleep and saw a vision. It is simply said, "I saw." In 4 Ezra, on the other hand, sleep precedes the visions in 11^{1} 13^{1} and in 2 Bar 36^{1} 53^{1}, though in other sections this element of the dream is wholly wanting.

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[1] This is not the case in the Talmud. Belief in dreams was the rule, and disbelief the exception. Cf. Berakhoth 55–58, Sanh. 30^a, Ber 28^a, Hor 13^b. Sirach, on the other hand, declares that dreams are vanity, 31 (34)$^{1-8}$. See *Jewish Encyc.* iv. 654 sqq.

(*b*) *Dreams combined with a translation of the spirit of the Seer.*—Test. Levi 2^{5-9} $5^{1.\,7}$. This combination reappears in Hermas, *Vis.* i. 1. 3, ἀφύπνωσα καὶ πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με δι' ἀνοδίας τινος.

(*c*) *Visions.*—In these the ordinary consciousness seems to be suspended, and sensible symbols appear to be literally seen with another faculty. These visions fall into three classes.

(α) *Visions in sleep.*—All the dreams mentioned in i. (*a*) above which are called visions by the writers could be brought under this head. Cf. Test. Lev $8^{1.\,18}$.

(β) *Visions in a trance.*—Cf. Ezek 1^{1}, Test. Jos 19^{1}, 2 Bar 22^{1} 55^{1-3} 76^{1}, Acts 10^{10}, Apoc $1^{10\ \mathrm{sqq.}}$ (ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι) and *passim* where καὶ εἶδον is used. Yet the latter may be otherwise explained, as we shall see.

(γ) *Visions in which the spirit is translated.*—Ezek $3^{12.\,14}$ 8^{3}, Dan 8^{1-2}, 1 Enoch $71^{1.\,5}$, 2 Enoch 3^{1}, 2 Bar $6^{3\ \mathrm{sqq.}}$, Asc. Is 6–11, Apoc. 4^{1} 17^{3} 21^{10}. St. Paul (2 Cor 12^{3}) does not know whether in his vision he has experienced an actual translation of the spirit or not.[1]

(δ) *Waking visions.*—Daniel seems to experience a trance when awake in 10^{5}, Stephen in Acts 7^{55}, Zacharias in Luke 1^{11-20}. The fundamental ideas underlying some of the shorter or even of the more elaborate visions in our author may belong to this category, such as 1^{10-20} 4^{1-8} 7^{9-17} 8^{3-5} $14^{14.\,18-20}$ 15^{2-4} 20^{11-15} $21^{5a.\,4d.\,5b.\,1-4abc}$ 22^{3-5}.

§ 3. *Value of such psychical experiences depends not on their being actual experiences, but on their source, their moral environment, and their influence on character.*[2]—Of the reality of such psychical experiences no modern psychologist entertains a doubt. The value, however, of such experiences is not determined by their reality, but by facts of a wholly different nature. Real psychical experiences were not confined to Israel. They were familiar at the oracular shrines of the ethnic religions. The most celebrated of these was the ancient world Oracle at Delphi. This Oracle exerted generally a good influence on Hellenic life. But the hope of continuous progress by such agencies among the Greeks was foredoomed from the outset owing to two causes—the first being their association with polytheism and other corrupt forms of religion, and the second being the failure of Hellas to respond to the moral claims as it had done to those of the intellect. But it was otherwise in Israel, where seers such as Samuel prepared the way for the prophet, and moral and religious claims received a progressive and ever deepening response. Now prophet and seer alike had dreams, visions, and trances, and these psychical experiences in Israel were distinguished from those of the heathen seers not by their greater reality, for they were in the main equally *real* in both cases, but by quite a different standard, i.e. *by the source from which they sprang, the environment in which they were produced, and the influence they exercised on the will and character.* In all these respects prophecy and apocalyptic were duly authenticated in the O.T. as they are in the N.T.

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[1] For similar psychical experiences in heathenism, cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 5, 9 sq. etc.; Dieterich, *Eine Mithras-Liturgie*.

[2] See on the whole question of this chapter, Joyce, *The Inspiration of Prophecy*, 1910; Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, 1899; Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, 1899.

§ 4. *Literal descriptions of such experiences hardly ever possible. The language of the seer is symbolic.*—In regard, therefore, to the visions recounted by our author and other O.T. and N.T. visionaries, the main question is the character of the religious faith they express and the religious and moral duties they enforce. Whether they are literal descriptions of actual experiences is a wholly secondary question. A literal discription would only be possible in the case of the simplest visions, in which the things seen were already more or less within the range of actual human experience, as, for instance, in Amos 8^{1-2} "Thus the Lord God showed me: and behold a basket of summer fruit. And he said, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A basket of summer fruit." Cf. Jer $1^{11\text{ sq. }13\text{ sqq.}}$. But in our author the visions are of an elaborate and complicated nature, and the more exalted and intense the experience, the more incapable it becomes of literal description. Moreover, if we believe, as the present writer does, that behind these visions there is an actual substratum of reality belonging to the higher spiritual world, then the seer could grasp the things seen and heard in such visions, only in so far as he was equipped for the task by his psychical powers and the spiritual development behind him. In other words, he could at the best only partially apprehend the significance of the heavenly vision vouchsafed him. To the things seen he perforce attached the symbols more or less transformed that these naturally evoked in his mind, symbols that he owed to his own waking experience or the tradition of the past; and the sounds he heard naturally clothed themselves in the literary forms with which his memory was stored. Thus *the seer laboured under a twofold disability. His psychical powers were generally unequal to the task of apprehending the full meaning of the heavenly vision, and his powers of expression were frequently unable to set forth the things he had apprehended.*

In the attempt to describe to his readers what was wholly beyond the range of their knowledge and experience, the seer had thus constant recourse to the use of symbols. Hence in his literary presentment of what he has seen and heard in the moments of transcendent rapture, the images he uses are symbolic and not literal or pictorial. In fact, symbolism in regard to such subjects is the only language that seer and layman alike can employ. The appeal of such symbolism is made to the religious imagination. In this way it best discloses the permanent truth of which it is the vehicle and vesture.

§ 5. *Highest form of spiritual experience.*—There is a higher form of spiritual experience than either that of the prophetic audition or the prophetic vision. In this higher experience the divine insight is won in a state of intense spiritual exaltation, in which the self loses immediate self-consciousness without becoming unconscious, and the best faculties of the mind are quickened to their highest power. Therein the soul comes into direct touch with truth or God Himself. The light, that in such high experience visits the wrestling spirit, comes as a grace, an insight into reality, which the soul could never have achieved by its own unaided powers, and yet can come only to the soul that has fitted itself for its reception. In such experience the eye of the seer may see no vision, the ear of the seer hear no voice, and yet therein is spiritual experience at its highest. Such experiences must ever be beyond the range of literal description. They can only be suggested by symbols. They cannot be adequately expressed by any human combination of words or sounds or colours. At the same time such spiritual experiences of the seer have their analogies in those of the musician, poet, painter, and scholar.

§ 6. *Reason embracing the powers of insight, imagination, and judgment.*—In the manifold experiences enumerated in § 2, 4–5, the use of the reason is always presupposed, but as the secondary and not the primary agent in action, save perhaps in § 5. Under this heading, however, we deal rather with the normal use of the reason, while the seer makes (*a*) an arrangement of the materials so as to construct a divine *théodicée* or philosophy of religion; (*b*) in his creation of allegories; (*c*) in the adaptation of traditional materials to his own purpose and their reinterpretation; (*d*) in the conventional use of the phrase "I saw."

(*a*) *Arrangement of materials.*—Now, whereas the collected works of a prophet do not necessarily and in point of fact never show strict structural unity and steady development of thought, it is otherwise with the seer, and above all other seers with the work of our author, which exhibits these characteristics in an unparalleled degree. The reader has only to consult the Plan of the Book (pp. xxiii–xxviii) to be assured of this fact. The work of the artist and thinker is seen not only in the perfectness of the form in which many of the visions are recorded, but also in the skill with which the individual visions are woven together in order to represent the orderly and inevitable character of the divine drama. For not a single vision, save the three that are proleptic, can be removed from the text without inflicting irreparable damage on the whole work. The philosophical and dramatic character of J^{ap} is due to the Seer as a religious thinker. On the other hand, the individual visions, where these are not freely constructed or borrowed from sources, are due to his visionary experiences. Apocalyptic, and not prophecy, was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity.

(*b*) *Allegories freely constructed.*—The seers make use not infrequently of allegory. Allegories are generally freely constructed and figurative descriptions of real events and persons. With this form of literature we might compare Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Their object is to lay bare the eternal issues that are at stake in the actual conflicts of the day. Dan 11, 1 Enoch 85–90, 2 Bar liii–lxxiv, 4 Ezra 11–12, are undoubtedly freely invented allegories.

The work of the seer is not affected injuriously by his adoption of this literary form in order to publish his message to the world. The question of importance is *not the form in which it is conveyed, but the nature of the religious conviction which has therein found expression*. The Seven Seals and the Seven Bowls may in part be ranked under this division and in part under the next.

(*c*) *Adaptation of traditional material.*—Our Seer had many sources at his disposal, and he has freely laid them under contribution, re-editing and adapting them to their new contexts. If we admit his right to construct allegories freely to convey his message to the Church, he had the same right to use traditional material for the same purpose. In fact, all the Jewish writers of apocalypses did so. The sealing of the 144,000, 7^{4-8}, and the Heavenly Jerusalem, 21^{9}–$22^{2.\ 14-15.\ 17}$, are constructed and rewritten largely out of pre-existing material, but their meaning is in the main transformed. In not a few cases the sources have not been wholly adapted to the contexts into which they have been introduced by the Seer. See p. lxii sqq.

(*d*) *Conventional use of the phrase "I saw."*—Just as the prophet came to use the words "thus saith the Lord," even when there was no actual psychical experience in which he heard a voice, so he came to use the words "I saw" when there was no actual vision. The same conventional use of both these phrases belongs to apocalyptic as well as to prophecy. They serve simply to express the divine message with which the prophet or the seer is entrusted. How far this use prevails in J^{ap} would be difficult to determine. We might, however, place The Letters to the Seven Churches under this category. These letters, if the present writer's hypothesis is correct, were written by our author during the reign of Vespasian. They are assigned to Christ in our text in the words τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ($2^{7.\ 11.\ 17}$ etc.). This is quite in keeping with the usage of the N.T. For the words of the prophets practically claim a divine authority. Cf. Acts $5^{1\ sqq.}$, 1 Cor $5^{4.\ 5}$, 1 Tim 1^{20}. Such words are not merely men's words; cf. τάδε λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα, Acts 21^{11}, as Agabus declares, also 7^{56}. In 1 Tim 4^{1} the words τὸ πνεῦμα ῥητῶς λέγει are equivalent to "a certain prophet has said." In these expressions the person of the prophet is ignored. Now our author claims to belong to the fellowship of the prophets, and he can rightly use the phrase τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει to express his convictions as a prophet.

XII.

SOME DOCTRINES OF OUR AUTHOR.

The chief theme of the Apocalypse is not what God in Christ has done for the world, but what He will yet do, and what the assured consummation will be. It is therefore the Gospel of faith and hope, and seeks to inspire the Churches anew in these respects; for that the end is nigh. As it sets forth its theme, it instructs, though incidentally, and its teaching is always fresh and in some respects unique.

§ 1. *The doctrine of God.*—If the doctrine of God were drawn only from the direct statements which the Apocalypse makes on this subject, though in some respects it would transcend the level reached in the O.T. (as in its teaching on God's fatherhood, etc.), in many others (such as His infinite mercy and forgiveness) it would fall far short of it. Many scholars have emphasized this peculiarity of the Apocalypse, and insisted accordingly on the Jewish character of its doctrine of God. But to draw such a conclusion betrays a total misapprehension of the question at issue. The Christian elements are not dwelt upon because they can all be inferred from what the Book teaches regarding the

Son; for all that the Son has and is is derived from the Father. Hence the conception of the Father under this heading must be completed from that of the Son in the next. The conception is on the whole severely monotheistic.

(*a*) First as regards the ethical side, God is holy, righteous, and true. He alone is holy (*μόνος ὅσιος*, 15^{4} 16^{5}: cf. 4^{8} 6^{10}); He is the True One, 6^{10} (*ἀληθινός = ἀληθής* in our author), who keepeth covenant; with this truthfulness is associated His righteousness in judgment, 15^{3} 16^{7} $19^{1.\,2}$. From these spring His wrath against sin, 6^{17} 11^{18} 19^{15}; and His avenging of all the wrongs done on the earth, 6^{10} 19^{2}. He is the Judge of all the dead, 20^{11-15}.

(*b*) The gracious attributes of God are not brought forward, but are rather to be inferred from the fact that He is called the Father of Jesus Christ, 1^{6} 2^{27} $3^{5.\,21}$ 14^{1}, and the Father also of all such as conquer, 21^{7}, and will dwell with them and be their God for ever, 21^{3}. Herein is the consummation of all the world's travail. The divine world is to come into the world of history and realize itself there, seeing that all things come from God and end in God. But this idea belongs in part to (*c*).

(*c*) God is everlasting and omnipotent. First, as everlasting, He is designated as *ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, 1^{4} 4^{8}; *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν*, 11^{17} 16^{5} (see vol. i. 10 sq.); *ὁ ζῶν εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων*, 4^{9} 10^{6} 15^{7}. Next, He is omnipotent. Our author's favourite expression for this idea is *κύριος* (> 16^{14} 19^{15}) *ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*, 4^{8} 11^{17} 15^{3} $16^{7.\,14}$ $19^{6.\,15}$ 21^{22}; He is also designated *ὁ δεσπότης*, 6^{10}; *ὁ κύριος* (+ *ἡμῶν*, 11^{15}), 11^{15} 14^{1} $^{3}15^{4}$; *κύριος ὁ θεός*, 22^{5}; *ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*, 4^{11}. But though omnipotent, His omnipotence is ethically and not metaphysically conceived. It is not unconditioned force. That He possesses such absolute power is an axiom of the Christian faith, but He will not use it, since such use of it would compel the recognition of His sovereignty, not win it, would enslave man, not make him free. Hence the recognition of this sovereignty advances *pari passu* with the advance of Christ's Kingdom on earth, and each fresh advance is followed by thanksgivings in heaven; for the perfect realization of God's Kingdom in the world is the one divine event to which the whole creation moves, 4^{11} 5^{13} 7^{12} 11^{15}.

(*d*) He is the Creator, 4^{11} 14^{7}. Yet see § 2 (*c*) on the creative activity of Christ.

(*e*) He is the Judge of all the dead, 20^{11-15}.

§ 2 *Jesus Christ.*—The teaching of our author on this subject is very comprehensive. Only the main points of it can be dealt with under the following heads, which are not always logically distinct. (*a*) The Historical Christ. (*b*) The Exalted Christ. (*c*) The Unique Son of God. (*d*) The Great High Priest. (*e*) The Pre-existent Christ. (*f*) The Divine Christ.

(*a*) *The Historical Christ.*—He is most frequently designated by His personal name "Jesus," 1^{9} 12^{17} 14^{12} etc., occasionally by the originally official name "Christ," 11^{15} 12^{10} $20^{4.\,6}$, and by the combination of the two, $1^{1.\,2.\,5}$ 22^{21}. He is of Israelitish birth, being the Root of David, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, 5^{5}, and born in the midst of the Jewish theocracy, $12^{1\text{-}3.\,5}$, *i.e.* the *γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον.* That there is no reference here to the Virgin Birth is clear from the fact that our author is here using a Jewish source, which naturally represented the Messiah as one born naturally in the midst of the community. Besides, "the woman" has other children (12^{17} *τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς*). Thus the faithful are sons of this woman as Jesus is. On the other hand, they *become* sons of God, 21^{7}, which Jesus *is* originally and uniquely (1^{6} 2^{27} $3^{5.\,21}$ 14^{1}). He has twelve apostles, 21^{14}; His crucifixion in Jerusalem is referred to, 11^{8}; His resurrection, $1^{5.\,18}$, and ascension, 3^{21} 12^{5}.

(*b*) *The Exalted Christ.*—Nowhere in the N.T. is the glory of the exalted Christ so emphasized. He is said to be "Like a Son of Man," 1^{13} 14^{14}—an apocalyptic expression first applied to the Messiah in 1 Enoch 46^{1}, denoting a supernatural Being in dignity above the angels. He is described as the Faithful Witness, the Sovereign of the dead, the Ruler of the living, 1^{5}; as the resurrection and the life, and so the exclusive Mediator of salvation (*ἔχω τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου*, 1^{18}). He is the Supreme Head of the Church, the Centre of all its life (*ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνιῶν*, 1^{13} 2^{1}) and the Master of its destinies (*ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτά*, 1^{16}), chastening its individual members and judging them from love and in love, 3^{19}; promising them that conquer in the coming tribulation every blessing of the Kingdom of God, $2^{7.\,11.\,17.\,26\text{-}28}$ $3^{5.\,12.\,21}$; embracing them in a perfect fellowship, 3^{20}, and glorifying all who depart in this fellowship with the beatitude pronounced by God Himself, 14^{13}. And even over those who are without the borders of the Church, He exercises a silent yet real sway, which more and more will come into manifestation and break in pieces the hostile peoples, 2^{27} 12^{5} 19^{15}; for He is "King of kings and Lord of lords," 17^{14} 19^{16}. And to Him is committed the Messianic judgment, 1^{7} $14^{14.\,18\text{-}20}$ $19^{11\text{-}21}$ $20^{7\text{-}10}$ 22^{12}.

(*c*) *As Unique Son of God, Pre-existent and Divine.*—Whereas the faithful *become* sons of God, 21^{7}, He *is* Son of God essentially, 1^{6} $2^{18.\,27}$ $3^{5.\,21}$ 14^{1}. He is "the Word of God," 19^{13}, "the Holy, the True," 3^{7}, even as God is, 6^{10}; "the First and the Last," 1^{17} 2^{8} 22^{13b}; "the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End," 22^{13}—titles that are used by God of Himself in 21^{6} as denoting the source and goal of all things. In the light of these words we can rightly interpret 3^{14} *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ.* This does not mean the first *κτίσις* of God (as in Prov 8^{22}), but the active principle in creation—the *αἰτία* or cause. The words, "I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore, $1^{17\text{-}18}$, recall to some extent the divine name "which is, and which was, and which is to come," 1^{4} 4^{8}. He sits with God on His throne, 3^{21} 7^{17} 12^{5}, "the throne of God and the Lamb, $22^{1.\,3}$. The divine worship offered to Christ in 5^{12} is described in the same terms as that offered to God in 4^{10}, and the same hymn of praise is sung in honour of both Christ, 5^{13}, and God, 7^{10},[1] and during the Millennial reign the saints minister to Him as to God, 20^{6}. Many designations which belong alone to God in the O.T. are freely used of Christ. He is described in $1^{14.\,15}$ in terms used of the Ancient of Days in Dan 7^{9}. He searcheth the heart and the reins, 2^{23}, as God in Jer 17^{10}, Ps 7^{10}. His are the seven eyes that are sent out into all the earth, 5^{6}, as are those of Yahweh, Zech 4^{10}: as Yahweh's garments in Is $63^{1.\,2}$, His are sprinkled with blood, 19^{13}; and as Yahweh in Deut 10^{17}, He also is Lord of lords, 17^{14}. Our author thus appears to co-ordinate God and Christ. Yet the relation is one rather of subordination than of equality. He never goes so far as the author of the Fourth Gospel. He does not state that God and Christ are one, nor does he ever call Him God. And yet He is to all intents and purposes God—the eternal Son of God, and the impression conveyed is that in all that He is, and in all that He does, He is one with the Father, and is a true revelation of God in the sphere of human history. Only in three definite respects is He represented as second to the Father. First, absolute existence is not attributed to Him as to the Father—the idea conveyed by the words, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, 1^{4} 4^{8} (11^{17} 16^{5}). Yet see 1^{17} 2^{8} 22^{13} above. Next, the final Judgment belongs to the Father alone, $20^{11\text{-}15}$. Thirdly, though He is the active principle in creation, 3^{14}, it is the Father who is the Creator, 4^{11} 14^{7}.[2]

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[1] Our author is deeply conscious of the impassable gulf that separates the creature and the Creator, and the mediating angel sternly refuses such worship on the ground that it is due to God alone, 22^{9}.

[2] It must not be overlooked that Christ's fitness to undertake the shaping of the world's destinies is attributed to His faithfulness unto death. He had earned it by His self-sacrifice:

> "Worthy art thou to take the book
> And to open the seals thereof;
> For thou wast slain,
> And hast redeemed unto God with thy blood
> Men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation,
> And hast made them unto our God a kingdom and priests,
> And they shall reign upon the earth," $5^{9\text{-}10}$.

Again in $2^{26\text{-}28}$ Christ promises to make those that conquer rulers over the heathen—even as He too had received this power from His Father, and in 3^{21}

(*d*) *As Great High Priest: Lamb of God.*—It is probable that Christ is represented as a priest in 1^{13} where He is "clothed with a garment down to the foot." But this idea is wholly overshadowed by another, expressed by the designation "the Lamb," where Christ is not the Priest but the Lamb slain. This designation occurs twenty-eight times in our author in reference to Christ. But in this phrase two ideas quite distinct are combined,[1] the most prominent one—a Christian development—is that of the Lamb as a victim—*ἀρνίον . . . ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*, $5^{6.\,12}$ 12^{11} 13^{8} and elsewhere. The second idea—derived from 1 Enoch and Test. XII Patr.—is that of a lamb who is a leader—either a spiritual leader, as in 7^{17} $14^{1.\,4}$, cf. 1 Enoch 89^{45} where Samuel is so symbolized, or a military leader, 5^{6}, *i.e.*, a lamb "with seven horns and seven eyes," that is, a Being of transcendent power and knowledge: the Messiah is so symbolized in 1 Enoch 90^{38}, Test. Jos 19^{8}.[2] This conception, which is borrowed in the main from Jewish Apocalyptic, comes to the front in 17^{14}, where it is foretold that the ten Parthian kings will war with the Lamb and the Lamb will overcome them—*τὸ ἀρνίον νικήσει αὐτούς* (cf. Test. Jos. 19^{8}, in footnote 2 below, for the same words applied to the Jewish Messiah).

But these two ideas are merged together by our author, as we see in 5^{6}. The Lamb is at once the triumphant Messiah, leading His people to victory, and the suffering Messiah who lays down His life for His people. This latter conception is non-Jewish.[3] But after the death of Christ this fact was soon

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to make them share in His throne even as His Father had made Him to share in His throne because of His having proved a conqueror.

[1] See *Expositor*, 1910, vol. x. 173–187, 266–281. Spitta, *Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu: Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu*, 1910. I have strengthened the evidence adduced by Spitta by further facts from 1 Enoch and the Testaments in the next note.

[2] This usage is well attested in 1 Enoch, where, 89^{45} (161 B.C.), Samuel as a leader is called a lamb, and likewise David and Solomon, $89^{45.\,48}$, before they were anointed kings. All the faithful in the early Maccabean period are also called lambs, $90^{6.\,8}$, but all these are without horns. In $90^{9.\,12}$, however, there arise "horned lambs," and Judas Maccabaeus is such a lamb "with a great horn." Thus "the horned lamb" is a symbol for the leader of the Jewish Theocracy. But it is also used of the Messiah in 1 Enoch 90^{38} and in the Test. Joseph 19^{8} (109–107 B.C.), where the words, *προῆλθεν ἀμνός, καὶ . . . πάντα τὰ θηρία ὅρμων κατ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίκησεν αὐτὰ ὁ ἀμνός*, refer to one of the Maccabees, most probably to John Hyrcanus. Now, since the author of the Testaments *regarded John Hyrcanus as the Messiah* (see my edition of *Test. XII Patr.* pp. xcvii–viii, Reub 6^{7-12}, Levi 8^{14} 18, Jud 24^{1-3}, Jos 19^{5-9}), it follows that the term "lamb," or more particularly "horned lamb," was in apocalyptic writings a symbol for the Messiah. In our author the former appears in 17^{14}, the latter in 5^{6}. In 13^{11} the second Beast assimilates itself to the horned lamb, *i.e.*, to the Messiah: see vol. i. 358.

[3] See Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend*, 1888.

explained, as already foretold under the influence of such a passage as Is 53^{7} "As the lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb, yea, he openeth not his mouth." In Acts 8^{32-33} this passage is interpreted of Christ.

Under the designation "the Lamb," therefore, there lies the ideas of sacrifice and triumphant might. Out of love to man and with a view to redeem him, Jesus sacrifices Himself (1^{5} *τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ*: 5^{9} *ἐσφάγης καὶ ἠγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς . . . καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς*). The conquest of sin is only to be achieved through self-sacrifice. Nothing but the self-sacrifice of holy love can overcome the principle of selfishness and sin that dominates the world. The Lamb who conquers is the Lamb who has given Himself up as a willing sacrifice. But the principle of love going forth in sacrifice is older than the world, 13^{8}—the Lamb was slain from its foundation. And he who would follow Christ must conquer in like fashion (3^{21} *ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ*). The aim of Christ's work is not the cancelling of guilt, but the destruction of sin in the sinner, his spiritual deliverance and redemption. Only by His life and death can He win man from sin: this is the cost incurred. Hence the figure of purchase is used 5^{9} 14^{3}, but there is no suggestion of a ransom paid to God or a lower being.

Hence, since the Lamb as the Redeemer stands in the midst of the throne of God, 5^{6} 7^{17}, and the throne of God is His throne, $22^{1.\,3}$, everything that is affirmed of the Son is to be affirmed of the Father. The Son is a revelation of the Father on the stage of the world's history. Hence, as the Father is supreme in power, He is supreme in love going forth in sacrifice. Thus the principle of self-sacrificing love belongs to the essence of the Godhead. God's almightiness is not only a moral force, as we have already seen (see § 1 (*c*) *ad fin.*), but a redemptive one, which can only realize itself in moral and spiritual victory. Thus divine omnipotence and divine love and self-sacrifice are indissolubly linked together for the world's redemption—from eternity and for evermore.

§ 3. *The Spirit.*—There is no definitely conceived doctrine of the Spirit in our author. In 1^{4} the editor sought to introduce the doctrine of the Trinity by inserting *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων τῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ*: see vol. i. 11–13. But such a grotesque conception has no place in our author. In the words *τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει* the Spirit of Christ is meant in $2^{7.\,11.\,17.\,29}$ $3^{6.\,13.\,22}$; for in all the seven Epistles the Speaker is Christ.

The same is true in 14^{13} 22^{17}. See vol. ii. 179; vol. i. Introd. xi. § 6 (*d*).

§ 4. *Doctrine of Works.*—The necessity of works is strongly enforced in our author, since men's works follow with them, and men are judged according to their works, 20^{12} 22^{12}, which are recorded in the books, 20^{12}.[1] These doctrines imply man's free will and self-determination. On the other hand, the term "book of life," 13^{8} 17^{8}, seems to express divine predestination. But this is not necessarily so. It need express nothing more than God's omniscience from the beginning of the world. The words κλητοί, ἐκλκετοὶ καὶ πιστοί, 17^{14}, set forth God's share and man's share in man's salvation: the call (κλῆσις) remains ineffective without faith (πίστις)—a word which in our author means faithfulness or fidelity in 2^{19} 13^{10}, and can also be so in 2^{13} 14^{12}.

But what does our author mean by "works"? These are not observances of the Mosaic Law, since our author never mentions it and nowhere admits of any obligation arising from it. Nor does it mean isolated fulfilments even of the commandments of God or of Christ. They stand for the moral character as a whole, and are not in their essence outward at all though they lead of necessity to outward acts. But, so far as they issue in outward acts, they are regarded by our author simply as the manifestation of the inner life and character. That this is our author's teaching will be seen from the two following passages. In 2^{2} the "works" of the Church of Ephesus are defined as consisting in "labour and endurance." The first of these is certainly manifest. In 2^{19} we have a very instructive definition, οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν. The first καί is used, of course, epexegetically. "Love, faith, service, and endurance" define the ἔργα. See vol. i. 371 sqq. In 3^{2} watchfulness is enjoined, and 2^{10} faithfulness unto death. The "works of Jesus," 2^{26}, are those which originate in faithfulness to Jesus.

The righteous acts of the martyrs not to be identified with their white garments.—The righteous acts of the saints are thus, according to our author, the manifestation of the inner life and character—the character a man takes with him when he leaves this life. From this it follows that the clause τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαίωματα τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν, in 19^{8}, misrepresents the teaching of our author and is an intrusion. For neither the righteous acts nor the character of the martyrs form the garment of their souls, seeing that the souls of the martyrs in heaven, 6^{11}, are described as lacking such garments for a time, though they possess righteous acts and righteous character in a supereminent degree: see Introd. vol. i. 184–188. Hence the garments cannot be identified *with the righteousness which they take with them*, 14^{13}, *but with the spiritual bodies which are assigned by God to them*, which in 6^{11} (note) and 3^{5} (note) are described as white garments. Faith has an heroic quality in our author. It leads to endurance, 2^{19}, to faithfulness in persecution, 2^{13} 13^{10}, even when this ends in death, 2^{10} 14^{13}. In 2^{13} 14^{12} πίστις is followed by an objective genitive, in 2^{19} 13^{10} by a subjective. In the latter case it means "fidelity" or "faithfulness." In fact it could be so rendered in all four passages.

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[1] In 2^{23} the judgment is not eschatological, but that which takes place in this world.

§ 5. *The first Resurrection, the Millennium, and the second Resurrection.*—Since these subjects are so fully dealt with in the Commentary, I shall content myself with summarizing the results arrived at there.

The first Resurrection.—Only the martyrs share in the first resurrection, 20^{4-6}. These reign with Christ for 1000 years in the Jerusalem that, coming down from heaven, 21^{9}–$22^{2.\ 14\text{-}15.\ 17}$, forms the seat of the Millennial Kingdom (see vol. ii. 184). To them is committed the re-evangelization of the world, 21^{24} $22^{14.\ 17}$, which is promised in 11^{15} 14^{6-7} 15^{4}. Into the Holy City pour the nations of the earth, and are healed of their spiritual diseases, 21^{24-27}. Without this city are sorcerers and fornicators and murderers, 22^{15}. At the close of this kingdom the unrepentant nations rebel afresh and are destroyed, and thereon follows the final judgment. See vol. ii. 182 sqq.

The second Resurrection.—The former heaven and earth vanish before the final judgment. Only the dead arise for judgment by God. These are the righteous who had not suffered martyrdom, and the wicked. The former come forth from the "treasuries" or "chambers," 20^{13a}, the latter from Hades. From our author's teaching elsewhere we are to infer that the righteous are clothed in spiritual bodies but that the wicked are disembodied, vol. i. 98. Since this body appears to be the main organ by which the soul expresses itself or receives impressions in the world of thought and righteousness, the wicked have thus involuntarily but inevitably ostracized themselves from this world. Selfishness and sin have brought about their natural penalty, the isolation of every sinner, and finally his destruction in the lake of fire. See vol. i. 184–188, ii. 193–198.

Judgment.—The judgment of all the living on the earth is committed to Christ, from the Seven Seals onwards to the destruction of Gog and Magog. The Messianic judgment deals with the living: God's judgment with all the dead, save the martyrs who, having attained to the first resurrection, are not subject to the second death, 20^{6}, and such others as during the

Millennial Reign enter the city and eat of the tree of life, 22^{14}. All the remaining righteous coming forth from the "treasuries"[1] and the wicked from Hades[2] receive their final award.

XIII.

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

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[1] See the necessary emendation of the text, vol. i. 194–198.

[2] Hades means only the abode of unrighteous souls in our author: see vol. i. 32, vol. ii. 197 *ad fin.* On the "Abyss" see vol. i. 239–242.

§ 1. *Noun, Adjective, and Verb forms.*

(i.) *Nouns.*—Words ending in -ρᾰ form their gen. and dat. in -ρης, ρῃ, as μαχαίρης, 13^{14}.[1] μαχαίρῃ, $13^{10\,(bis)}$. On the various theories as to the origin of this late change, see Thackeray, *Gr.* 141, where also he states that in the LXX out of 79 examples of μάχαιρα in the gen. and dat. the η forms are certainly original in only 2. -ρης forms become practically universal under the Early Roman Empire.

(ii.) *Adjectives.*—χρυσᾶν, AℵC (for χρυσῆν), 1^{13}, is formed on the analogy of ἀργυρᾶν. The contracted form χρυσοῦς occurs always (15 times) in our author, elsewhere in the N.T. 3 times. The best uncials are only at variance in 2^{1}. On the other hand, βαθέα (βάθη, ℵ 025), 2^{24}, is original.

(iii.) *Verbs.*—(*a*) *Irregular or unusual forms.*—Present. δύνῃ, 2^{2} (only once so in LXX) for δύνασαι, presupposes δύνομαι (see Thackeray, *Gr.* 218). It is found in the poets and in prose writers from Polybius onward. ἀφεῖς, 2^{20}, and ἀφίουσιν, 11^{9}, presuppose ἀφίω (which is found in Eccles 2^{18}) and not ἀφίημι. Schmiedel suggests a present ἀφέω (Thackeray, 251). διδῶ, 3^{9}, and ἀποδιδοῦν, 22^{2}, presuppose διδόω, but διδόασιν, 17^{13}, δίδωμι. In like manner ἀπολλύων, 9^{11} (so also Jer. 23^{1} BA, Sir 20^{22}), presupposes ἀπολλύω as δεικνύοντος does δεικνύω (cf. Ex 25^{8}; Thackeray, 245). All these instances but the first show the transition from forms in -μι to -ω forms.

(*b*) *Imperfect and Aorists with* α *instead of* ε *forms, or ending in* -α *or* -αν.—εἶχαν, $9^{8.\,9}$ (ℵA). ἀπῆλθα,[2] 10^{9} (A : -θον, ℵC 025. 046). ἀπῆλθαν, 21^{1} (Aℵ : -θον, 046. -θεν, 025): ἀπῆλθαν, 21^{4} (A : -θεν, ℵ 046). ἀφῆκας, 2^{4} (Aℵ$^{c.c.}$ 025. 046 : -κες, ℵ*C). εἶδα, 17^{6} (Aℵ (ἶδα) : εἶδον, 025) : (ε)ἶδα, 17^{3} (A : εἶδον, ℵ 025). πέσατε, 6^{16} (A 025) : ἐξέλθατε, 18^{4} (Aℵ). See Thackeray, *Gr.* 211–212.

(*c*) *Perfects with termination* -ες (*2nd sing.*) *for* -ας, κεκοπίακες.—(α) 2^{3} (AC); πέπτωκες, 2^{5} (ℵ. -κας, AC 046). It is rare in the LXX (Thackeray, *Gr.* 215) and in the papyri. See Robertson, *Gr.* 337. I have generally with A adopted the -ας form. (β) *Perfects ending in* -αν † πέπτωκαν †, 18^{3} (AC. πεπτώκασιν, ℵ 046 : πέπωκαν 025 : πεπώκασιν, 110, 175^{al}. Rd. πεπότικεν) : εἴρηκαν, 19^{3} (Aℵ 025) : [γέγοναν 21^{6} Aℵ^{c} : γέγονα, ℵ 025. 046]. This termination is found in Asia Minor as early as 246 B.C. and in Egypt in 162 B.C. It is found in Cretan inscriptions, and Robertson traces its origin to Crete (*Gr.* 336).

In 8^{2} we have ἑστήκασιν. But it occurs in an interpolation.

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[1] It is noteworthy that in 13^{10} ℵ 025. 046 twice change μαχαίρῃ into μαχαίρᾳ against AC, and that 025. 046 make a corresponding change in 13^{14}, against ℵAC.

[2] Cf. κατέφυγα Ps. 142^{9} (RTℵ$^{c.\,a}$). See Thackeray, *Gr.* 211.

Hence our author did not apparently use the perfect ending in -ασι.

(*d*) *Various Aorist forms.*—ἀνάβα, 4^{1}, ἀνάβατε, 11^{12}: ἐρρέθη, 6^{11} 9^{4}: στήρισον, 3^{2} (AC 025): πεῖν, 16^{6}. According to Thackeray (*Gr.* 64), πεῖν (or πῖν) occurs 21 times, while πιεῖν occurs 97 times in the LXX (ℵAB).

(*e*) *Pluperfect form.*—7^{11} ἱστήκεισαν instead of εἱστήκεσαν. This -εισαν is found regularly in the LXX (Thackeray, *Gr.* 216). As regards the beginning of the word, its usual form in the LXX is ἱστήκειν (Thackeray, *Gr.* 201).

(*f*) *Augment.*—3^{2} ἔμελλον (AℵC 025): 10^{4} ἤμελλον (AC 046). Our author uses ἐδύνατο, 7^{9} (AℵC 046), 14^{3} (AℵC), 15^{8} (AC: ἠδυν. ℵ 025. 046). Hence it should be read in 5^{3} with ℵ against A 025. 046. In ἀνοίγνυμι our author augments the preposition in ἤνοιξεν, 6^{3}, ἠνοίγη, 11^{19} 15^{5}, ἠνοίχθησαν, $20^{12\,(bis)}$, and trebly augments the participle in ἠνεῳγμένος, which should perhaps be read in 3^{8} with ℵ 025 against ἀνεῳγμένος (AC 046), seeing that only 046 supports ἀνεῳγμένος in 4^{1} $10^{2.\,8}$ 19^{11} against the other chief uncials.

§ 2. *The Article.*

(i.) The article introduces conceptions assumed to be familiar in apocalyptic, though mentioned in the text for the first time: 10^{1} ἡ ἶρις, 10^{3} αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί: cf. also 11^{3} 12^{14} 16^{12}. With great aptness the art. is used in τὸν πόλεμον, 16^{14}, εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, 20^{8}, τὸν πόλεμον, 19^{19}, because the war here is the great Messianic war at the world's close. On the other hand, compare the phrase εἰς πόλεμον, $9^{7.\,9}$.

(ii.) The generic art. (Blass, *Gr.* 147) is regularly found with ἥλιος (except in 7^{2} 16^{12} 22^{5}), γῆ, θάλασσα, οὐρανός.

(iii.) In the case of ordinal numbers, when the ordinal precedes the noun it is preceded by the art.; when the ordinal follows the noun, the art. is repeated: cf 4^{7} 6^{3} 13^{12} 20^{6} 21^{8}.

(iv.) The art. can appear with the predicate when the subject and predicate are convertible or identical.[1] Cf. $1^{17.\,20}$ 2^{23} 3^{17} 17^{18} 18^{23} [19^{8}] $21^{6.\,8}$ $22^{13.\,16}$. After οὗτος the pred. has the art. on this principle; cf. 7^{14} $11^{4.\,10}$ 14^{4} 19^{9} $20^{5.\,[14]}$.

(v.) (*a*) When an adjective or participle follows its noun, the art. is repeated if the noun has the art. When the adjective stands between the art. and the noun, the emphasis lies on the adjective; when it follows with the repeated art., both noun and adjective are emphasized, 20^{9} τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἠγαπημένην, $21^{2.\,10}$ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν—the City *par excellence* and the Holy City in contrast to the earthly Jerusalem spiritually called Sodom and

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[1] In 1^{20} the second ἑπτά is an interpolation and the αἱ ἑπτά belongs to the predicate. See vol. ii. 389, footnote.

Egypt, 11^{8}: cf. 8^{6} *οἱ . . . ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες*, 17^{18} *ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη.*

(*b*) The same rule holds good in the case of prepositional phrases coming after an articular noun:[1] 1^{4} *ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*: 2^{24}: 5^{5} *ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τ. φυλῆς*: 11^{16} 11^{19} 14^{17} $16^{3.\ 12}$ $19^{14.\ 21}$ $20^{8.\ 13}$. Hence in the titles of the Letters to the Churches we should always read *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν . . . ἐκκλησίας* and not *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν . . . ἐκκλησίας.* A is right here three times and C once. See also *Order of Words*, p. clvi sq.

Again in 15^{5} the text *ὁ ναὸς τ. σκηνῆς τ. μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, which is impossible in other respects, wrongly omits the art. before *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.* It rightly appears in 11^{19} *ὁ ναὸς τ. θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τ. οὐρανῷ.* In our author *prepositional phrases and genitives never intervene between the art. and its noun, but follow the noun, the former always preceded by the repeated art.*[1]

(vi.) Phrases which occur for the first time without the art. have the art. prefixed on their recurrence. 4^{6-8} *τέσσερα ζῷα . . . τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα*: 5^{6-8} *ἀρνίον . . . τοῦ ἀρνίου*: $13^{16.\ 17}$ *χάραγμα . . . τὸ χάραγμα*: 15^{2ab} *θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην . . . τ. θαλ. τ. ὑαλ.* etc.

(*a*) Hence in 11^{16} the art. must with $\aleph^{c}$C 025. 046 (against ℵ*A which om.) be read before *εἴκοσι τέσσαρες.* Hence, further, it follows that 22^{17} *ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν* must be transposed before 21^{6} *τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν.* The need for the rearrangement of 20^{4}–22 has been shown at length in vol. ii. 144–154.

(*b*) In 17^{3}, however, we find *γυναῖκα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίον* although the *θηρίον* has been frequently mentioned previously. Similarly in 14^{1} the art. is omitted before *ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες* although they have already been described in 7^{4-8}. This omission is due in the former case to our author's use of a source, and in the latter to his incorporation of an independent vision of his own. If he had had an opportunity of revision, we must assume from his careful use of the art. elsewhere that he would have inserted the art. in both cases.

(vii.) *Omission of Article.*—(*a*) The art. is omitted possibly owing to Semitic influences in 1^{20} *ἄγγελοι τ. ἑ. ἐκκλησιῶν*, 2^{9} *συναγωγὴ τ. Σατανᾶ*, 6^{7}, 6^{16} *ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. καθημένου*,[2] $7^{2.\ 4}$ 15^{2}

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[1] *τὴν βλασφημιάν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων* in 2^{9} is difficult. ℵ $s^{1.\ 2}$ read *τὴν ἐκ*, while 025 and several cursives om. *ἐκ*. Either of these readings removes the difficulty. But *ἐκ τ. λεγόντων* is here to be taken partitively. Hence: "the blasphemy of certain of those who say," etc. Thus the art. could not be repeated before *ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων.* This is better than the explanation given in my notes in vol. i. 56. See, however, under § 5. vi. (*a*) on *ἐκ*.

[2] In 20^{11} *οὗ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου* should, according to our author's usage, be *οὗ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ* or *οὗ ἀπὸ προσώπου.* This anomaly seems due, like others in 20^{4}–22, to the disciple of the Seer who edited these chapters after the Seer's death.

κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ, 21^{12} υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, 21^{14} δώδεκα ὀνόματα τ. δ. ἀποστόλων, 22^{2} εἰς θεραπείαν τ. ἐθνῶν.

(*b*) The art. is frequently omitted in prepositional phrases. ἄχρι θανάτου, 2^{10} 12^{11} 13^{3}: ἐν θανάτῳ, 2^{23}: ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ, 14^{10}: εἰς φυλακήν, 2^{10}: cf. also 2^{22} 13^{10}.

(*c*) The art. is omitted before proper names. Ἰησοῦς and Ἰωάννης are always anarthrous. We have ὁ Χριστός when used alone, 11^{15} 12^{10} $20^{4.\,6}$, but anarthrous in Ἰησοῦς Χ., $1^{1.\,2.\,5}$. In τῷ Βαλάκ, 2^{14}, the art. is inserted because the name is indeclinable. In 16^{12} the art. before Εὐφράτην may point to the earlier mention of this river in 9^{14}. The text in $2^{6.\,15}$ presents a difficulty. Νικολαϊτῶν is first with the art. and then without it. The noun in 2^{6} may be treated as a description of a certain class, and then treated as a proper name in 2^{15}. In the predicate the art. is found before proper names: cf. 6^{8} [8^{11}] 12^{9} 19^{13} 20^{2}. θεός always has the art. except in 7^{2} and in 21^{7} where it is in the pred. Κύριος, when alone, has the art., cf. $11^{4.\,8.\,15}$, but we find ἐν κυρίῳ, 14^{13}, and κύριος κυρίων, 17^{14} 19^{16}. When combined with other names, ὁ κύριος ὁ θεός, 21^{22} 22^{6}, ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, 22^{21}, but also κύριος ὁ θεός [1^{8}] 4^{8} 19^{6} 22^{5}. In the vocative we find κύριε, 15^{4}, κύριε ὁ θεός, 11^{17} 15^{3} 16^{7}, or the Semit. voc. ὁ κύριος ὁ θεός, 4^{11}.

(viii.) The art. with the infinitive occurs only in 12^{7} (τοῦ πολεμῆσαι), where, however, the construction is a pure Hebraism and is equivalent to a finite verb in Greek. See vol. i. 322. In J, on the other hand, we have the ordinary Greek construction of πρὸ τοῦ before the infinitive in 1^{48} 13^{19} 17^{5}, and of διὰ τό before it in 2^{24}.

(ix.) When a noun or participle preceded by the article follows a noun (in the gen. dat. or acc.), and should therefore be in the gen. dat. or acc., it may in our author, according to Hebrew usage, stand in the nom.: cf. 1^{5} ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, 2^{20} τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, ἡ λέγουσα. On this Hebraism see below, p. cxlix sq.

§ 3. *Pronouns.*

(i.) *Possessive.*—On vernacular and ordinary possessives see notes on $2^{2.\,19}$ and footnote in vol. ii. 208, where it is shown that though σου may precede or follow its noun, the genitives of αὐτός can only follow. The genitive is found before its noun in the best authorities (A vg $s^{1.\,2}$), in 21^{3} αὐτῶν θεός; but the text is manifestly corrupt, and the wrong order may be due to the editor of 20^{4}–22. It is also found in 18^{5}, but this is a source. See Abbott, *Gr.* 414 sqq., 601 sqq. ἐμός only once in 2^{20}.[1]

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[1] J has it 39 times. In J we find also (ἡμέτερος only in 1 J 1^{3} 2^{2}) σός, ὑμέτερος, ἴδιος (15 times), not one of which occurs in our author. Seeing that

(ii.) *Personal.*—(*a*) αὐτός is used as an emphatic personal pronoun,[1] cf. 3^{20} 14^{10} $19^{15\,(bis)}$ 21^{7}. It is used intensively (= "self") in [14^{17}] 17^{11} (source) 19^{12}. The phrase καὶ αὐτός, "he also," "himself also" (in J 7^{10}), seems not to belong to our author except in the phrase ὡς καὶ αὐτοί, 6^{11}, ὡς καὶ αὐτή, 18^{6} (a source): cf. ὡς κἀγώ, 2^{27} 3^{21}. It occurs, however, in a Greek source, 17^{11}, and in an interpolation, 14^{17}. In 14^{10} the καί before αὐτός is a Hebraism and not to be translated. καὶ αὐτός in 3^{20} $19^{15\,(bis)}$ 21^{7} = "and he." αὐτός has lost this meaning in modern Greek and becomes a demonstrative.

(*b*) ἑαυτοῦ is found twice between the art. and its noun in $10^{3.\,7}$. Here the intervening ἑαυτοῦ is very emphatic. See Abbott, *Gr.* 415.

(iii.) *Demonstrative.*—(*a*) ὅδε occurs seven times and refers to what follows, but not once in J. (*b*) οὗτος refers to what precedes, 7^{14} $11^{4.\,6}$ [14^{4}] etc. But not always in J, 1 J. Cf. J 6^{29} 15^{12}: 1 J 1^{5} 5^{14} where it refers to an explanatory clause introduced by ἵνα, ἐάν, or ὅτι. (*c*) ἐκεῖνος is used only as an adjectival pronoun in our author in temporal phrases, 9^{6} 11^{13}, but in J constantly as a substantival pronoun. See Abbott, *Gr.* 283 sqq.

(iv.) *Indefinite.*—εἷς = "a": cf. 8^{13} ἑνὸς ἀετοῦ, 9^{13} φωνὴν μίαν, 19^{17} ἕνα ἄγγελον. Not in J. Both authors, however, use εἷς ἐκ; while J uses εἷς τις ἐκ, 11^{49}, once in this sense, or simply τις with a noun, 4^{46} 5^{5}, or with a proper name, 11^{1} 12^{20}. τις is found only in εἴ τις, ἐάν τις in our author, save in 7^{1} (?).

(v.) *Relative.*—(*a*) ὅστις is mostly used of a class of persons or things, 1^{7} 2^{24} 9^{4} etc.; but it is also used of an individual, 11^{8} 12^{13} 19^{2}: cf. 1^{12}. Similarly in J. I have followed the advice given in Abbott's *Gr.* (218, footnote) and rendered ὅστις generally by "that," which "introduces a statement essential to the complete meaning of the antecedent," and ὅς by "who" or "which"—words which carry no such meaning.

(*b*) This relative is never attracted to the case of its antecedent[2] in our author, though this attraction is frequent in J and in 1 J 3^{24}.

ἐμός and kindred possessive adjectives had all but ousted μου in Asia Minor, Moulton (*Gr.* 40 sq.) infers that our author must have been a recent immigrant there. If this is right, J must have been settled there for some time. The possessive ἐμός and σός are disappearing in the papyri, and in modern Greek no possessive adjective exists. See Robertson, *Gr.* 684.

[1] J also uses αὐτός in this sense, but it is unemphatic. When he wishes to express emphasis he frequently uses ἐκεῖνος, which our author does not use in this sense. He only uses it twice as a demonstrative in two phrases expressing time. See Abbott, *Gr.* 283 sqq. J uses αὐτός together with the personal pronoun or proper name, 2^{24} 3^{28} $4^{2.\,44}$, but not so our author.

[2] It is once found in a source, *i.e.* 18^{6}.

§ 4. *The Verb.*

(i.) *Present and future tenses.*—(*a*) The text wavers frequently between the present and the future. But these changes are not arbitrary.[1] The context must be carefully studied in each case. Thus in certain contexts the future is rightly used, since the context is obviously prophetic: cf. $7^{16\text{ sqq.}}$ *οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι, κτλ.* These words occur at the close of a vision where all the verbs dealing with the actual vision are rightly given in the present or past. Similarly in 14^{10} $17^{14\text{ sq.}}$ we have pure prophecies. In other cases where we have the pres. instead of the future or the past, this may be due to a Hebraism; for the Hebrew imperfect may, according to the context, be rendered either as a past, present, or future: cf. $9^{8\text{ sqq. }17\text{-}20}$ $13^{11\text{ sqq.}}$ The translator is often at fault in the LXX, and a writer whose thoughts naturally shaped themselves in Hebrew could hardly escape rendering the Hebrew imperf. in his thoughts by a Greek present: cf. 5^{10} *βασιλεύουσιν.* At times, however, when the present takes the place of the past, the change may have been made deliberately with a view to dramatic vividness.

(*b*) *ἔρχομαι* does not come under these considerations. The Seer uses the pres. of this verb as a pres. or a future. In fact he never uses the future except in compounds, *i.e.* 3^{20} *εἰσελευσόμαι*, 20^{8} *ἐξελεύσεται.* He is, therefore, perfectly acquainted with the form of the future of the simple verb, but he avoids it. J uses it once, 14^{23}, and both the above-mentioned compounds in 10^{9}. In 14^{3} he connects it with a future *πάλιν ἔρχομαι καὶ παραλήμψομαι.*

(*c*) Again the future is used alike in dependent and independent clauses where it has a frequentative sense, and is in such case best rendered by the present, as in 4^{9-10} *ὅταν δώσουσιν . . . δόξαν . . . πεσοῦνται.* But in this passage the futures on the basis of Hebraic idiom could be rendered by a past, and thus the text would state what the Seer actually saw in this vision and not recount a general practice.

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[1] Chap. 11 seems to be very confused. In the introduction to that chapter (vol. i. 269–273) we have seen that it is a source used by our author for a special purpose. No unity of time appears to be observed in it. The rôle of the prophet is sometimes uppermost, sometimes that of the seer. This disorder, which is most probably due to the fact that our author is using traditional materials, will be obvious from the following résumé. In the vision of Jerusalem and the Temple the seer receives a prophecy, $11^{1\text{-}3}$, that Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot (*πατήσουσιν*) for 3½ years, and that the two witnesses shall prophesy during this period. The scene then shifts apparently to the actual period of the witnesses, $11^{4\text{-}6}$; but the presents *ἐκπορεύεται, κατεσθίει*, etc., can be taken as futures. In $11^{7\text{-}8}$ the text uses future verbs and foretells the death of the witnesses. In $11^{9\text{-}10}$ it reverts again to the present, describing the events that follow on their death save in *πέμψουσιν*, 11^{10} (but the presents here also are practically futures). Finally, in $11^{11\text{-}13}$ the text changes into the past, and represents the reception of the witnesses into heaven as a past event. But herein the pasts can represent vividly the prophetic future. [See Driver, *Tenses*, § 14 (γ), 81; Is $9^{1\text{-}5}$.] Hence $11^{3\text{-}13}$ is a prophecy rather than a vision. The past verbs in $20^{9\text{-}10\text{a}}$ are to be similarly explained. Futures occur before and after them. But in $20^{9\text{-}10}$ it is only the author's familiarity with Hebraic usage that leads to this usage of the perfect, whereas $11^{1\text{-}13}$ is translated from a source.

(ii.) *Imperfect* (*Past*).—(*a*) The past imperf. is found only in the case of nine verbs: *ἀκολουθεῖν* (2 times), *διδάσκειν* (1), *δύνασθαι* (4—never in aor.), *εἶναι* (17), *ἔχειν* (5—*εἶχαν*, $9^{8.\ 9}$), *κλαίειν* (1), *λαλεῖν* (2), *λέγειν* (1), *στήκειν* (1 in a source, *i.e.* 12^{4}). It is therefore of infrequent occurrence. But it is used with special force in relative clauses, 1^{12} 2^{14} 6^{9}: also in descriptive sentences, 5^{4} *καὶ ἔκλαιον*, 5^{14} [6^{8}] 19^{14} 21^{15}. In 7^{11} *ἱστήκεισαν* (pluperf.) is used as a past imperf. = "were standing."

(*b*) But the place of the past imperf. (or historic present) is frequently taken by the (imperfect or perfect) participle: *ἔχων* (for *εἶχεν*, or possibly in one or more cases for *ἔχει*), 1^{16} $4^{7.\ 8}$ $6^{2.\ 5}$ 10^{2} 12^{2} $21^{12.\ 14}$: *ἐκπορευομένη*, 1^{16}: *καθήμενος*, 4^{2}: *καιόμεναι*, 4^{5}: *περιβεβλημένος*, 19^{13}. This use of the participle for a finite verb is frequent in late Hebrew (very frequent in Aramaic, customary in Syriac), and its displacement of the past imperf. in our author is no doubt due largely to Hebraic influences.

(iii.) *Past Aorist and Present Perfect.*—These at first sight seem to be used in certain instances interchangeably: cf. 5^{7} 7^{14} 8^{5} 19^{3} etc. But the following study of these Greek tenses and their English equivalents shows that this is not so.

(iv.) *Greek Aorist and its rendering into English.*—Since the Greek and English aorists do not altogether correspond, it is of great importance to determine the points wherein they differ. Weymouth (*On the Rendering of the Greek aorist and perfect into English*, 1890) has gone elaborately into the subject. See also Moulton, *Gr.* 135 sqq., whose conclusions I have for the most part accepted. On the use of the aor. as a perfect in J, see Abbott, *Gr.* 323 sqq.

The past aorist[1] in English does not always correspond to the Greek aorist. The Greek aorist has three uses. (*a*) When this aorist is used as the historical tense in *pure narrative*, the English past aor. is the right rendering. (*b*) The *Greek aor.*

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[1] The ordinary nomenclature of English tenses is very misleading. Perfect and imperfect relate to a state of action and not to time at all: similarly also does aorist. Hence we can have a present aorist. "I smite," the pres. imperfect "I am smiting," the pres. perf. "I have smitten." Similarly we have past aorists—"I smote," past imperf. "I was smiting," past perf. (=pluperf.) "I had smitten." The Greek has corresponding tenses for the most part. Pres. aor. *λύω* (cf. *παραγγέλλω*, Acts 16^{18}: *ἀφίομεν*, Luke 11^{4}), pres. impf. *λύω*, pres. perf. *λέλυκα*: past aor. *ἔλυσα*, past impf. *ἔλυον*, past perf. *ἐλελύκειν*.

can be timeless or refer to an indefinite time: cf. 2^4 ἀφῆκας, J 15^6 ἐβλήθη. Here the Greek must be rendered by the pres. perf. in English; for this perfect, besides connoting the continuance of a completed action—its usual meaning, can refer, *outside the pure narrative*, to an indefinite past, and be practically timeless. (*c*) The Greek aor. *can refer to an event that has just happened*, and must also in this sense be rendered by the English pres. perfect, 1^{19} ἃ εἶδες—"what thou hast seen."

I will here append a list of the passages where the aor. should be rendered by the English pres. perfect.[1] Opinions will, of course, differ as to whether certain aorists come under (*b*) or (*c*). The following passages fall naturally under (*b*), where the aor. is practically timeless. 1^6 καὶ ἐποίησεν, "and hath made us": 2^4: 2^{24} ἔγνωσαν = "have recognized" = "know": 3^4 οὐκ ἐμόλυναν, "have not defiled": 3^8 ἐτήρησας . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω, "hast kept . . . and hast not denied": 3^{10} ἐτήρησας: $5^{9.\,10}$ ἠγόρασας . . . ἐποίησας: 7^{14} ἔπλυναν . . . ἐλεύκαναν: 11^{18} ὠργίσθησαν: 14^4 ἠγοράσθησαν: 14^8 18^2 ἔπεσεν ἔπεσεν . . . ἐγένετο, "has fallen, has fallen . . . has become." But these last three words could be explained under (*c*), though the fact that Rome has become the abode of unclean birds shows that the burning of it is far back in the past. Similarly 17^2 ἐπόρνευσαν . . . ἐμεθύσθησαν, 17^{12} οὔπω ἔλαβον, 17^{17} ἔδωκεν: ἐκολλήθησαν and ἐμνημόνευσε in 18^5, 18^6 ἀπέδωκεν . . . ἐκέρασεν, 18^7 ἐδόξασεν . . . ἐστρηνίασεν, 18^{14} ἀπῆλθεν . . . ἀπωλετο. Under (*c*) when the aor. refers *to events that have just happened* and must be rendered by the English pres. perf., come the following passages: 1^{19} ἃ εἶδες, "which thou hast (just) seen": 2^{21} ἔδωκα . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν[2] = "I have given . . . but she has refused": 11^2 ἐδόθη: $11^{15.\,17}$ ἐγένετο . . . ἐβασίλευσας: 11^{18} ἦλθεν, which recurs in the same sense in $14^{7.\,15}$ 18^{10} 19^7: 12^{10} ἐγένετο . . . ἐβλήθη: 12^{12} κατέβη: [14^{15} ἐξηράνθη]: 14^{18} ἤκμασαν: 16^5 ἔκρινας: $18^{16.\,19}$ μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἠρημώθη: 18^{20} ἔκρινεν: 19^2 ἔκρινεν . . . ἐξεδίκησεν: $19^{7.\,8}$ ἡτοίμασεν . . . ἐδόθη: 22^{16} ἔπεμψα.

(v.) *Greek Perfects and their rendering into English.*—Blass (*Gr.* 200) and Moulton (*Gr.* 143, 145) admit the occurrence of pres. perfects as aorists in our author. There are only two verbs, εἴληφα and εἴρηκα, which are so used. The former appears to be so used in 5^7 8^5, though the R.V. takes it as = a present, and Robertson (*Gr.* 899) defends it in both cases as a "dramatic colloquial historical perfect." But the context is certainly in favour of the aorist sense,[1] and the same perfect (Thackeray, *Gr.* 24) occurs in this sense in Dan lxx. 4^{30b}. As regards εἴρηκα in 7^{14} 19^{3}, no doubt as to the aoristic sense can be entertained.

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[1] The R.V. has freely acknowledged this meaning of the aor. in the N.T. (in Matthew 65 times), but not so frequently in our author as it should be. Nor is it always clear on what principle the Revisers recognize, or refuse to recognize, this use.

[2] The failure to recognize this use of the aorist here led to the change of ἠθέλησεν into θέλει.

(vi.) *Aorists used by our author and his sources.*—(*a*) Of ἵστημι[2] our author uses ἐστάθην, 8^{3} 12^{18}, whereas ἔστην is used in his sources, 11^{11} 18^{17}. (*b*) Again our author uses ἐθαυμάσθην, 13^{3} = "I wondered" (as a middle: always passive in ο′ except in one doubtful instance—Thackeray, *Gr.* 240 n.), whereas ἐθαύμασα is used with the same meaning in source $17^{6.\,7}$ as in J and generally in Greek. (*c*) Our author uses ἠνοίγην in connection with the temple, 11^{19} 15^{5}, and ἠνοίχθην in connection with the books, $20^{12\,(bis)}$ (as in Dan 7^{10} ο′ θ′). Since Matthew and Luke in Acts use both forms in connection with the same subjects, no safe inference is possible here.

(vii.) *Imperative.*—The aor. imper. occurs about 40 times in our author: the present 20 times, nine of these in chaps. 1–3. The aor. imper. is sharper and more urgent than the present, and while the latter "is used in general precepts (even to individuals) on conduct and action," the former is used "in injunctions about action in individual cases" (Blass, *Gr.* 194). Hence we may distinguish 3^{11} κράτει ὃ ἔχεις and 2^{25} ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε in connection with their contexts.

With negatives, μή with the pres. forbids an action already begun: 1^{17} 2^{10} μὴ φοβοῦ, 5^{5} μὴ κλαῖε, while μή with the aor. subj. or imper. forbids an action not yet begun:[3] 6^{6} τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσῃς, 7^{3} μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν, 10^{4} σφράγισον . . . καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς, 11^{2} 22^{10}. Thus our author's usage agrees at once with the classical and later usage (cf. Moulton, *Gr.* 124 sqq.: W. Headlam, *Class. Review*, xvii. 295). But in J this usage is not observed. Thus in 3^{7} we find μὴ θαυμάσῃς occurs when we should expect μὴ θαύμαζε, as is clear from 3^{4}, and in 10^{37} he uses μὴ πιστεύετε where the context would lead us to expect μὴ πιστεύσητε. In all other cases μή with the imper. is rightly used in J. See Moulton, *Gr.* 125 sq.

(viii.) *Infinitive.*—(*a*) Our author generally uses the aor. inf. save in the case of certain verbs. Thus βλέπειν is never found in the aor., even in the indicative. In 22^8 we should read ἔβλεπον with A. In the rest of the N.T. it occurs once in the aor. imper., Acts 3^4. στρέφειν occurs in 11^6 (source). καταβαίνειν, 13^{13}. After μέλλειν the pres. follows inf. regularly (10 times) except in $3^{2.16}$ 12^4. In J the pres. inf. follows without exception. The usual construction in classical Greek is μέλλειν with the fut. inf.

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[1] This use of εἴληφα as an aorist is certainly strange, seeing that our author uses ἔλαβον in 5^{8} 10^{10} 17^{12} (source) 20^{4}; aor. subj. 3^{11} 18^{4} (source); aor. imper. $10^{8.\,9}$ 22^{17}; aor. inf. 4^{11} $5^{9.\,12}$ 6^{4}.

[2] The pres. perf. of this verb, ἕστηκα ("I have taken my stand"), is used as a pres. imperf. (hence = "I am standing") in 3^{20}, and in like manner the past perf. εἱστήκειν is used by our author as a past imperf. in 7^{11}; but in 12^{4} (a source) we find ἕστηκεν from στήκω in the same sense. Some editors, however, read ἕστηκε here (cf. σύρει in the preceding clause).

[3] This is the general rule; but it needs qualification: cf. Moulton, 125. Some scholars maintain that the above distinction is a growth, which "beginning in classical times was nearly crystallized in N.T. Greek." Cf. Moulton, 247.

(*b*) On the infinitive = a finite verb in a conditional clause and also in the principal sentence, see 13^{10} n., and below, p. cxlvi.

(*c*) On the infin. with the art. = a finite verb, see 12^7 n. and also below, p. cxlvi. These three cases are pure Hebraisms.

(*d*) The infinitive follows ἄξιος, $5^{2.4.9.12}$, where J 1^{27} puts ἵνα cum subj.

(ix.) *Participle.*—To the use of the participle for a finite verb attention has already been drawn: see above, § 4, ii. (*b*). Present and perfect participles occur frequently, but never the future part. The last is found once in J 6^{64}. ὁ ἐρχόμενος is, however, practically a future participle. It is remarkable that the genitive absolute is wholly absent from our text, though it is of frequent occurence in J.

The indeclinable use of λέγων or λέγοντες = לֵאמֹר as in 4^1 5^{11-12} $11^{1.15}$ 14^6 comes properly under the head of Hebraisms.

(x.) *The omission of the copula* in principal or relative sentences does not call for consideration here, as it is of constant occurrence throughout the N.T. The omission of the copula after ἰδού (= הִנֵּה) is encouraged through Hebrew precedent. Cf. Blass, *Gr.* 74; Robertson, 395 sq.

§ 5. *Prepositions.*

Moulton (*Gr.* 98) gives the statistics for the relative frequency of prepositions in the N.T. For every 100 times that ἐν occurs he finds the relative frequency of the prepositions with which we are here concerned as follows: εἰς, 64; ἐκ, 34; ἐπί 32; πρός, 25; διά, 24; ἀπό, 24; κατά, 17; μετά, 17; ὑπό, 8. Calculating J in the same way (though the numbers are to be taken as only approximately correct): ἐν, 100; εἰς, 83; ἐκ, 73; πρός, 45; διά, 26; μετά, 25; ἀπό, 18; ἐπί, 16; κατά, 4. Here we observe that ἐκ is nearly as frequent as εἰς, that ἐπί is half as frequent as it is normally throughout the N.T. In fact the numbers vary in every case. A comparison of the numbers (which are only approximately trustworthy) in our author is instructive: ἐν, 100; ἐπί, 89; ἐκ, 87; εἰς, 49; μετά, 33; ἀπό, 23; διά, 11; κατά, 5; πρός, 5.[1] Here the most notable differences are in the case of ἐπί (J^{ap} 89 – J 16), διά

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[1] These numbers refer to the entire text, including sources and interpolations.

(J^{ap} 11 – J 26), πρός (J^{ap} 5 – J 45). Also the order of priority in frequency is very different. In the three classical historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon), according to Helbing (quoted by Moulton, 62 n) εἰς slightly exceeds ἐν in frequency, whereas in twelve writers of literary κοινή it occurs nearly twice as often. Here our author diverges from the literary κοινή in using ἐν more than twice as often as εἰς, while the κοινή uses εἰς nearly twice as often as ἐν. On the other hand, our author approximates closely to the κοινή in his frequent use of ἐπί, and therein diverges strongly from the rest of the N.T. See also Robertson, *Gr.* 556 sq. But these differences between J^{ap} and J are not half so striking as those that emerge in the individual treatment of the prepositions.

(i.) **ἀνά** = "apiece," in 4^{8} ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἕξ. Cf. J 2^{6}. Found also in Matthew and Luke. The phrase ἀνὰ μέσον, 7^{17}, is a compound preposition, but ἀνά is an adverb in ἀνὰ εἷς ἕκαστος in 21^{21}. These latter uses not in J.

(ii.) **ἀπό.** 36 times. (*a*) with μακρόθεν, $18^{10.\,15.\,17}$ (source). Not in J.

(*b*) = "at a distance from," 14^{20} ἀπὸ σταδίων, cf. J 11^{18} 21^{8}. Not elsewhere in N.T. It is not necessary to explain it as a Latinism; cf. Moulton, *Gr.* 101 sq.; Robertson, *Gr.* 575; Abbott, *Gr.* 227. It is found in Strabo, Diodorus, and Plutarch. For an analogous construction with μετά, cf. Test. Reub. 1^{2} μετὰ ἔτη δύο τῆς τελευτῆς: T. Zeb. 1^{1} μετὰ οὖν δύο ἔτη τοῦ θανάτου—a construction also found in Plutarch. And with πρό, cf. J 12^{1}, Amos (ο′) 1^{1} 4^{7}.

(*c*) **ἀπὸ προσώπου.** This phrase occurs three times, 6^{16} 12^{14} 20^{11}. In the last instance, however, it has a strange form, ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου, to which we shall return presently. In all three cases the phrase is the equivalent of מפני. In 6^{16} 20^{11} it = "from the presence of." It could be taken in this sense also in 12^{14} if it is connected with πέτηται, but the fact that sixteen words intervene is against this explanation in our author. Hence the phrase, owing to the Hebrew it presupposes = "because of." The woman's stay of three and a half years in the wilderness is "owing to" or "because of the serpent." This is an ordinary meaning of מפני in Hebrew. ἀπό alone is used in this sense in Matt 18^{7}. In 20^{11} the art. in ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου is quite exceptional. It appears only a few (three or more) times in the ο′ so far as I am aware, and in two of these some MSS omit it. In our text also 046 and many cursives omit. But since Aא 025. 2040 attest it, it goes back to the archetype as edited by the Seer's disciple. For two other departures from the Seer's usage in $20^{4\text{-}11}$, see vol. ii. 182. This phrase is absent from J.

(*d*) Abnormal use of *ἀπό* before *ὁ ὤν*. This is deliberate on our author's part.

(*e*) After passive verbs: *ἀπεκτάνθησαν*, 9^{18}; *ἡτοιμασμένον*, 12^{6}. This came to be the rule in later writers.

(*f*) After *ἀπέρχεσθαι* and *ἀπολλύναι*, 18^{14}: *ἀφαιρεῖν*, 22^{19}: *κρύπτειν*, 6^{16} (*ἀπὸ προσώπου*, where J 12^{36} has simply *ἀπό*): *φεύγειν*, 9^{6} 20^{11} (J 10^{5}).

None of the above usages appear in J save (*b*) and one instance of (*f*).

(iii.) **ἄχρι.** $2^{10.\,26}$ 12^{11} 14^{29} 18^{5} (source).

(iv.) **διά.** (*a*) with gen. 1^{1} 21^{24}. In J 15 times. (*b*) With acc. 16 times and 45 in J.

(v.) **εἰς.** *εἰς* follows *βάλλειν* when the noun after *εἰς* is not a person, cf. $2^{10.\,22}$ $8^{5\ [7.\,8]}$ $12^{4.\,9.\,13}$ $14^{19\ (bis)}$ 18^{21} $20^{3.\,10.\,14.\,15}$, save in 14^{16} (interpolated) where we have *βάλλειν . . . ἐπὶ τ. γῆν*. Contrast 14^{19}. But *ἐπί* when the noun is a person, cf. 2^{24} *βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς* (cf. 1^{17}). Similarly after *καταβαίνειν* we have *εἰς τὴν γῆν*, 13^{13}, but *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*, 16^{21}. Our author uses either *εἰς τὴν γῆν*, 5^{6} 6^{13} 8^{7} $9^{1.\,3}$ $12^{4.\,9.\,13}$ 14^{19} $16^{1.\,2}$ etc., even after *πίπτειν*, 6^{13} 9^{1}, though this verb in other phrases is followed by *ἐπί*, 6^{16} 7^{11} [8^{10}] 11^{16}, or *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* (see on *ἐπί* below). *εἰς* occurs about 78 times.

(vi.) **ἐκ.** This preposition is of very frequent occurrence—about 135 times.

(*a*) Partitive Genitive. As subject, 11^{9} *βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν*: cf. J 7^{40} 16^{17}. As object, 2^{10} *ἐξ ὑμῶν*, 3^{9} 5^{9} (in 2^{17} we have genitive alone—*τοῦ μάννα*: cf. 2 J^{4} *ἐκ τῶν τέκνων*). *ἐκ* occurs often after *εἷς* in a partitive sense: cf. 5^{5} 6^{1} 7^{13} etc., but in 17^{11} (source) *ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά* = "one of the seven." For *εἷς ἐκ*, cf. J 1^{41} $6^{8.\,70.\,71}$ 7^{50} etc. This appears to be the best explanation of 2^{9} *τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων*,[1] "the blasphemy of certain people who say"; or the *ἐκ* may be simply a sign of the genitive. Hence "the blasphemy of," etc.: cf. J 3^{1} *ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τ. Φαρισαίων*: or better, Aesch. *Eum.* 344, *ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐρινύων*, "hymn of the Erinyes"; Soph. *Ant.* 95, *ἡ ἐξ ἐμοῦ δυσβουλία*.

(*b*) *ἐκ . . . ἀπό*, 3^{12} $21^{2.\,10}$, where the prepositions may signify respectively heavenly origin and divine mission. But in J 1^{44} $7^{41.\,42}$ 11^{1} (Abbott, *Gr.* 227 sqq.) these mean respectively "native of" and "resident in."

(*c*) *ἐκ* follows a variety of verbs, *γεμίζειν*, *ἐκπορεύεσθαι*, *ἐκδικεῖν* (involving a Hebraism), *ἐξαλείφειν*, *ἐξέρχεσθαι*, *ἔρχεσθαι*, *κρίνειν* (18^{20} (a source) involving a Hebraism), *λαμβάνειν*, *λύειν*, *μετα-*

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[1] This phrase is explained also as "blasphemy arising from" (cf. J 3^{25}); but in our author we should expect in this case *βλασφημίαν τὴν ἐκ*. In 6^{4} the *ἐκ* is rightly omitted by A after *τὴν εἰρήνην* [*ἐκ*] *τῆς γῆς*. If the *ἐκ* is retained it is to be taken with *λαβεῖν*, as in 5^{7} 10^{10} 18^{4} (source).

νοεῖν,[1] *πίνειν*, *ποτίζειν*, *φαγεῖν*, *χορτάζεσθαι*. It follows *ἀγοράζειν*, 5^{9}; but this verb is followed by *παρά*, 3^{18}, and *ἀπό*, $14^{3.\,4}$. In $18^{3.\,19}$ *πλουτεῖν* is followed by *ἐκ* and in 18^{15} by *ἀπό*.

(*d*) *ἐκ* is used after a passive: cf. 13^{18} *πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός*, 18^{1} *ἐφωτίσθη ἐκ τ. δόξης αὐτοῦ*.

(*e*) *ἐκ* = "by reason of," 8^{13} *ἐκ τ. φωνῶν*, 16^{11} *ἐβλασφήμησαν . . . ἐκ τ. πόνων αὐτῶν*.

(*f*) *ἐκ* is used with the material of which anything is formed: cf. 18^{12} *πᾶν σκεῦος ἐκ ξύλου*. This usage is common to Greek and Hebrew: cf. Xen. *Symp*. 8, *στράτευμα ἐξ ἐραστῶν*: Aesch. *Suppl*. 953, *ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ*. See (*a*) above *ad fin*.

(vii.) **ἔμπροσθεν**. This twice occurs in a local sense in the phrase *ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν*, 19^{10} 22^{8}, the first of which is an intrusion: also as an adverb in 4^{6}. In J its meanings are various: it denotes superiority in $1^{15.\,30}$, priority in time in 3^{28}, and has a local sense in 10^{4} 12^{37}.

(viii.) **ἐν**. This preposition occurs nearly 157 times. (*a*) The most noteworthy use of *ἐν* in our author is its instrumental use. Thus it occurs 33 times, whereas it does not occur at all in J (save in a quasi-instrumental sense in the phrase *ἐν τούτῳ*: see Abbott, *Gr*. 256), nor yet in the Pauline or Catholic Epp. save once in 2 Pet. It is found 34 times in the Synoptics (according to Moulton and Geden), 3 times in Acts, and 3 in Hebrews. Moulton (*Gr*., pp. 12, 61, 104) thinks that the publication of the Tebtunis Papyri (1902) has "rescued the instrumental *ἐν* from the class of Hebraisms" in the case of *ἐν μαχαιρῃ*, Lk 22^{49}, and *ἐν ῥάβδῳ*, 1 Cor 4^{21}. To this claim Abbott (*Gr*. 256 n.) rejoins effectively. But even though the instrumental *ἐν* does occur in the papyri sporadically (where the influence of Jewish traders may have been at work), this fact cannot account in any case for the preponderating use of *ἐν* in our author. No adequate explanation can be found save in its origination in a mind steeped in Semitic. Even Moulton (p. 61 n.) concedes that this *ἐν* "came to be used rather excessively . . . by men whose mother tongue was Aramaic." But this concession in the case of our author is quite inadequate. *ἐν* is used instrumentally after *ἀγοράζειν*, 5^{9}: *ἀδικεῖν*, 9^{19}: *ἀποκτείνειν*, 2^{23} 6^{8} 9^{20} $13^{10\,(bis)}$ 19^{21}: *βασανίζειν*, 14^{10}: *καίειν*, 19^{20}; but without *ἐν*, [8^{8}] 21^{8} (due to editor?): *κατακαίειν*, 17^{16} 18^{8}: *καυματίζειν*, 16^{8}: *κηρύσσειν*, 5^{2}: *κιθαρίζειν*, 14^{2}: *λευκαίνειν*, 7^{14}: *λύειν*, 1^{5}: *μιγνύναι*, 8^{7}: *πατάσσειν*, 11^{6} 19^{15}: *πλανᾶν*, 19^{20} 18^{23}: *περιβάλλεσθαι*, 3^{5} 4^{4} (> *ἐν*, A): *ποιμαίνειν*, 2^{27} 12^{5} 19^{15}: *πολεμεῖν*, 2^{16} (19^{11}): *χρυσοῦν*, 18^{16}. *ἐν* is used locally after *καθίζειν* in $3^{21\,(bis)}$ (but *ἐπί* c. acc. 20^{4}):

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[1] Cf. $2^{21\,[22]}$ $9^{20.\,21}$ 16^{11}. *μετανοεῖν ἀπό* is found in Acts 8^{22} and Jer 8^{6} (LXX). But *μενανοεῖν ἐκ* does not occur in the LXX. It probably represents שׁוב מן in our author's mind.

after κατοικεῖν, 13^{12} (but this is not our author's use. He uses ἐπί c. gen.).

(*b*) ἐν is used temporarily in 1^{10} 2^{13} 9^{6} 10^{7} 11^{13} etc.: see temporal phrases without ἐν in $18^{10.\ 16.\ 19}$ μιᾷ ὥρᾳ (source).

(*c*) ἐν is used generally after γράφειν, 1^{3} 13^{8} $20^{12.\ 15}$ 21^{27} $22^{18.\ 19}$ (but εἰς is found in 1^{11}, and ἐπί in 17^{8}: see under ἐπί).

(*d*) ἐν is found in the phrases ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρί, 1^{16}: ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, 2^{1}: ἐν τ. χειρί, 6^{5} 7^{9} 10^{2} etc.; but ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν, 5^{1}. Also in ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, after λέγειν, $14^{7.\ 9}$ (but without ἐν in 5^{12} 8^{13}). ἐν is never used in this phrase after κράζειν, 6^{10} 7^{2} 10^{3} (see vol. i. 260 *ad fin.*, ii. 22 *ad init.*) except in passages from another hand or source, 14^{15} 18^{2}. It is also omitted in this phrase after φωνεῖν, 14^{18}. ἐν μέσῳ is always followed by gen. 1^{13} 2^{1} 4^{6} etc.; hence 2^{7} ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ in ℵ^{cc} 025 is either a conflation of two texts or a correction of the later.

(ix.) **ἐνώπιον.** Very frequent: 34 times, but only once in J, *i.e.* 20^{30}, and twice in 1. 3 J.

The frequent occurrence of this word, which, it is true, is found sporadically in the κοινή (see Moulton, *Gr.*, pp. 99, 246), is best explained as due to Semitic influence.

(x.) **ἔξωθεν**, 14^{20}.

(xi.) ἐπάνω. Only twice. Really an adverb but used as a preposition, 6^{8} 20^{3}.

(xii.) **ἐπί.** About 143 times[1] in all (74 with acc., 13 with dat., 56 with gen.). This preposition is used very idiomatically by our author, and several of the uses are of his own devising. It is therefore of primary importance to be acquainted with these.

(*a*) ἐπί in various phrases:

(α) ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, $5^{3.\ 10.\ 13}$ 7^{1} $10^{2.\ 5.\ 8}$ etc.—never ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (for 14^{16} is an interpolation). If our author wishes to use γῆν he writes εἰς τὴν γῆν, 5^{6} 6^{13} 8^{5} 9^{1} etc. See vol. i. 191. (β) ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης—so always. 5^{13}* 7^{1} $10^{2.\ 5.\ 8}$ except in 15^{2}, where the ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν seems due to its being preceded by ἱστάναι, which always in the case of other nouns is followed by ἐπί with the acc. See vol. i. 262 *ad med.*, ii. 34 *ad init.* Our author's use comes out forcibly in 7^{1} ἵνα μὴ πνέῃ ἄνεμος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπὶ πᾶν (ℵ 025: cf. 7^{16} οὐδὲ μὴ . . . πᾶν καῦμα: 9^{4} 21^{27}) δένδρον. Observe the ἐπί with the acc. at the close. (γ) ἐπὶ τὴν (τὰς) κεφαλήν (-άς). Only in 12^{1} do we find ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. See vol. i. 300 sq., 303. (δ) ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον, or if he uses the pl. *ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων*. See vol. i. 206 *ad med.* In 14^{9} we find † *ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου* †; but this verse is corrupt. See vol. ii. 15 *ad fin.* (ε) The above forms are rigid. But in phrases composed of *ἐπί* and *χείρ* or *ἡ δεξία* our author uses the gen. or acc.: cf. *ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς* 13^{16}, *ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς* 1^{20}, and *ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα*, 14^{9} $20^{1.\,4}$: *ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν*, 5^{1}. See vol. i. 335 *ad med.*

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[1] These numbers are only approximately true. Different texts yield different results.

* The context would suggest here the rendering "in the sea." Such was the view of many of the ancients. Thus ℵ reads ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, and is supported by Pr gig vg $s^{1.\ 2}$ arm bo eth.

(*b*) *ἐπί* with some case of *θρόνος* (or *νεφέλη*) determined by the case of the preceding participle *καθήμενος*. This is one of the most remarkable idiosyncrasies of our author. When the part. is in the nom. or acc. it is followed by *ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον*: when the part. is in the gen. it is followed by *ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου*: when in the dat. by *ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ*.[1]

(α) **ὁ καθήμενος**
τὸν καθήμενον
ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον
(or **ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην**)
(or **ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον**).

So in $4^{2.\,4}$ $6^{2.\,5}$ 11^{16} 14^{14} 19^{11}. This usage of our author is generally not observed in the interpolations or edited portions. Thus 9^{17} *τ. καθημένους ἐπ᾽* † *αὐτῶν* † seems due to a reviser of the preceding words: 14^{16} *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλης* (Aℵ: *τ. νεφέλην*, C 025) occurs in the interpolation $14^{15\text{-}17}$: 20^{11} *τὸν καθήμενον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ* (A: *ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ*, ℵ), and 7^{15} *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ* † *τ. θρόνου* † (Aℵ: *τῷ θρόνῳ*, 025. 046), are due to the editor of 20^{4}–22. 21^{5} *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τ. θρόνῳ*, is a primitive corruption. On 14^{6} see vol. ii. 12.

(β) **τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ.** So 4^{9} 5^{13} 7^{10} 19^{4}. In 6^{4} *τῷ καθ. ἐπ᾽* † *αὐτόν* † is a primitive corruption, while *τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλης* occurs in the interpolation, $14^{15\text{-}17}$.

(γ) **τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου.** So 4^{10} $5^{1.\,7}$ 6^{16}: cf. 17^{1} (*τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὑδάτων* $19^{19.\,21}$ (*τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου* both times). Hence 19^{18} *τῶν καθημένων ἐπ᾽* † *αὐτοῖς* † (A: *αὐτούς* ℵ) seems to be a primitive corruption. 025. 046 and cursives read rightly *ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν*. These MSS may have preserved the original reading here, and A may be corrupt.

(*c*) *ἐπί* is used after certain verbs. (α) *βάλλειν ἐπί* with acc. 2^{24} 18^{19} (source): (β) *γράφειν ἐπί* with acc. 2^{17} 3^{12} $17^{5.\,8}$ (source) 19^{16}. In 14^{1} the gen. *ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων* after *γράφειν* is due to our author's predilection for the gen. pl. in this phrase: see under (*a*) above. (γ) *ἐκχέειν ἐπί* with acc. $16^{8.\,10.\,12.\,17}$.

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[1] It is noteworthy that this participle in the nom. and acc. is followed by *ἐπί* with the acc. in five passages of the six where it occurs in the rest of the N.T., Matt 9^{9}, Mark 2^{14}, Luke 5^{27} 21^{35}, J 12^{15}: exception, Acts 8; and that when it is in the gen. it is followed by *ἐπί* with the gen. in Matt 24^{3} 27^{19}: exception, Mark 13^{3}. But whereas these may be coincidences, in our author the use is a law. In Mark 13^{3} we have *καθημένου* followed by *εἰς*, whereas Matt 24^{3} has *ἐπὶ τ. ὄρους τ. ἐλαιῶν*.

(δ) *ἱστάναι ἐπί* with acc. 3^{20} *ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν* (contrast J 18^{16} *εἱστήκει πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ*), 7^{1} 8^{3} 11^{11} 12^{18} 14^{1} 15^{2}. (ϵ) *καθίζειν ἐπί* with acc. 20^{4}. (ζ) *κατοικεῖν ἐπί* with gen. See vol. i. 289, 336, ii. 12 *ad fin.* This construction is characteristic alike as to meaning and form. Two other constructions are found in 13^{12} 17^{2} where they appear due to sources: (η) *κόπτεσθαι ἐπί* with acc. 1^{7} = "to wail because of" (but in Zech. 12^{10} (ο′), 2 Sam. 11^{26} (A) "to wail for"). So far as I am aware this usage is not Greek. ספד עליו could be rendered "wail over him," as in Zech. 12^{10}, or "wail because of him," as the text requires here. Has our author assigned to *ἐπί* a meaning that belongs only to על? We could also render the Greek "to wail in regard to him." In 18^{9} this phrase = "to wail over." (θ) *πίπτειν ἐπί* with acc. 6^{16} $7^{11.\,16}$ 8^{10} $11^{11.\,16}$, but with *εἰς τὴν γῆν*, 6^{13} 9^{1}, since our author does not say *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* (see (*a*) above). (ι) *σκηνοῦν ἐπί* with acc. 7^{15}. (κ) *τιθέναι ἐπί* with acc. 1^{17}, but in 10^{2} with *ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης* in conformity with his usage (see (*a*) above). (λ) *μαρτυρεῖν* and *προφητεύειν* are followed by *ἐπί* (= "concerning") with dat. in 22^{16} (א 046) 10^{11}. *ἐπί* has this meaning in J 12^{16} *ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα*. But in 22^{16} A vg bo read *ἐν*. See *ἐπί* with dat. after *δεδέσθαι*, 9^{14}; *ὀργίζεσθαι*, 12^{17}; *εὐφραίνεσθαι*, 18^{20}.

(*d*) After *ἐξουσία ἐπί* there follows sometimes the gen. 2^{26} 11^{6b} (source) 14^{18} 20^{6}: sometimes the acc. 6^{8} 13^{7} 16^{9} 22^{14}. J has neither of these constructions, but the gen. without *ἐπί*, 17^{2}, or the inf. 1^{12} 5^{27} $10^{18\ (\textit{bis})}$ etc. A similar usage occurs in 17^{18} *βασιλείαν ἐπὶ* (= "over") *τῶν βασιλέων*: cf. Rom. 9^{5}.

(xiii.) **κατά**. (*a*) with gen. $2^{4.\,14.\,20}$ *κατὰ σοῦ*, "against thee." Once in J 19^{11} in the same sense. (*b*) With acc. (α) = "according to," 2^{23} 18^{6} (source) $20^{12.\,13}$. (β) Temporally in 22^{2} *κατὰ μῆνα*. (γ) Distributively in 4^{8} *ἓν καθ᾽ ἕν*: cf. J [8^{9} 21^{25}].

(xiv.) **κυκλόθεν** as a prep. in $4^{3.\,4}$: as an adv. in 4^{8}.

(xv.) **κύκλῳ** as a prep. 4^{6} 5^{11} 7^{11}.

(xvi.) **μετά**. 52 times (41 with gen. and 11 with acc.). (*a*) *μετά* with gen. after *ἀκολουθεῖν* [6^{8}] 14^{13} (= "to accompany"): *δειπνεῖν*, 3^{20}: *ἔρχεσθαι* (*μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν*), 1^{7}: *καθίζειν*, $3^{21\ (\textit{bis})}$: *λαλεῖν*, 1^{12} 10^{8} 17^{1} $21^{9.\,15}$: *μοιχεύειν*, 2^{22}: [*μολύνεσθαι*, 14^{4}]: *ποιῆσαι πόλεμον*, 11^{7} 12^{17} 13^{7} 19^{19}: *πολεμεῖν*, 2^{16} 12^{7} 13^{4} 17^{14}—a decided Hebraism, only in our author in the N.T. An occasional instance of it has been found in the papyri: *πορνεύειν*, 17^{2} $18^{3.\,9}$ (source). This construction is not classical Greek, which requires the acc. So also *μοιχεύειν*.[1] (*b*) *μετά* with acc. is only found in the phrase *μετὰ ταῦτα*, except in 11^{11} *μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς* ἡμέρας. μετὰ ταῦτα has two meanings in our author—its ordinary one, "after these things," 1^{19} 4^{2} 9^{12} 20^{3}, and a technical one, which, when combined with εἶδον, *always introduces a new and important vision*, 4^{1} $7^{1.\ 9}$ 15^{5} 18^{1} 19^{1}. On the value of this phrase as a canon of criticism, see vol. i. 106, footnote. This usage is found in J: (cf. 2^{12} 3^{22} 4^{43} 5^{1} 6^{1} 7^{1} 19^{38}) as introducing a new section.

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[1] Perhaps we might trace it to such an expression as that in Is. 23^{1} ונתה את כל ממלכות הארץ. *πορνεύειν μετά* is found in Ezek. 16^{34}, but the Hebrew does not explain the *μετά*. Similarly נאף (= *μοιχεύειν*) is followed by את (= *μετά*) in Jer. 29^{23}; but not ο′, which gives *ἐμοιχῶντο τὰς γυναῖκας*.

(xvii.) **παρά.** 3 times (2 with gen. and 1 with dat.). In J 35 times (26 with gen. and 9 with dat.).

(xviii.) **πρός.** 8 times (1 with dat. and 7 with acc.). In J, on the other hand, πρός with acc. occurs about 100 times, and with the dat. 4. πρός c. dat. is found in our author only once, 1^{13}; elsewhere in N.T., Mark 5^{11}, J 18^{16} $20^{11.\ 12\ (bis)}$. He uses πρός with acc. after verbs of motion, 3^{20} 10^{9} etc. (6 times). πρός = "against," in 13^{6} ἤνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τ. θεόν. Here εἰς would be more natural: cf. Mark 3^{29}, Luke 12^{10}, Acts 6^{11}. This preposition is much more varied in meaning in J.

(xix.) **ὑπό.** Only twice, and one of these in an interpolation, 6^{8}.

(xx.) **ὑποκάτω.** 4 times. Really an adverb but used as a preposition.

§ 6. *Conjunctions and other Particles.*

(i.) **ἀλλά.** 13 times, but over 100 times in J and 20 times in 1. 2. 3 J.

(ii.) **ἄν.** (*a*) As a particle in a relative clause ἄν occurs only twice, in 2^{25} ἄχρι οὗ ἂν ἥξω, and in 14^{4} ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγει (A: -η ℵ 025. 046). J, on the other hand, uses ἄν 5 times in the sense of "if" (alone in the N.T.), and 22 times as a mere particle in relative or conditional sentences.

(*b*) But our author uses ἐάν also as a mere particle after ὅσοι, 3^{19} 13^{15} (source). With the same meaning it recurs in 11^{6} ὁσάκις ἐάν (source), but as a conjunction followed by a subjunctive in 3^{20} [$22^{18.\ 19}$]. ἐὰν μή is followed by the subj. 2^{5} 3^{3}, but in 2^{22c} (an interpolation) by the indicative.[1] In J ἐάν is once used as a

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[1] Thus ἐάν is substituted for ἄν 3 times (3^{19} and 11^{6} 13^{15} sources) out of 4. Moulton (*Gr.* 43) states that in pre-Christian papyri the proportion of ἐάν to ἄν was 13 to 29, but in the 1st cent. A.D. this proportion was 25 to 7, in 2nd A.D. 76 to 9, in 3rd A.D. 9 to 3, in 4th A.D. 4 to 8. ἐάν occurs last for ἄν in a 6th cent. papyrus. It will be seen, therefore, that the proportion in our author, 3 to 1, agrees nearly with that in the papyri of the 1st cent. A.D., 25 to 7.

It is significant of the character of ℵ that it changes ἐάν into ἄν in 3^{19} 13^{15} and thus represents our author as using ἐάν only 1 out of 4 times. C changes it in 11^{6}. Notwithstanding the untrustworthy character of 025. 046, they are here more trustworthy than ℵ in this respect.

But Thackeray (*Gr.* 67), with a large body of papyri at his disposal, gives mere particle in 15^{7}. Otherwise frequently as a conjunction followed by the subjunctive. J uses ἄν 14 times in the apodosis of an impossible supposition, but our author does not use this construction.

(iii.) ἄρτι, 12^{10}, and ἀπ᾽ ἄρτι, 14^{13}. It is hard to decide whether ἄρτι = "at this moment," as occasionally in J (see Abbott, *Gr.* 25 sq., 199), or "at this present time," as contrasted with past or future time—a later meaning belonging more properly to νῦν, which J uses very frequently but not our author.

(iv.) ἄχρι. Always followed by subjunctive in our author: 2^{25} (ἄχρι οὗ) 7^{3} 15^{8} $20^{3.\,5}$. In 17^{17} we find ἄχρι τελεσθήσονται. But this is a source.

(v.) γάρ. *circ.* 17 times. In J nearly 70.

(vi.) δέ. 6 times. Very frequent in J and with different shades of meaning: see Abbott, *Gr. in loc.*

(vii.) εἰ. εἰ is found only in combination (*a*) with τις:[1] 11^{5a} [11^{5b}] $13^{9.\,10\,(bis)}$ $14^{9.\,11}$ 20^{15} (εἴ τις οὐχ)—a very common combination not once in J: (*b*) with μή (= "except"), 2^{17} 9^{4} 13^{17} 14^{3} 19^{12} 21^{27}. This use is found in J 3^{13} 6^{22} etc.: or with δὲ μή (= "otherwise"), $2^{5.\,16}$: also in J $14^{2.\,11}$. But J uses the former combination in other idioms.

(viii.) ἔξωθεν (as adverb = ἔξω) 11^{2} 5^{1} (some MSS).

(ix.) ἔτι. 18 times, including a restoration of ἔτι for ἐπί in 7^{16}. 22^{11} is an interpolation.

(x.) ἕως. With subjunctive (= "till"), 6^{11}. In J with ind. 9^{18} $21^{22.\,23}$. In various combinations in J.

(xi.) ἰδού. 26 times. In J 4. J uses ἴδε (15), but our author does not.

(xii.) ἵνα. Final clauses introduced by ἵνα[2] followed by the subj. 33 times, and by the ind. 13. (The latter is unclassical: Attic uses ὅπως with ind.) In J ἵνα is followed by the subj. save thrice out of nearly 140 times. ἵνα μή is followed by the subj. 9 times and by the ind. 2: in J only by the subj. As our author never uses the past subjunctive (or optative) it is interest-

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the statistics as follows. In pre-Christian papyri ὃς ἐάν, 16, ὃς ἄν, 78: in i/A.D. 39 and 5 respectively; in ii/A.D. 79 and 13; in iii/A.D. 13 and 5; in iv/A.D. 12 and 7. These amended numbers show more clearly how the scribe of ℵ introduced later forms into his text.

[1] εἴ τις is only found once in the Johannine writings outside the Apocalypse—2 J ^{10} εἴ τις ἔρχεται. Here the case is put as an actual occurrence, and the coming as a real event. Hence this form does not militate against Johannine authorship.

[2] In my commentary I have followed Blass in taking ἵνα in 14^{13} as almost equal to ὅτι "in that." But here also it may express purpose. Thus μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες . . . ἵνα ἀναπαήσονται = "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord: yea, saith the Spirit, in order to rest," etc. Cf. 22^{14} and J 8^{56} 9^{2} τίς ἥμαρτεν . . . ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ; 11^{15}, and see Abbott, *Gr.* 114–128, who insists that ἵνα expresses purpose in J.

ing to observe the sequence of tenses adopted by him after ἵνα or ἵνα μή.

Pres. ind. followed by	pres. ind.	1
”	pres. subj.	5
”	aor. subj.	7
”	fut. ind.	4
Past. ind.	pres. subj.	5
”	aor. subj.	13
”	fut. ind.	7
Fut. ind.	fut. ind.	1
Imperative (pres. or aor.)	pres. subj.	1
”	aor. subj	2

(xiii.) **μή.** Never with the participle in our author, but 10 times in J and 11 times in 1. 2. 3 J. μή with pres. imperative, 1^{17} 2^{10} etc.; with aor. subj. 6^{6} 7^{3} 10^{4}, the use of these two tenses being carefully distinguished; see above, p. cxxvi. μή . . . μήτε . . . μήτε, $7^{1.3}$: also μή . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδέ in 9^{4}, but never μὴ . . . μηδέ, as in J (*bis*) who never uses μήτε; nor μηδὲ . . . μηδέ. οὐδὲ μὴ . . . οὐδέ, 7^{16}.

(xiv.) **ὄπισθεν** as prep. 1^{10} 4^{6}, as adv. 5^{1}.

(xv.) **ὀπίσω** as prep. 12^{15} 13^{3}, and also in 1^{10} (אC) 10^{10} in אC 025.

(xvi.) **ὅπου**, $2^{13\,(bis)}$ 11^{8} 20^{10}. In the latter two passages there is the combination ὅπου καί. In sources used by our author there is a Hebraism in connection with this word: ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ, $12^{6.14}$: ὅπου . . . ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν, 17^{9}; but this Hebraism never appears to come from his own hand. In 14^{4} we have ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγει (AC: corrected into ὑπάγῃ in א 025. 046). This use of ἄν here is to be rejected, according to Blass, *Gr.* 207, 217; Robertson, *Gr.* 969. See, however, under ὅταν: also *Vocabulary of G. T.* (Moulton and Milligan) under ἄν.

(xvii.) **ὁσάκις.** 11^{6} (source).

(xviii.) **ὅταν.** This particle takes the aor. subj. 9^{5} 11^{7} 12^{4} 17^{10} 20^{7}, or the pres. subj. 10^{7} 18^{9},[1] or the fut. ind. 4^{9}, or even the aor. ind. 8^{1}. In the last passage the use of ὅταν in ὅταν ἤνοιξεν (corrected into ὅτε in א 025) is quite incorrect according to Blass (*Gr.* 218). Yet it is found in the κοινή: cf. Mark 11^{19} ὅταν ὀψὲ ἐγένετο ἐξεπορεύετο ἔξω τ. πόλεως: Ex 16^{3}: cf. ὡς ἄν in Gen (Tischendorf's ed.) 27^{30} ὡς ἂν ἐξῆλθεν Ἰακώβ, of a single definite action in the past. ὅταν, however, with the indic. generally denotes indefinite frequency (an unclassical usage): cf. Mark 3^{11}

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[1] As Abbott (*Gr.* 385) points out, ὅταν with the pres. subj. refers to the coincidence of time between the action of the pres. subj. and that of the principal verb.

11^{25}: similarly *ὅπου ἄν*, Mark 6^{56}. On *ὅταν* with fut. ind. see Robertson, *Gr.* 972.

(xix.) **ὅτε** occurs 13 times and always with aor. ind. In J 21 times (4 with fut. ind.).

(xx.) **ὅτι.** 63 times. (*a*) Abbott, *Gr.* 154 sq., points out that the suspensive use of *ὅτι* "is almost confined to the Johannine writings and the Apocalypse." Here *ὅτι* = "because," and he cites as examples outside these writings Gal 4^{6}, 1 Cor 12$^{15. 16}$, Rom 9^{7}. In J 1^{50} (*ὅτι εἶπόν σοι . . . πιστεύεις*) 14^{19} 15^{19} 16^{6} 20^{29}. In like manner in our author we must render 3^{10} "Because (*ὅτι*) thou hast kept the word of my endurance I also will keep thee," 3$^{16. 17}$ 18^{7}.[1]

(*b*) Besides the suspensive use of *ὅτι*, where the *ὅτι* clause precedes, the word most frequently introduces a subsequent clause giving a ground or reason, and so it is to be rendered "because" or "for." Cf. 3^{4} 4^{11} 5$^{4. 9}$ 6^{17} etc. etc.

(*c*) Next it means "that" after *εἶδον*, *οἶδα*, *γιγνώσκω*, *ἔχω κατά τινος* or *ὄμνυμι*, 2$^{2. 4. 20. 23}$ 3$^{1. 8. 9. 15}$ 10^{6} etc.

(*d*) Finally, it is used before direct discourse (*i.e.* *ὅτι* "recitative"), 3^{17} 18^{7}.

(xxi.) **οὗ** = "where" [17^{15}]. Our author as also J uses *ὅπου* and not *οὗ*.

(xxii.) **οὐ.** We find *οὐ . . . οὐδέ*, 7^{16} 9^{20} 12^{8} 20^{4} 21^{23}: *οὐ . . . οὔτε*, 9^{21}: *οὐδεὶς . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὔτέ*, 5^{3}: *οὐδεὶς . . . οὔτε*, 5^{4}.

(xxiii.) **οὐ μή.** 15 times. Always followed by subj. in our author except in 18^{14} (source), which may be an interpolation in this source, seeing that elsewhere in this source it is followed by the subj. See vol. i 59 *ad med.* In J 3 times with ind. out of 17.

(xxiv.) **οὐαί.** This interjection is followed by the dat. in our author in 8^{13}. In 12^{12} (a source) by the acc. In 18$^{10. 16. 19}$ (a source) by the nom. It is a noun in 9$^{12\ (bis)}$ 11$^{14\ (bis)}$.

(xxv.) **οὐκέτι.** 10^{6}: in 18$^{11. 14}$ with neg. (source). 12 times in J.

(xxvi.) **οὖν.** (*a*) Used of logical appeal 6 times, 1^{19} 2$^{5. 16}$ etc.

(*b*) Narrative or continuative *οὖν* does not occur once, and only a few times in the Synoptic Gospels. In J *οὖν* occurs nearly 200 times, and the majority of these apparently in a non-illative or purely continuative or narrative sense. Only 8 times does it occur in the words of Jesus: all the rest in the narrative portions. But Abbott (*Gr.* 470 sqq.) finds difficulties in many of the Johannine uses of *οὖν*. He pertinently remarks (p. 479, footnote): "the absence of narrative οὖν in Revelation is important, because . . . it is largely made up of narrative, so that we might have expected narrative οὖν in abundance if it had been written by the hand that wrote the Fourth Gospel." The word occurs only once in 1. 2. 3 J.

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[1] On the ground of this and a few other similarities of style Abbott (*Gr.* 155) suggests that "the author of the Gospel may have been a disciple or younger coadjutor of the author of the Apocalypse."

(xxvii.) οὔπω. $17^{10.\,12}$ (source). 13 times in J, 1 J once.

(xxviii.) οὔτε. We find οὔτε . . . οὔτε, $3^{15.\,16}$ 9^{20} 21^{4}: οὐδεὶς . . . οὔτε, 5^{4}.

(xxix.) πλήν = "only," 2^{25}: cf. Phil. 3^{16} for this meaning. Blass (*Gr.* 268) would assign this meaning to πλήν also in 1 Cor. 11^{11}, Eph 5^{33}, Phil 4^{14}.

(xxx.) ὧδε = (*a*) "hither," 4^{1} 11^{12}; (*b*) metaphorically (= "here is need for"), $13^{10.\,18}$ 14^{12} 17^{9}.

(xxxi.) ὡς. (*a*) On this important particle, see vol. i. 35 sq., where it is shown that it has in our author several uses unknown elsewhere in the N.T. but found in the LXX. One use is there omitted.

(*b*) In a comparison the same case follows ὡς as that which precedes it. This, of course, is the usual construction. Cf. 2^{18} τ. ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόγα πυρός, $9^{8.\,9}$ 12^{15} 13^{3} 18^{21} 21^{2} 22^{1}. Hence 16^{13} εἶδον . . . πνεύματα τρία . . . ὡς † βάτραχοι † is either a slip or due to an interpolator. It is due to the latter, as we see on other grounds.

(*c*) Observe that our author never uses καθώς though it occurs nearly 180 times in the N.T. In J it occurs 31 times and 13 in 1. 2. 3 J. J uses ὡς in a temporal sense (= "when") about 20 times, but J^{ap}, 1. 2. 3 J never. Our author uses ὡς as a word of comparison about 73 times (only once with a numeral), J 13 times (8 times with a numeral).

(*d*) In 22^{12} ὡς = "according as," followed by substantive verb—a usage not found elsewhere in the Johannine writings.

(xxxii.) ὥσπερ. 10^{3}.

§ 7. *Case.*

(i.) (*a*) The nominative stands in the case of a proper noun without regard to the construction, in place of the case normally required. 9^{11} ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλύων. This is good Greek (cf. Xenoph. *Oecon.* vi. 14, τούς ἔχοντας τὸ σεμνὸν ὄνομα τοῦτο τὸ καλός τε κἀγαθός), but it comes from the hand of the editor and not from the author, whose construction will be found in 6^{8}.

(*b*) *Nominativus pendens.* Since in our author this usage is a Hebraism, it is dealt with under that heading.

(ii.) (*a*) Genitive absolute. This construction does not exist in our author, though it is employed often in J and with more elasticity of meaning than is found in the Synoptists: see

Abbott, *Gr.* 83 sq. In the Apoc. 17^{8} θαυμασθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες . . . ὧν . . . βλεπόντων is not a gen. abs. But for this intervening ὧν the text would have read βλέποντες or ὅταν βλέπωσιν.

(*b*) Temporal genitive. This genitive denotes the whole period of time during which something happened: 4^{8} 7^{15} ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός—a phrase that should be restored in 8^{12} 21^{25}.

(iii.) Dative. (*a*) Instrumental dative. This dative is of infrequent occurrence. It is found in 4^{4} περιβεβλημένους ἱματίοις, 19^{13} βεβαμμένον αἵματι, 18^{21} ὁρμήματι βληθήσεται (source), 22^{14} τοῖς πυλῶσιν εἰσέλθωσιν, 21^{8} [8^{8}] καιομένῃ πυρί, 15^{2} μεμιγμένην πυρί, 5^{1} κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγῖσιν, 17^{4} 18^{16} κεχρυσωμένη χρυσίῳ. φωνῇ μεγάλῃ is found after λέγειν, 5^{12} (6^{1}) 8^{13} (yet with ἐν, $14^{7.9}$): after κράζειν, 6^{10} 7^{2} 10^{3} 19^{17} (but with ἐν in passages from another hand, 14^{15} 18^{2}): after φωνεῖν, 14^{18}. This instrumental dat. is mostly replaced in our author by ἐν (see above, p. cxxx, under ἐν), or occasionally after passive verbs by ἐν or ἀπό.

(*b*) Dative of time, μιᾷ ὥρᾳ in $18^{10.16.19}$ (source) is difficult. It seems to mean "in the course of an hour." Hence we should expect ἐν μιᾷ ὥρᾳ, just as in 18^{8} we have ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ or else μιᾶς ἡμέρας, "in the course of one day." Yet see Blass, *Gr.* 120.

(*c*) Hebraic dative. 21^{8} τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν. See below, p. cxlviii (*h*) (*θ*).

(iv.) Accusative of point of time. 3^{3} ποίαν ὥραν. Cf. J 4^{52} ὥραν ἑβδόμην. See Abbott, *Gr.* 75; Acts 20^{16} τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. This usage (Blass, *Gr.* 94) occurs in connection with ὥρα in Attic Greek and in the papyri. Moulton, *Gr.* 63.

(v.) Vocative. There are nearly 60 examples of the nominative with the article used as a vocative in the N.T. It has a double origin; for it was well established both in Greek and in Hebrew. In Greek[1] it carried with it a rough peremptory note, and in the N.T. this note still survives: cf. Mark 9^{25} τὸ ἄλαλον καὶ κωφὸν πνεῦμα: J 19^{3} χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τ. Ἰουδαίων. In the latter passage there is a note of derision: βασιλεῦ τ. Ἰουδαίων[2] would have conceded the justice of Christ's claims. In the tender ἡ παῖς ἔγειρε, Luke 8^{54}, Moulton (*Gr.* 70) finds "a survival of the decisiveness of the older use."

But the Hebrew vocative with the art. carries with it a different and often a more dignified note. It can be used in the most respectful form of address to kings, or in a minatory sense to inferiors: cf. Is 42^{18}, Joel $1^{2.\,13}$. But it is never used in addressing God in the O.T. (except possibly in Neh 1^{5}, Dan 9^{4}).[1] Yet since the LXX generally renders אל and אלהים in the vocative by ὁ θεός, the solemn use of this vocative appears to have originated with the LXX, being a higher development of the usage already found in Hebrew. Our author appears therefore to have been influenced in this direction by the LXX: cf. 4^{11} *ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*,[2] 6^{10} *ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος*, 12^{12} 15^{3} 16^{5} $18^{4.\,20}$ 19^{5}. In contrast with this prevailing usage, we find, however, *κύριε ὁ θεός*, 11^{17} 15^{3} 16^{7}: *κύριε, Ἰησοῦ*, 22^{20}.

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[1] Blass (*Gr.* 69) quotes Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 521, ὁ παῖς ἀκολούθει (= "you there, the lad I mean, follow").

[2] Moulton (*Gr.* 71) observes that Mark's use of this phrase in 15^{18} "is merely a note of his imperfect sensibility to the more delicate shades of Greek idiom."

(vi.) Verbs with different cases or constructions.

(*a*) **ἀκούειν.** Our author uses this verb with gen. of person, $6^{1.\,3.\,5}$ 8^{13} $16^{5.\,7}$, and acc. of thing, 1^{3} 7^{3} 9^{16} 22^{8}.[3] But *ἀκούειν* takes both the gen. and acc. of the thing, as, for instance, with *φωνή*. Now in J *ἀκ. φωνῆς*[4] = to hear so as to obey: cf. $5^{25.\,28}$ $10^{3.\,16}$, while *ἀκ. φωνήν* = to hear without further result: cf. 3^{8} 5^{37}, similarly *ἀκούειν λόγον* and *λόγων*. See Abbott, *Gr.* 435 sq., *Johannine Voc.* 116 (footnotes). This distinction does not exist in our author, save apparently accidentally. Thus in 3^{20} 11^{12} (אC 025 but not A 046) *ἀκ. φωνῆς* = "to obey." In 9^{13} $10^{4.\,8}$ 11^{12} 12^{10} $14^{2\ (bis)}$ 18^{4} $19^{1.\,6}$ the phrase *ἀκ. φωνήν* does not express obedience to, or regard of, the voice, as in J it would connote. Here the phrase means "to hear intelligently," "to understand." But *ἀκ. φωνῆς* has exactly the same force in 14^{13} 16^{1} 21^{3}. Hence our author does not observe either the usage of J nor the well-known one of Acts 9^{7} where *ἀκ. φωνῆς* = "to hear a sound" (without understanding its meaning), and in 9^{4} 26^{14} *ἀκ. φωνήν* = "to hear intelligently"[5]

(*b*) **γράφεσθαι.** Always *γράφεσθαι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ* in our author: cf. (1^{3}) 20^{12} 21^{27} and especially 13^{8}; but in source, *γραφ. ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον*, 17^{8}. This latter construction is found in quite other phrases: 2^{17} *ἐπὶ τ. ψῆφον . . . γεγραμμένον*, 3^{12} 19^{16}.

(*c*) **διδόναι.** This verb is followed by the partitive gen. (*τοῦ μαννᾶ*) in 2^{17}; not so elsewhere in N.T.

(*d*) **εὐαγγελίζειν.** In 10^{7} c. acc. of person, and in 14^{6} with *ἐπί* c. acc.

The rest of the N.T. uses the middle of this verb and frequently c. acc. of person. It does not occur in J in any form. In Attic this verb takes acc. of thing and dat. of person.

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[1] This usage, however, was well established in Aramaic, which had three different ways of making the noun definite when it was to stand in the vocative. See Kautzsch, *Gr. des Biblisch. Aramaischen*, p. 148 sq.

[2] *ὁ κύριος* as a vocative is not found except in this passage (Abbott).

[3] In 5^{13} we have *πᾶν κτίσμα . . . ἤκουσα λέγοντας* (al. *λέγοντα*), the idea of the thing prevails and not that of the person; hence the acc.

[4] In classical Greek "to hear a sound."

[5] In 1. 2. 3 J *ἀκούειν* takes a gen. of the person and an acc. of the thing except in 3 J^{4} where it is followed by an acc. of the person.

(*e*) **προσκυνεῖν.** The cases with this verb are dealt with in vol. i. 211 sq. Our author clearly uses προσκυνεῖν with dat. only of the worship of God. When the verb takes the acc. it is homage or inferior worship that is designed. Abbott (*Voc.* 137) shows that "the Synoptists reserve the acc. for the worship due to God or God's Son," in contrast with the use in the LXX or that of our author. Next (138 sqq.) he discovers in the Samaritan Dialogue in J 4 and in the Temptation narratives in the Synoptists "a deliberate differentiation of the two Greek constructions" [προσκυνεῖν, c. acc. (= worship of), and c. dat. (= prostration to)] in which the Evangelists "appear to use προσκυνέω with the acc. as meaning such worship as ought to be paid to God alone." Thus though προσκυνεῖν c. dat. occurs in J $4^{21. 23a}$ 9^{38}, it has not the full meaning of worship which is implied in $4^{23b. 24}$. Hence our author and J again differ here.

(*f*) **περιβάλλεσθαι** 11 times c. acc.; once c. ἐν.

(*g*) **φωτίζειν.** In 21^{23} c. acc: in 22^{5} φ. ἐπ' αὐτούς. Here there appears to be a Hebraism: see p. cxlviii (*h*) (*i*).

§ 8. *Number.*

(i.) When several subjects follow a verb and the first is in the sing., the verb is in the sing.: cf. 8^{7} $9^{2. 17}$ 11^{18} 12^{10} 18^{20} 19^{20} 20^{11}; but if they precede, the verb stands in the pl.: cf. 6^{14} 18^{17} $20^{13\text{ sq.}}$. So also in J: see Abbott, *Gr.* 307.

(ii.) (*a*) The neuter plural is generally followed by the pl. verb: cf. 1^{19} (ἃ εἰσίν), $3^{2. 4}$ (ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν), [4^{5}] 5^{14} (τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα ἔλεγον), 9^{20} (ἃ . . . δύνανται), 11^{18} 15^{4} 16^{20} (ὄρη . . . εὑρέθησαν), 20^{12} 21^{4}. The pl. verb may precede the neuter pl.: cf. 4^{9} (δώσουσιν τὰ ζῷα), 11^{13} (ἀπεκτάνθησαν . . . ὀνόματα) [16^{14} (εἰσὶν γὰρ πνεύματα)], 18^{23} (ἐπλανήθησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη), 21^{24}. This construction can generally be explained κατὰ σύνεσιν, the neuter nouns being conceived of as masculine or feminine.

(*b*) But the sing. verb occasionally follows the neut. pl.: cf. 1^{19} (ἃ μέλλει), 2^{27} [(ἔθνη) . . . συντρίβεται?], 4^{8} (τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα . . . ἔχων[1]), 13^{14} (ἃ ἐδόθη), 14^{13} (τὰ γὰρ ἔργα . . . ἀκολουθεῖ), 18^{14} (τὰ λιπαρὰ . . . ἀπώλετο), 19^{14} (τὰ στρατεύματα . . . ἠκολούθει); less often the sing. verb precedes: cf. 8^{3} (ἐδόθη . . . θυμιάματα), $20^{3. 5. 7}$.

(iii.) The plural verb follows certain collective nouns in the sing.: ὄχλος πολὺς . . . ἑστῶτες, 7^{9}: ὄχλου πολλοῦ . . . λεγόντων $19^{1. 6}$, but generally in J this noun has the sing. verb except in

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[1] But it is better to take ἔχων here as influenced by the ἓν καθ' ἓν preceding it.

6^{24} 7^{49} 12^{12}. In J 7^{49} 12^{12} ὄχλος is accompanied by a participle in the sing. (in its collective character) and by the verb in the pl. (as conveying the idea of separate individual action). See Abbott, *Gr.* 307. λαός has the pl. verb in 18^{14} and γῆ in $13^{3.\ 4}$.

§ 9. *Gender.*

(i.) As a rule the concord of gender is observed, but there are many exceptions. The greater number of these can be explained as constructions κατὰ σύνεσιν. Thus 4^{7} ζῷον ἔχων, 4^{8} τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα . . . λέγοντες, 13^{14} τῷ θηρίῳ ὃς ἔχει, 17^{11} θηρίον . . . αὐτὸς ὄγδοός ἐστιν, 17^{16} τὰ δέκα κέρατα . . . καὶ τὸ θηρίον, οὗτοι. In 15^{12} ἄξιος (A) τὸ ἀρνίον is to be similarly explained, though in 5^{6} 14^{1} ἀρνίον has the part. in the neuter. Similarly 7^{4} χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι (cf. also 14^{3}), 19^{14} τὰ στρατεύματα ἐνδεδυμένοι, 5^{6} πνεύματα ἀπεσταλμένοι, 5^{13} πᾶν κτίσμα . . . λέγοντας (א), 9^{5} ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς (*i.e.* ἀκρίδες). With φωνή there are several such wrong concords: 4^{1} ἡ φωνὴ . . . λέγων: cf. also $5^{11.\ 12}$ $9^{13.\ 14}$ 11^{15}. In 12^{5} υἱόν, ἄρσεν is peculiar.

(ii.) The gender of ὕαλος 21^{18} is nearly always fem., but our author in making it masc. has the sanction of Theophrastus.

§ 10. *The Hebraic Style of the Apocalypse.*

The Hebraic style of the Apocalypse has been acknowledged in a general sense till the present generation, but scholars have hitherto done little to establish the fact by actual and detailed evidence. Now, owing on the one hand to this fact that the Hebraic character of the Apocalypse had not been established by actual proofs, and on the other to the vast mass of fresh knowledge of vernacular Greek brought to light by the researches of Grenfell, Hunt, Thumb, Moulton, Milligan, and others, a new attitude has recently been adopted by certain scholars on this question, and some have gone to the extreme length of denying altogether the presence of Hebraisms in the Apocalypse except in sections that are translated from the Semitic. Thus Professor Moulton (*Gr.* 8–9) affirms that "even the Greek of the Apocalypse itself does not seem to owe any of its blunders to 'Hebraism.' The author's uncertain use of cases is obvious to the most casual reader . . . We find him perpetually indifferent to concord. But the less educated papyri give us plentiful parallels from a field where Semitism cannot be suspected. . . . Apart from places where he may be definitely translating a Semitic document, there is no reason to believe his grammar would have been materially different had he been a native of Oxyrhynchus, assuming the extent of Greek education to be the same."

This is not only an extravagant, but, as we shall presently discover, a wrong statement of the case, and called forth a rejoinder from Professor Swete (*Apoc.*[2] p. cxxiv, note), who wrote: "It is precarious to compare a literary document with a collection of personal and business letters, accounts, and other ephemeral writings; slips in word-formation or in syntax, which are to be expected in the latter, are phenomenal in the former, and if they find a place there, can only be attributed to lifelong habits of thought. Moreover, it remains to be considered how far the quasi-Semitic colloquialisms of the papyri are themselves due to the influence of the large Greek-speaking Jewish population of the Delta." My own studies, which have extended from the time of Homer down to the Middle Ages, and have concerned themselves specially with Hellenistic Greek, so far as this Greek was a vehicle of Hebrew thought, have led me to a very different conclusion on this question, and this is, that *the linguistic character of the Apocalypse is absolutely unique.*[1]

Its language differs from that of the LXX and other versions of the O.T., from the Greek of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and from that of the papyri. Of course it has points in common with all these phases of later Greek, but nevertheless it possesses a very distinct character of its own. No *literary* document of the Greek world exhibits such a vast multitude of solecisms. It would almost seem that the author of the Apocalypse deliberately set at defiance the grammarian and the ordinary rules of syntax. But such a description would do him the grossest injustice. He had no such intention. He is full of his subject, and like the great Hebrew prophets of old is a true artist. His object is to drive home his message with all the powers at his command, and this he does in many of the sublimest passages in all literature. Naturally with such an object in view he has no thought of consistently breaking any rule of syntax. How then are we to explain the unbridled licence of his Greek constructions? The reason clearly is that, *while he writes in Greek, he thinks in Hebrew*, and the thought has naturally affected the vehicle of expression. Moreover, he has taken over some Greek sources already translated from the Hebrew and has himself translated and adapted certain Hebrew sources. Besides he has rendered many Hebrew expressions literally and not idiomatically—constantly in his own original work and occasionally in his translations. His translations in a few cases presuppose corruptions in the Hebrew sources. But this is not all. He never mastered Greek idiomatically—even the Greek of his own period. To him very many of its particles were apparently unknown, and the multitudinous shades of meaning which they expressed in the various combinations into which they entered were never grasped at all, or only in a very inadequate degree. On the other hand, he is more accurate in the use of certain Greek idioms than the Fourth Evangelist. Notwithstanding its many unusual and unheard of expressions, the Book stands in its own literature without a rival, while in the literature of all time it has won for itself a place in the van.

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[1] In the next edition of Moulton's *Prolegomena*, the Hebraic style of the Apocalypse is accepted, as its editor, Mr. Howard, has informed me. Dr. Moulton changed his mind owing to the evidence I gave on this subject in my *Studies in the Apocalypse*, pp. 79–102.

I will now give a list of the chief Hebraisms in the Apocalypse which are sufficient to prove that it is more Hebraic than the LXX itself.

(i.) *The Greek text needs at times to be translated into Hebrew in order to discover its meaning and render it correctly in English.*

(*a*) The resolution of the participle in one of the oblique cases (gen. dat. or acc.), or of an infinitive, into a finite verb in the following clause, which finite verb should have been rendered idiomatically in Greek by a participle or by an infinitive respectively. We have here a frequent Hebrew idiom which cannot be explained from vernacular Greek and which, not having been recognized, has led to mistranslations of the text in every version of the Apocalypse down to the present day.[1]

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[1] This idiom is attested in the N.T. outside the Apocalypse in 2 John^{2} *διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν μένουσαν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσται*=“for the truth's sake which abideth in us and shall be with us.” So rightly the A.V., but wrongly in the R.V. Col 1^{26} *τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων . . . νῦν δὲ ἐφανερώθη*, is another example.

Long after I had discovered these Hebraisms and recognized the necessity of translating them idiomatically as such, I found that several of the versions had recovered the right rendering purely from the consciousness of the translators that the Greek text could not be taken literally as it stood.

Two of the Greek uncials, in fact, and very many of the cursives, have actually altered the Greek so that it represents idiomatically the Hebrew idiom. Thus ℵ reads, *ἑστῶτας . . . ἔχοντας κιθάρας τ. θεοῦ καὶ ᾄδοντας*, in 15^{2-3}, and 046 and many cursives read *καὶ ποιήσαντι* in 1^{5} instead of *καὶ ἐποίησεν* and *ἣ λέγει . . . καὶ διδάσκει* for *τ. λέγουσαν . . . καὶ διδάσκει* in 2^{20}. These are simply emendations, and they are emendations which represent idiomatically John's thought in Greek, but do not represent what he wrote. The translators of the versions restored the true sense in several passages by conjecture from a study of their contexts. Thus in 1^{5} Pr fl gig vg (arm ?) s^{2} eth render “qui dilexit et fecit” (*τῷ ἀγαπῶντι . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν*): in 2^{2} and 2^{9} Pr gig vg s^{2} eth render “qui se dicunt . . . et non sunt” (*τ. λέγοντας . . . καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν*): in 2^{20} gig s$^{1.2}$ arm eth= qui dicit . . . et docet (*ἡ λέγουσα . . . καὶ διδάσκει*), 2^{23} arm$^{1.2.3a}$=ego sum qui scruto . . . et do (*ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν . . . καὶ δώσω*): in 7^{14} Pr gig vg s^{1} arm eth=qui venerunt (or veniunt) . . . et laverunt (*οἱ ἐρχόμενοι . . . καὶ ἔπλυναν*): in 14^{2-3} 743. 1075 s^{2} arm bo eth=citharizantes et cantantes

"It is," writes Driver (*Hebrew Tenses*, 163), "a common custom with Hebrew writers, after employing a participle or infinitive, *to change the construction*, and if they wish to subjoin other verbs, which logically should be in the participle or infinitive as well, to pass to the use of the finite verb." Here we have the explanation of a dozen of passages in our author, which have been generally mistranslated in all the versions. In a few cases they are rightly translated, and then only through deliberate emendation of the text.[1]

The idiom of a participle continued by a finite verb is rendered literally into Greek in the LXX in Gen 27^{33}, Is 14^{17}, and idiomatically in Is $5^{8.\ 23}$, Ezek 22^{3}. But it is rendered literally comparatively seldom in the LXX, whereas in our text it occurs ten times and most probably eleven originally, as we shall see presently. In a few cases the Syriac, Latin, Bohairic, and A.V. are right, but probably unconsciously. This idiom emerges in the first chapter in $^{5-6}$ and recurs in ^{18} $2^{2.\ 9.\ 20.\ 23}$ 3^{9} 7^{14} 14^{2-3} 15^{3}. (α) In 1^{5-6} we have *τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν*, which should therefore be rendered, "Unto Him that loveth us . . . and hath made us," and not as in R.V. "Unto Him that loveth us . . . and He made us." (β) The failure to recognize this idiom in 1^{18} has led most scholars to mispunctuate the text, and the rest, like Wellhausen and Haussleiter, to excise *ὁ ζῶν*. The translation of *ὁ ζῶν καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός* should be 1^{17c} "Fear not: I am the first and the last, 1^{18} And He that liveth and was dead." Thus we recover the right sense. (γ) Again we have in 2^{23} *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν . . . καὶ δώσω* another example of this idiom = "I am He that trieth . . . and giveth." Here the Hebrew in our author's mind would be הַבֹּחֵן ונתתי or even וְאֶתֵּן: cf. Dan 12^{12}, and see vol. ii. 392 n. For a further treatment of this idiom the reader can consult the note in vol. i. 14 sq. (δ) Next, attention should be drawn to 20^{4}, where originally I feel assured there was another instance of this idiom; for the *οἵτινες* in *τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν* is obviously an insertion made by John's literary executor, who edited 20^{4}–22 after John's death.

(*κιθαριζόντων . . . και ᾄδουσιν*): in 15^{2-3} ℵ Pr fl vg s^{1} arm eth = stantes . . . habentes . . . et cantantes (*ἑστῶτας . . . ἔχοντας . . . καὶ ᾄδουσιν*).

Thus we discover the strange fact that in the above passages many of the ancient versions represent idiomatically and accurately the thought of John, where all but universally the modern versions do neither. The modern editions of these versions frequently punctuate wrongly the above passages, and consequently mislead the student.

[1] These passages are treated by modern editors as *anacoloutha*. They are, however, nothing of the kind: they are normal constructions in the grammar of the Apocalypse. Sometimes editors have sought to get over difficulties they fail to understand by mispunctuating the text.

See vol. ii. 182, 183. The insertion of *οἵτινες* is against our author's usage. In practically every instance the failure to recognize this idiom has led both to a mistranslation of the text and a misrepresentation of the meaning. Since the various instances of this idiom are dealt with as they arise, alike in the Commentary and Translation, I will bring forward only two more here to show how important it is that it should be accurately rendered. (*ϵ*) In $14^{2.\,3}$ *ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς κιθαρῳδῶν κιθαριζόντων ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτῶν*[1] *καὶ ᾄδουσιν ὡς ᾠδὴν καινήν* = "The voice which I heard was as the voice of harpers, harping with their harps and singing as it were a new song": (*ζ*) 2^{20} *ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν καὶ διδάσκει* = "who calleth herself a prophetess and teacheth" (not "and she teacheth," R.V.).

(*b*) In 13^{15} we have a resolution of the infinitive into a finite verb in the following clause as in Hebrew (see quotation above from Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*). Thus *καὶ ἐδόθη † αὐτῇ † δοῦναι . . . καὶ ποιήσῃ* = ויִנתן לה לתת . . . ותעשׂ = "And it was given unto him to give . . . and to cause." See vol. ii. 420, footnote.

(*c*) Just as in (*a*, *b*), the constructions under this head are quite impossible and unintelligible as Greek, but are full of meaning as literal reproductions of a Hebrew idiom. (*α*) The first is 12^{7} *ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ* (> א 046) *πολεμῆσαι*. We have here a classical Hebrew idiom: see vol. i. p. 322. The words rightly understood are most vivid: "Michael and his angels had to fight with the dragon." It is remarkable that the MSS allowed this astonishing Greek to survive in any form. (*β*) The same idiom recurs in 13^{10} where only A has preserved it in a slightly corrupt form: *εἴ τις . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι, † αὐτὸν † ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι* (= אשׁר לְהֵרָג[2] . . . הוא לְהֵרָג) = "if any man is to be slain with the sword, with the sword must he be slain." In vol. i. 356, I have shown that the Greek translators found great difficulty in rendering this idiom, and resorted to at least half a dozen different ways. The same idiom is to be found in Ethiopic. In *καύσων ἔσται* (Luke 12^{54}) the *ἔσται* is rendered by the Eth. lamedh before the infinitive. Thus our author introduces a new use of the inf. into Greek which none of the grammarians has recognized.

(*d*) Again an expression may be possible in Greek as regards form but wrong in regard to sense. Thus in 2^{22} *βάλλω εἰς κλίνην* as a piece of Greek is meaningless in its context but full of significance if retranslated into Hebrew. See vol. i. 71.

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[1] Here all modern editors insert a full stop before *καὶ ᾄδουσιν*. Both the Syriac versions could be rendered *καὶ ᾀδόντων*. The Bohairic requires this rendering here. It is true that s^1 has an internal corruption = *κιθαρῳδὸν κιθαρίζοντα ἐν ταῖς καθάραις αὐτοῦ·* [3] *καὶ ᾄδοντας*.

[2] Cf. Ezek 26^{15} for this form of the Niphal infinitive.

(*e*) The finite verb in Hebrew is translated literally, when idiomatically it should be rendered by a participle. Cf. 1^{16} *ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει* (=כשמש יאיר) = "his face was as the sun shining" (not "shineth"). See vol. i. 31.

(*f*) The Greek phrase *κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ* requires to be retranslated in order to punctuate and translate it rightly. It should not be punctuated as in WH with a comma after *κύριος* and another after *θεός*. In fact no commas should intervene at all. The entire phrase is found in 2 Sam 5^{10}, 1 Kings $19^{10.\,14}$, Hos $12^{5\,(6)}$, Amos 3^{13} 4^{13} 5^{14} etc. (=יהוה אלהי הצבאות), and often *κύριος παντοκράτωρ*, Hab 2^{13}, Hag $1^{2.\,5}$, Zech 1^{3}. Next it is to be observed that *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* in all these cases is a rendering of צבאות (with or without the art.) following the construct case. Hence *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* is the equivalent of a gen. in Greek dependent on the noun that precedes it. Thus nothing—not even a comma (as in WH) should intervene between *ὁ θεός* and *ὁ παντοκράτωρ*. They belong inseparably together, and *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* is never separated in the LXX from the noun of which it is an attribute, nor does our author ever disjoin *ὁ θεός* and *ὁ παντοκράτωρ*: cf. 4^{8} 11^{17} 15^{3} $16^{7.\,14}$ $19^{6.\,15}$ 21^{22}.[1] Thus we see that on textual grounds 1^{8} (*κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ*) is the interpolation of an ignorant scribe, who was unacquainted with the origin of this divine title. The context also is against it. See vol. ii. 38, n. 4. Furthermore, it follows that it is not to be rendered "the Lord God, the Almighty," as in R.V., but as "the Lord God Almighty."

(*g*) When Hebrew and Greek words agree as to their primary meanings, the secondary meanings of the Hebrew words are in a few cases assigned to the Greek. Here retranslation is necessary. (*α*) In 10^{1} we have the extraordinary phrase *οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρός*. Here, as I have shown in vol. i. 259 sq., *πόδες* is to be rendered as "legs." (*β*) Again *ποιμαίνειν* is to be rendered as "to break" in 2^{27} 12^{5} 19^{15} for the same reason: see vol. i. 75 sq. (*γ*) Again in 1^{5} the primary sense of *πρωτότοκος*, "firstborn," is eclipsed by the secondary denoting "chief" or "sovereign"—which secondary sense it derives originally from the Hebrew בכור. Cf. Job 18^{13} where בכור מות = "the most deadly disease," and Is 14^{30} בכורי דלים = "the poorest." See note on 1^{5} in the Commentary. (δ) Possibly in 1^{7} *κόπτεσθαι ἐπί* we have an instance in which a secondary meaning of על is assigned by our author to *ἐπί*.

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[1] Hence it is clear that ℵ 025. 046 Pr gig vg s^{2} wrongly insert *ἡμῶν* between *ὁ θεός* and *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* in 19^{6}. A s^{1} bo arm eth Cyp rightly omit. It is noteworthy that in 4^{8} the scribes of some eight cursives and arm^{1} substituted *σαβαώθ* for *ὁ θεός* under the influence of the LXX of Is 6^{3}, and thus arrived at the impossible text *σαβαὼθ ὁ παντοκράτωρ*. Clearly they did not know that *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* was a rendering of *σαβαώθ*. Possibly this latter word was originally a marginal gloss explaining the origin of *ὁ παντοκράτωρ*. It is significant of the independence with which our author deals with O.T. phrases that he changes יהוה צבאות (=*κύριος σαβαώθ*, LXX) in Is 6^{3}, on which his text is based, into *κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ* in 4^{8} 11^{17} 15^{3} 16^{7} 19^{6} 21^{22}, or into *ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκ.* in 16^{14} 19^{15}.

(*h*) Other Hebrew idioms literally reproduced in the Greek need to be retranslated in order to appreciate their exact meaning. (α) 2^{23} *δώσω* = "to requite," as נתן in Jer. 17^{10} on which 2^{23} is based. (β) 3^{8} *δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν* = "I have set," etc. See vol. i. 41. (γ) 3^{9} *ἰδοὺ διδῶ* = "behold I will make": vol. i. 41. (δ) 5^{6} *ἐν μέσῳ . . . ἐν μέσῳ* = "between . . . and": see vol. i. 140. (ε) 6^{1} *λέγοντος ὡς φωνή* (AC 046 and most curss.) *βροντῆς*. Here *ὡς φωνή* = כקול, which our author may have had in his mind, and which = *ὡς φωνή* or *ὡς φωνῇ*. By a slip our author wrote the former. The same misrendering is found in Is 5^{17} etc.: see vol. i. 161. (ζ) 12^{11} *ἐνίκησαν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν, κτλ.*, where the *καί* is to be rendered by "seeing," as vāv in Hebrew. The *καί* (= vāv) introduces a statement of the condition under which the action denoted by *ἐνίκησαν* took place. See footnote 7, vol. ii. 417. The same Hebraism recurs in 18^{3} 19^{3}. (η) 12^{14} *ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως* = מפני הנחש—"because of the serpent": see vol. i. 330. (θ) 21^{8} *τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν* = לרכי לב . . . חלקם. The dative is to be explained as a reproduction of the Hebrew idiom where ל introduces a new subject: see vol. ii. 216, footnote. (ι) 22^{5} *ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς*. Our author uses *φωτίζειν* as a transitive verb in 18^{1} 21^{23}, and naturally we expect it to be used as such here. Moreover, the context itself is against using it here intransitively; for "God will shine upon them" is not a likely expression. If, however, we understand "His face" as in the Hebrew, Ps 118^{27}, we can render *φωτίζειν* transitively as in 18^{1} 21^{23} and give a most excellent meaning to the passage: "will cause his face to shine upon them": see vol. ii. 210 sq.

(ii.) Other Hebraisms.—(*a*) 3^{20} *καί* introducing the apodosis (cf. 10^{7} 14^{10}). (*b*) 5^{7} (cf. 8^{3} 17^{1} 21^{9}) *ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν*. (*c*) 6^{8} *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος* = הרכב עליו שׁמו דבר. Here observe the non-Greek sense assigned to *θάνατος*: cf. 2^{23} 18^{8}. (*d*) 6^{1} *μίαν ἐκ* = "the first of." (*e*) 8^{3} *ἵνα δώσει* (*i.e. θυμιάματα*) *ταῖς προσευχαῖς* = "to offer it upon" = לְתִתָּהּ על תפלות: cf. Num 19^{17} or 18^{12}. (*f*) 10^{8} *ὕπαγε λάβε*. (*g*) 12^{5} *υἱὸν ἄρσεν* = בן זכר. (*h*) 13^{8} *ὄνομα* = *ὀνόματα* (cf. 17^{8}).

(*i*) The *future* is to be rendered by the *pres.* in 4^{9-10}; for here the future represents the Hebrew imperfect in a frequentative sense. Thus *ὅταν δώσουσιν . . . δόξαν . . . πεσοῦνται*, "when they give . . . glory . . . they fall down." This mistranslation of the Hebrew imperf. is often met with in Greek translations. Its occurrence in our author, who thinks in Hebrew, is therefore very natural. See vol. ii. 399, footnote. The future in 13^{8} *προσκυνήσουσιν* should be rendered as *προσεκύνουν* (= Hebrew imperf.).

(*k*) The *present* in 9^{6} is to be rendered as a *future*, where *φεύγει* represents the Hebrew imperf. in our author's mind: as a *past imperf.* in 7^{10} *κράζουσιν*, 12^{4} *σύρει*, 16^{21} *καταφεύγει*.

(iii.) Hebrew constructions are reproduced, parallels to which are found occasionally in vernacular Greek.

(*a*) *Nominativus pendens.*—This construction is found in 2^{26} $3^{12.\,21}$ *ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ*, 6^{8} *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνομα αὐτῷ*.[1] In other passages, however, our author has assimilated the construction more to the Greek construction by changing the nom. into the dat., $2^{7.\,17}$ (21^{6}) *τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ*, 6^{4} *τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ' † αὐτὸν † ἐδόθη αὐτῷ*: cf. Matt. 5^{40}. This construction is very frequent in the LXX owing to its frequency in the Hebrew.

(*b*) The oblique forms of the personal pronoun are added to relatives. 3^{8} *ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν*, 7^{2} *οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς*, 7^{9} *ὃν . . . αὐτόν*, $13^{8.\,12}$ 20^{8}: cf. also $12^{6.\,14}$ (*ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ*) 17^{9} (*ὅπου . . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν*). The pronoun is, of course, pleonastic in the Greek but not in the Hebrew, where, since the relative is uninflected, it supplies the inflection needed. This pleonastic use of the pronoun is found also in Mark 1^{7} (= Luke 3^{16}), 7^{25} 9^{3} (*οἷα . . . οὕτως*), 13^{9}, J 1^{27}, Acts 15^{17}. Examples of this idiom occur exceptionally in the *κοινή*. It is found also in Early English. But in our text its frequency is due to Semitic influences.

(*c*) (*a*) A noun or participial phrase, which is dependent on or in apposition to a preceding gen. dat. or acc., may stand in the nom., if it is preceded by the art., though Greek syntax would require it to agree with the oblique case that goes before it. This peculiar idiom is derived from the Hebrew, according to which the noun or phrase which stands in apposition to a noun in an oblique case remains unchanged. Instances of this usage occur in the LXX; but what is a rare phenomenon in the Greek version of the O.T. (cf. Ezek. $23^{7.\,12}$)[2] is a well-established idiom in the Greek text of the Apocalypse.[3] Our author has, in fact, adopted a Hebraism into his Greek, and naturalized it there. Thus it has become a marked characteristic of his style: cf. 1^{5} $2^{13.20}$ 3^{12} [8^{9}] 9^{14} 14^{12} 20^{2}. In these passages observe that the nom. is always preceded by the art. 1^{5} ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, 2^{20} τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν, 3^{12} τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ καταβαίνοῦσα, [8^{9} τῶν κτισμάτων . . . τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχάς]. How readily a Jew could adopt or fall into such a solecism when using an inflected language, is illustrated by Nestle (*Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament*, p. 330), who notes the following gem from Salomon Bär in his translation of the Massoretic note at the end of the Books of Samuel (Leipzig, 1892, p. 158), "ad mortem Davidis *rex* Israelis." (β) If the art. is omitted, then the word or phrase is put in the same case as the noun that precedes it. Contrast 9^{14} τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, ὁ ἔχων τ. σάλπιγγα, and 7^{2} 9^{17} 13^{1} 14^{6} 15^{2} 18^{1} 20^{1} ἄγγελον . . . ἔχοντα τὴν κλεῖν. (γ) But this rule does not apply to λέγων. Thus in 14^{6} we have εἶδον ἄλλον, ἄγγελον πετόμενον . . . ἔχοντα εὐαγγέλιον. . . . λέγων. But λέγων (or λέγοντες) stands by itself: it appears almost indeclinable. This may be due to the fact that it may reproduce לֵאמֹר in our author's mind. Cf. 4^{1} ἡ φωνὴ . . . λέγων: 5^{11} ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν . . . λέγοντες, 11^{1} ἐδόθη μοι κάλαμος . . . λέγων, 11^{15} φωναὶ . . . λέγοντες. This solecism is, of course, found in the LXX: cf. Gen 15^{1} 22^{20} 38^{13} 45^{16} 48^{20} etc. (δ) ἔχων follows an acc. when not preceded by the art. in 5^{6} ἀρνίον ἑστηκὸς . . . ἔχων, 14^{14} ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἔχων, 17^{3} θηρίον . . . ἔχων. But in 5^{6} 17^{3} it seems corrupt for ἔχον. In 14^{14} ἔχων is right and καθήμενον ὅμοιον, which precedes, is a slip for nom.

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[1] This occurs also elsewhere in the N.T., Matt. 4^{16} 12^{36}, Luke 12^{10}, Acts 7^{40}.

[2] This anomalous construction is concealed by the wrong punctuation in Swete's edition in both passages, and in one of them in Tischendorf's. But the art. does not occur in the Greek, as it was not in the Hebrew.

[3] This idiom occurs exceptionally in the *κοινή*, and as a blunder in other languages. But it is not a blunder in our author. Moulton's attempts to explain away this Hebrew idiom are just as idle as his attempt to explain *τοῦ*

(iv.) (*a*) There are passages which need to be retranslated in order *to discover the corruption or mistranslation in the Hebrew sources* used by our author.

We have already seen (see p. lxii sqq.) that our author made use of sources some of which were Greek, though originally written in Hebrew; others which he found in Hebrew and rendered into Greek. As it chances, we are only concerned under the present heading with the Hebrew sources which our author himself translated; for the passages which presuppose mistranslation or a corrupt Hebrew original are $13^{3.11}$ and $15^{5.6}$. (α) As regards 13^{3} I have shown in vol. i. 337 that ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὀπίσω τοῦ θηρίου is corrupt, and that the corruption did not originate in the Greek but in the Hebrew; for since $13^{3c.8}$ and 17^{8} are doublets (the latter being an independent rendering of a purer form of the

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πολεμῆσαι in 12^{7} Nearly every one of his references to the Apocalypse needs to be corrected. Robertson (*Gr*. 414 sq.) is too much influenced by Moulton, and like all other grammarians fails to recognize this Hebraism and most others in the Apocalypse.

Hebrew original), we are enabled to discover the origin of the corruption. Thus the clause in 13^{3c} = ותתמה . . . מאחרי החיה, where the מאחרי is corrupt for מראות, or rather בראות = *βλέπουσα*. Thus we have: "the whole earth wondered when it saw the beast," which brings it into line with 17^{8} "they that dwell on the earth shall wonder . . . when they see the beast." But the evidence for this restoration cannot be appreciated, unless the reader turns to p. 337 of this vol., where the two passages are placed side by side. (*β*) In 13^{11} we have the extraordinary statement that the second Beast had two horns like a lamb and spake like a dragon! The first idea may be suggested by Matt. 7^{15} "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves." See, however, vol. ii. 451 sq. But what is the explanation of the second idea—"he spake like a dragon"? A dragon does not speak. If the text had read "like the dragon," it might have recalled the temptation of Eve in Eden. But the lack of the article can be explained by the translator's reading כתנין as כְּתַנִּין instead of כַּתַּנִּין; and, since *καὶ ἐλάλει* = ותדבר, the latter is most probably corrupt for ותאבד, as in 2 Chron. 22^{10} (cf. 2 Kings 11^{1}). Thus 13^{11c} should be read: "but he was a destroyer like the dragon." This brings our text into line with Matt. 7^{15} (quoted above) and prepares us for the statement in 13^{15} that this second Beast put all to death that did not worship the first Beast. (*γ*) Again in $15^{5.\,6}$ there are two expressions, *ἠνοίγη* † *ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου* † *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, and *ἐνδεδυμένοι* † *λίθον* † *καθαρὸν λαμπρόν*, which are clearly corrupt. Inferior MSS (025. 046) have corrected the second into *λίνον*. A new vision begins with these verses. It is clear that no Jew writing originally in Greek could have used either of the obelized phrases. But, as I have shown in vol. ii. 37 sq., what is most probably the true text can be discovered by retranslation into Hebrew. In the first passage, 15^{5} *ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* = היכל אהל מועד בשמים, which was corrupt for היכל אלהים שבשמים = *ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, a phrase which we find exactly in 11^{19} accompanied by the same verb *ἠνοίγη* and the repeated article. In 15^{6} † *λίθον* † is to be explained by a mistranslation of שֵׁשׁ, which can be rendered either by *λίθος*, *μάρμαρος*, or by *βύσσινος*. Here the latter, of course, is the right rendering.

(*b*) These two passages naturally lead to the inquiry: Did John translate the Hebrew source himself, or did he adopt an independent Greek version of it? The fact that every phrase and construction in $15^{5\text{-}8}$ are distinctly our author's, furnishes such strong evidence for the former hypothesis that it seems necessary to accept it. If this is right, then we must conclude that our author inserted here a translation which, while reproducing exactly the corrupt Hebrew before him in 15^5 and a wrong rendering of a Hebrew word in 15^6, would have been corrected later, if he had had the opportunity of revision. Repeatedly we find traces of unfinished work in our author, which a revision would have removed. Thus 12^{14-16} 18^4 (see vol. i. 330–332, ii. 96 *ad fin.*) are meaningless survivals of earlier expectations. Unhappily the work was revised by one of his disciples who was quite unequal to the task, and to whom we owe some of the worst confusions in the Book. See, however, p. lxiv *ad fin.*

(*c*) For other passages which need to be retranslated in order to discover their meaning, see 18^{22} (μουσικῶν), 18^{19} ἐκ τῆς τιμιότητος αὐτῆς . . . ἠρημώθη.

§ 11. *Unique Expressions in our Author.*

(i.) 1^4 ἀπὸ ὁ ὤν. Our author knows perfectly the case that should follow ἀπό, but he refuses to inflect the divine name. See vol. i. 10.

(ii.) 1^4 ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος: cf. 11^{17} 16^5; see vol. i. 10.

(iii.) 1^{13} 14^{14} ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου: see vol. i. 27.

§ 12. *Solecisms due to slips on the part of our Author.*

We have now dealt with our author's grammar, first in so far as it is normal or abnormal from the standpoint of the Greek of his own age, and next in so far as its abnormalities are due to Hebraisms.

We have found that these abnormalities are not instances of mere licence nor yet mere blunders, as they have been most wrongly described, but are constructions deliberately chosen by our author. Some of these belong to the vernacular of his own time, some of them do not. Many are obviously to be explained as *literal* reproductions in Greek of Hebrew idioms, and some as misrenderings of Hebrew words or phrases in the mind of the author or in his Hebrew source, and some half dozen as due to corruptions in the Hebrew documents laid under contribution by our author either directly or through the medium of Greek translations.

Thus from a minute study of the text from this standpoint of grammar I have found it possible to explain—that is, to bring within the province of the normal and intelligible—all but about a score of passages. By our comprehensive study of our author's grammar we are the better equipped for recognizing the character of the remaining solecisms that cannot be explained from his own usages or vernacular Greek or the influences of a Semitic background. The bulk of these solecisms, though not all, are simply slips of our author which a subsequent revision would have removed, if the opportunity for such a revision had offered itself. These are:

(i.) 1^{10} ἤκουσα φωνὴν . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος † λεγούσης † (for λέγουσαν): cf. 6^{6} 14^{3} 16^{1} where the construction is normal.

(ii.) 1^{15} οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ † πεπυρωμένς † (for πεπυρωμένῳ, a correction rightly introduced in ℵ, some cursives, $s^{1.2}$ etc.).

(iii.) 1^{20} τὸ μυστήριον τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων . . . καὶ † τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας † (for τῶν ἑ. λυχνιῶν).

(iv.) 2^{27} συντρίβεται for συντριβήσονται or συντρίψει (?).

(v.) 4^{4} καὶ κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου † θρόνους . . . τέσσαρας . . . πρεσβυτέρους καθημένους περιβεβλημένους . . . στεφάνους χρυσοῦς †. In place of the accusatives, nominatives should be read. I have shown (vol. i. 115) that 4^{4} was introduced subsequently by our author to prepare the way for $4^{9\text{-}11}$. He seemingly inserted it as the object of εἶδον. It is obviously a slip.

(vi.) 6^{1} λέγοντος ὡς † φωνή †, where we should have φωνῇ: see § 10. i. (*h*). (ϵ) above, and vol. i. 161.

(vii.) 6^{14} ὡς βιβλίον † ἑλισσόμενον †. This is rightly corrected in ℵ and some cursives into ἑλισσόμενος.

(viii.) 7^{9} † περιβεβλημένους † στολὰς λευκάς. This is obviously a slip for the nom. In this sentence A Pr vg omitted καὶ ἰδού and changed, with the exception of ἑστῶτες, the following nominatives into accusatives.

(ix.) 10^{8} ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα . . . † λαλοῦσαν . . . καὶ λέγουσαν † (for λαλοῦσα . . . καὶ λέγουσα: see vol. i. 267).

(x.) 11^{1} ἐδόθη μοι κάλαμος . . . λέγων (source). This may be only an abnormal construction to which partial parallels are found in the LXX: see vol. i. 274.

(xi.) 11^{3} προφητεύσουσιν . . . † περιβεβλημένους †.

(xii.) 11^{4} αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου . . . † ἑστῶτες †. Since our author's sense and usage here require the αἱ ἑστῶσαι, the participle in the masc. and without the art. is a slip.

(xiii.) 13^{3} καὶ μίαν ἐκ τ. κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην. This is a slip exactly like that in 4^{4} above. It is an addition of our author, and was added seemingly as the object of εἶδον in 13^{1}.

(xiv.) $14^{6.7}$ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον πετόμενον . . . ἔχοντα . . . † λέγων †. But it is perhaps best to take λέγων as a Hebraism = לֵאמֹר: cf. 4^{1}. For analogous cases see p. cl *ad med.*

(xv.) 14^{14} εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη λευκή, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην † καθήμενον ὅμοιον † υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἔχων. Cf. 4^{2} εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος, 19^{11} εἶδον . . . καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτού, where we have the normal construction.

(xvi.) 14^{19} τὴν ληνὸν . . . † τὸν μέγαν †.

(xvii.) 19^{20} τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς † τῆς καιομένης †. The fact that the Hebrew and Aramaic words for "fire" (*i.e.* אֵשׁ and אֶשָּׁא) are feminine, may have led to our author's forgetting himself for the moment and writing τῆς καιομένης. In Rom 11^{4} we have τῇ Βάαλ instead of τῷ Βάαλ. This is frequently found in the LXX of the prophetical books and occasionally of the historical, because it goes back in the mind of the translator to בֹּשֶׁת, which mentally he substituted for בעל. The influence of the Hebrew is to be traced in Mark 12^{11} (= Matt 21^{42}), where in the quotation from the LXX (Ps 118^{23}) the αὕτη = זֹאת, though we should expect τοῦτο. Cf. Gen $35^{19.\,27}$ 36^{1}, Ps 102^{19} $119^{50.\,56}$ etc. Possibly in 13^{15} of our text the fem. αὐτῇ in ἐδόθη αὐτῇ may be due to חַיָּה; and the fem. art. in ἡ οὐαί (19^{12} 11^{14}) may be explained by the gender of הֹוָה.

(xviii.) 21^{9} τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας † τῶν γεμόντων † τῶν ἑπτὰ πληγῶν. It is hard to explain how such a slip as τῶν γεμόντων (A א 025) could have arisen, but if one investigates one's own slips, it is often impossible to account for them. Our author would no doubt have corrected this phrase into τὰς γεμούσας as certain cursives have done, rather than into γεμούσας as 046 and many cursives. For the participle is used attributively, following τὰς . . . φιάλας. Contrast 15^{7}.

(xix.) 21^{14} τὸ τεῖχος τῆς πόλεως † ἔχων †.

(xx.) 22^{2} ξύλον ζωῆς † ποιῶν † . . . ἀποδιδοῦν. Here our author would no doubt have corrected ποιῶν into ποιοῦν, as is done in א 046 and most cursives; for he knows the gender of ξύλον: cf. 22^{14} $18^{12\,(bis)}$. If the gender of עֵץ led to his writing ποιῶν, he would on revision either have corrected or written ἀποδιδούς so as to bring it into line with the former participle.

§ 13. *Primitive Corruptions—due either to* (a) *accidental or* (b) *deliberate changes.*

These are due to an early scribe, or in some cases (7^{15} $20^{4.\,11.\,13}$ 21^{25} 22^{12}) to the editor.

(i.) (*a*) 1^{20} αἱ λυχνίαι αἱ ἑπτὰ [ἑπτὰ] ἐκκλησίαι εἰσίν. This order of the numerals (see below, § 15, IV., and vol. i. 224, footnote, vol. ii. 389, footnote) is in some respects normal in our author; but as WH observe, "it is morally impossible that τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησιῶν should be followed by ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαι without the article" . . . "the second ἑπτά . . . must be an erroneous repetition of the first, due to the feeling that the number of the lamps was likely to be specified as well as of the stars." Besides, we should expect the art. before the second ἑπτά, since the predicate is coextensive with the subject. (See chap. xiii. § 2. iv.)

(ii.) (*a*) 6^{4} τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ᾽ † αὐτόν †.

(iii.) (*b*) 7^{15} ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τοῦ θρόνου †.

(iv.) (*a*) 8^{12} † ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νὺξ ὁμοίως † for ἡμέρας καὶ ὁμοίως νυκτός (as in Bohairic).

(v.) (*b*) 9^{17} τοὺς καθημένους ἐπ᾽ † αὐτῶν †. Contrast $19^{19.\,21}$.

(vi.) (*a*) 14^{9} ἐπὶ † τοῦ μετώπου †.

(vii.) (*a*) 19^{18} τῶν καθημένων ἐπ᾽ † αὐτούς † (A).

(viii.) (*b*) 20^{4} τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ [οἵτινες] οὐ προσεκύνησαν. A correction by the editor of John's Greek.

(ix.) (*b*) 20^{11} τὸν καθήμενον ἐπ᾽ † αὐτοῦ †. Editor's correction of John's Greek as in 7^{15} 9^{17}.

(x.) (*b*) 20^{13} ἔδωκεν † ἡ θάλασσα † τ. νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν † αὐτῇ †. This was a deliberate change on dogmatic grounds. See note *in loc.*

(xi.) (*a*) 21^{5} ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τῷ θρόνῳ †.

(xii.) (*a*) 21^{9} † τῶν γεμόντων † Aℵ 025 for τὰς γεμούσας.

(xiii.) (*b*) 21^{25} οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας † νὺξ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ †. This change was probably due to the editor. It originated in a misunderstanding of the text. In place of the last five words we should restore καὶ νυκτός. See note *in loc.*

(xiv.) 21^{27} † πᾶν κοινόν †. Read πᾶς κοινός.

(xv.) (*b*) 22^{12} ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ. This order, which is contrary to our author's own usage, is, like other departures from our author's usage in 20^{4}–22, to be traced to the editor. See below, § 15, ii. (*b*).

§ 14. *Constructions in the interpolations conflicting with our author's use.*

1^{8} ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ. See above, § 10. i. (*f*).

2^{22} ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν. Our author does not use the indicative after ἐὰν μή.

8^{11} καὶ τ. ὄνομα τ. ἀστέρος λέγεται Ὁ Ἄψινθος. Our author does not use λέγειν but καλεῖν in this sense: cf. 1^{9} 11^{8} 12^{9} 16^{16}. This addition is made in an interpolated section; whether before or after it was interpolated cannot be determined.

9^{17} τ. καθημένους ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν (—the construction John's editor prefers, being better Greek: cf. 7^{15} 9^{17} 20^{11} in § 13 above, and $14^{15,\,16}$ in this section).

14^{15} τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης.

14^{16} ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης.

15^{1} is an interpolation, since independently of other grounds it misuses καὶ εἶδον to introduce the Seven Bowls, where we should expect *μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον*. Since the latter phrase, which is used to introduce new paragraphs or sections, is found in 15^5, we see that the subject of the Bowls is there mentioned for the first time.

16^{2c} *τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ*. Our author would use the acc. here: only the dat. in reference to God.

16^{13} *εἶδον . . . πνεύματα τρία . . . ὡς βάτραχοι.* (Aℵ^c 046 min^p) Here our author would have written *βατράχους* (so corrected text in ℵ* min^p). See on *ὡς*, p. cxxxviii.

16^{19} εἰς τρία μέρη. Wrong order. Our author would say *μέρη τρία.*

17^9 ὅπου *ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ᾽* αὐτῶν. Our author does not use this construction, but *ὅπου* alone: cf. $2^{13\,(bis)}$ 11^8 20^{10}.

17^{15} οὗ *ἡ πόρνη κάθηται.* Our author uses *ὅπου*, not *οὗ*.

18^{13} *καὶ ἵππων . . . καὶ σωμάτων.* An addition conflicting alike with the syntax and the sense of the context.

19^{10} *προσκυνῆσαι* αὐτῷ (*i.e.* an angel). See note on 16^{2c} above.

§ 15. *Order of the Words.*

The Apocalypse is notable for the clearness, simplicity, and uniformity of its phrasing. When once our author has adopted a certain combination of words he holds fast to it as a general rule. This is an essential characteristic of his style. There is rarely any variation in the words or in their arrangement. How profoundly J differs from our author in this respect the reader will see by consulting Abbott's *Gr.* 401–436, where it is proved by hundreds of examples that J shows a subtle discrimination in availing himself of the manifold variations of order which are possible in Greek expressing various subtle shades of meaning. So far as the outward form goes our author's style is essentially monotonous when compared with that of J. And yet notwithstanding this absolute simplicity and apparent monotony, there is no sublimer work in the whole Bible. J works like a miniature painter, but our author like an impressionist on an heroic scale.

(i.) *The Article.*—(*a*) A noun in the genitive never stands between the article and its noun, but always follows it. This rule is without exception. In J, on the other hand, we find 18^{10} *τὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δοῦλον*. If, however, the article is omitted in the case of both nouns, then the noun in the genitive case can precede the noun that governs it: cf. 7^{17} *ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων.*

(*b*) Nor can participial or prepositional phrases stand between the art. and its noun.[1] If these stand in an attributive relation, they must follow the noun with the art. repeated: cf. 11^{19} *ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.* But when the noun is anarthrous, such a prepositional phrase can precede the noun, just as an anarthrous noun can precede the noun that governs it, as in 7^{17}. This occurs only in the titles of the letters to the Churches. Thus in 2^{1} we must read with AC Pr *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας*, and similarly throughout the seven letters, although in the case of three all the MSS have been corrected and normalized. Lachmann and WH recognized that this alone was what our author wrote, though neither they nor later editors were aware of the rule universally observed by him throughout J^{ap}, that a prepositional phrase is never inserted between the article and its noun. Hence the reading adopted by Tischendorf, Alford, Weiss, Von Soden, etc., *τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλ.*, is without justification. Our author could not write so. Besides, since it is his rule to repeat the art. before a prepositional phrase following an articular noun in an attributive relation, it follows that we should read *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ.* From the combination of these two usages emerges the strange piece of Greek, yet one that is essentially our author's —*τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας.*[1]

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[1] It is quite otherwise in J 8^{18} (and 12^{49}) *ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ*. Contrast 16^5 *τὸν πέμψαντά με*), 8^{31} *τοὺς πεπιστευκότας αὐτῷ Ἰουδαίους.*

(*c*) But though a participial or prepositional phrase may not intervene between the art. and its *noun*, it is inserted many times between the art. and the *participle* dependent upon it: 11^{16} *οἱ . . . πρεσβύτεροι οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενοι*, 14^{13} 17^{14} 19^{9}; also 11^{4} 12^{12} $13^{6.\,12}$ $18^{9.\,17}$ etc.

(ii.) *The Pronoun.*—(*a*) The genitive of the possessive noun does not precede its noun, unless when it is used unemphatically (*i.e.* vernacularly): see notes in vol. i. 49, 68 sq.; Abbott, *Gr.* 414–422, 601–607. But in our author *αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, αὐτῶν* are never found in this unemphatic position except in 18 (source), though very frequently in J and a few times in 1. 3 J.

(*b*) Again the genitive of the possessive pronouns (*μου, ἡμῶν, σου, ὑμῶν, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶν*) is never separated from its noun.[2] It occurs roughly over 300 times or more. Hence 12^{8} *οὐδὲ τόπος*

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[1] WH (*N.T. in Greek*, ii. "Notes on select Readings," p. 137) point out that inscriptions in Asia Minor connected with temples dedicated to the Emperor always omit the art. before *ναοῦ*, as in *ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, Κυζίκῳ, Περγάμῳ*, etc., just as *τῆς* is omitted before *ἐκκλησίας* in our text. But independently of this our author's usage requires the reading which even A has only preserved three times.

In the case of all the seven titles this construction has the support once of a cursive and always of one or more versions. See crit. note on 2^{1} of the Greek text in vol. ii. 244.

[2] When a noun is followed by an attributive adjective, the pronominal genitive is generally inserted between them: cf. 2^{4} *τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην*, 2^{19} 3^{12} $10^{2.\,5}$ 13^{16} 14^{19}. The genitive of the noun can be separated by an attributive adjective from the noun it depends on: cf. 19^{17} *τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ*: also 6^{17} 16^{14}. Here the emphasis is laid on the gen.

εὑρέθη αὐτῶν ἔτι is against our author's style,[1] also 18^{14} *σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς* (on other grounds we have found that 18 is a source): and also 22^{12} *ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ*, where the wrong order is probably due to the editor.

This is all the more remarkable seeing that in J the genitive both of the noun and of the possessive pronoun is very frequently separated from the noun that governs it: cf. 1^{49} *βασιλεὺς εἶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*, 2^{15} 3^{19} $9^{5.\ 6.\ 28\ (bis)}$ $12^{2.\ 47}$ $13^{6.\ 14}$ 18^{17} 19^{35} 20^{23}. See vol. i. 304, footnote.

(*c*) *οὗτος* always follows its noun. Not so in J, where it both precedes and follows its noun. The latter is the emphatic position in J: see Abbott, *Gr.* 409. Often in J the point of a passage depends on *οὗτος* being pre- or post-positive.

The oblique cases of *οὗτος* never appear in the position of an attribute any more than the possessive pronouns.[2] Hence even in 18^{15} (source) we have *οἱ ἔμποροι τούτων*, though the attributive position would be the more regular: see Blass, *Gram.* 169. Contrast J 5^{47} *τοῖς ἐκείνου γράμμασιν* (classical as regards *ἐκείνου* and its position).

(*d*) *ἄλλος* is always pre-positive, though generally post-positive in the LXX as in Hebrew.

(iii.) *The Adjective.*—The adjective as a rule follows after the noun it depends on. But there are certain exceptions. In 1^{10} we have *ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, 3^{8} *μικρὰν δύναμιν*, 20^{3} *μικρὸν χρόνον* (yet *χρόνον μικρόν* in 6^{11}), 13^{3} (source) *ὅλη ἡ γῆ* (elsewhere always post-positive—3^{10} 6^{12} 12^{9} 16^{14}). *μέγας* is always post-positive except in 16^{1} *μεγάλης φωνῆς* (always elsewhere in our author the adj. is post-positive in this phrase—*i.e.* 18 times). 18^{21} (source) *ἡ μεγάλη πόλις*. *ἰσχυρός* is once pre-positive in 18^{2} (source) *ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ*. Elsewhere post-positive (5 times, including 18^{10}).

Thus, save in four passages of our author (1^{10} 3^{8} 16^{1} 20^{3}), the adjective always follows the noun. The other instances (13^{3} $18^{2.\ 21}$) are in sources.

(iv.) *The Numerals.*—The usage of our author in regard to the order of the numerals and the words they depend on, which is on the whole definite and peculiar to himself, is given in vol. i. 224, and especially in the footnote. In the footnote in l. 15 *ab imo*, for "exception, xvi. 19," read "the clause καὶ ἐγένετο . . . εἰς τρία μέρη is an interpolation": and for the last five lines read: "In the case of ἑπτά, 17^{9} (in 1^{20} the second ἑπτά is an interpolation; 8^{2b} is recast and in part interpolated, and 13^{3b} belongs to a source), δέκα, 17^{12} (in 13^{1} καὶ ἐπὶ τ. κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα is interpolated), δώδεκα, 21^{21}, when the subject contains any of these numerals preceded by the article and is followed by a noun and the same numeral in the predicate, the latter numeral without the article precedes the noun, unless the subject and predicate are coextensive."

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[1] When this fact is taken into account together with the five other uses that equally conflict with his style (*i.e.* 12^{1} *ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς* instead of *ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλήν*), $12^{6.\ 14}$ *ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ* (instead of *ὅπου* alone), 12^{7} *τοῦ* before the inf. (whereas inf. is used in the same sense twice without *τοῦ* in 13^{10}), 12^{12} *οἱ οὐρανοί* (instead of *οὐρανέ*), *οὐαὶ τὴν γῆν* (instead of *οὐαὶ τῇ γῇ*: cf. 8^{13}), the statement in vol. i. 300 sqq. must be withdrawn. Our author therefore did not translate 12 himself, but found it already translated into Greek, and then edited it to suit his main purpose: from his hand come *ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν . . . σιδηρᾷ* in 12^{5}: 12^{6} (modelled on 12^{14}): *ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὁ καλούμενος . . . ἐβλήθη*, 12^{9}: *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν* in 12^{10} 12^{11}: *ὅτι εἶδεν* and *ὅτι . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν* in 12^{13} $12^{17\text{-}18}$. See Commentary *in loc.*

[2] This does not hold of *ἑαυτοῦ*. In $10^{3.\ 7}$ this possessive occurs in the attributive position, which is its normal one. See Blass, *Gram.* 168 sq.

To the above one point needs to be added. When a numeral is connected with χιλιάδες it always precedes it. Cf. δώδεκα in $7^{4\text{-}8}$ 21^{16} and the compound numbers in $14^{1.\,3}$. Hence 11^{13} χιλιάδες ἑπτά (source) is against our author's order. The numerals are never separated from the nouns they qualify: hence 17^{13} μίαν ἔχουσιν γνώμην (046 min^{nl}) is a late change.

(v.) *The Verb.*—(*a*) The verb generally precedes its subject and almost always its object except in sources such as $11^{1\text{-}13}$ (see vol. i. 272 sq.) and 18. In other sources—translations from Hebrew such as 12. 17—the order is Semitic.

(*b*) Again the verb and its object are rarely separated by prepositional or other phrases. This holds absolutely in the case of ἀκούειν φωνήν (φωνῆς). Hence A, ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ὄπισθέν μου, is right in 1^{10}, and not ℵC 025, ἤκ. ὀπίσω μου φ. μ.

(*c*) The insertion of a relative or conditional clause between a conjunction and the verb it introduces is only found in the sources used by our author, 12^{4} ἵνα ὅταν τέκῃ τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγῃ, 13^{15} ἵνα ὅσοι . . . προσκυνήσωσιν . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν.

§ 16. *Combinations of Words.*

Our author always writes ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. Cf. 4^{5} 11^{19} 16^{18}. He observed that the ἀστραπαί precede the βρονταί and wrote accordingly. But the editor who interpolated $8^{7\text{-}12}$ and made many changes in the adjoining context to adapt it to his interpolation, was apparently unaware of the order of these natural phenomena or the usage of his author: see 8^{5} βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί.[1]

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[1] This non-Johannine order is not mentioned in the list of grounds for rejecting $8^{7\text{-}12}$ in vol. i. 218–222.

XIV.

Original Authorities for the Text—Greek MSS and Versions, and an Attempt to Estimate the Relative Values.

A complete study of the critical problems of the text is quite impossible in the space at our disposal. It is possible, however, to arrive at trustworthy results regarding the relative values of the uncial and some of the chief cursive MSS. The question of the versions is a much more difficult one; but even in respect to these, conclusions approximately true can be arrived at.

§ 1. *The relative values of* Aℵ︎C 025. 046. 051 *according to their respective attestation of certain Greek and Hebraistic constructions in our author, which are in some cases unique in Greek literature and in others rare or comparatively rare save in our author.*—(*a*) The most notable of these constructions which is practically unique is one which occurs seven times, once in the title of each letter to the Seven Churches. Thus in 2^{1} John unquestionably wrote τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσω ἐκκλησίας and not τ. ἀγγ. τῆς ἐν Ἐ. ἐκκλησίας, as we find in most texts of J^{ap}. Lachmann in Germany recognized this as the original text, and Hort (and to a minor degree Souter) in England. These scholars were influenced purely by the weighty testimony of A in three of the seven passages, and C in one. In addition to this evidence, Hort invoked that of Primasius (in all seven passages),[1] and the Vulgate (in one passage). To these I am able to add the support of two cursives, 2019. 2050, and of four versions, *i.e.* arm for all seven passages, s^{1} for four, s^{2} for two, and gig (2^{1}) and sa each for one. The evidence is given in a collected form in vol. ii. p. 244, save that Pr should perhaps be added, as Hort urges, to the evidence given under $2^{8.12}$ 3^{14} and vg under 3^{1}. I have already remarked that Lachmann on the basis of AC, and Hort on the basis of these reinforced by Pr vg, accepted the above readings on purely documentary authority. This authority, when further reinforced as it is in my *Appar. Crit.*, is quite sufficient to establish the form τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῳ ἐν . . . ἐκκλησίας as original in all seven passages.[1] But my study of grammar of J^ap has thrown further light on the subject, and made it clear that John could not, consistently with his usage throughout the rest of J^ap, have written otherwise. The grounds for this statement are given in my Gram. § 15. (i.) (*b*), vol. i. Introd. p. clvi sq.

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[1] When I combined the evidence of the MSS and versions for the seven passages in vol. ii. p. 244 (*Appar. Crit.*), I had either not seen or had forgotten Hort's note on this question in his Commentary (p. 38 sqq.), where he claims that Primasius supported the true text in all seven passages. In my table I only claim Primasius as attesting the true text in four, where his evidence is incontrovertible. The ground on which Hort claims the support of Pr in $2^{8.\,12}$ 3^{14} is the fact that ecclesiae precedes the name of the Church in the cases of Smyrna, Pergamum, and Laodicea. This order is also found in vg for Sardis (3^{1}). Now Hort argues that this "transposition . . . is interpretative of τῷ" (as in Epiph. 455 B, τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῷ ἐν Θυατείροις). Thus, according to Hort, ecclesiae Pergami (Pr) supports the original text, whereas Pergami ecclesiae (vg s^{2} bo) supports the later corrected text. If this argument is right the evidence for the original text is considerably greater than might otherwise be supposed. s^{1} supports it in $2^{8.\,7}$ $3^{7.\,14}$; arm^{a} in 2^{12} 3^{14}, arm$^{\beta.\,\gamma}$ in 2^{18}, arm$^{1.}$ in 2^{8}, fl in 2^{1}. In the readings of s^{2} I have followed Gwynn; for my three texts of s^{2} have been normalized and agree in giving the late reading in all seven passages.

In this extraordinary piece of Greek we have a first class means of distinguishing between the trustworthiness of our various authorities. When we apply this test, the result is very significant. Of the uncials, ℵ 025. 046. 051 have corrected τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ in every passage into the normal construction τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς. On the other hand, A has retained the original construction in $2^{1.8.18}$ and C in 2^{1} (preserving a hint of it also in 2^{18}). Of the 223 cursives, 2050 directly supports it in 2^{12}, 2019 indirectly in 2^{1}, and 2040 indirectly in 2^{8}.

Thus the vast superiority of A (C) to ℵ 025 is at once obvious. All the MSS have been corrected or normalized to some degree, but this process has been thoroughgoing only in ℵ 025. 046. 051 and the cursives.

When we apply this test to the versions, Pr (though in some respects of very mixed value) comes to the front in four passages and arm in all seven: s^{1} in $2^{1.12.18}$ 3^{1}: s^{2} in 2^{18} 3^{1}: sa in 2^{12}: like arm, if Hort's contention is right (see note, p. clx), Pr in the remaining three passages, fl in 2^{1}, and vg in 3^{1}. But Tyc gig ℵ 025. 046 and the cursives (with three exceptions) show no knowledge of the original text. eth would represent either order in the same way.

(*b*) The next construction which is of a unique character in J^ap is that which follows, ὁ (τὸν) καθήμενος (-ον) ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον, τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. For these constructions see vol. i. p. cxxxii. These constructions occur 28 times. Two of these are found in a wrong form in the interpolation 14^{15-17}, and two in 20^{11} 21^{5} where the wrong construction save in 21^{5} is to be traced to the editor.

In the remaining 24 cases A is right in 20 and wrong in 4

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[1] Weiss (*Textkritische Untersuchungen*, 64 sq. note) has wholly failed to recognize the next text here. Similarly Bousset and nearly every editor save Lachmann, Hort, and Souter.

(*i.e.* 6^4 7^{15} 9^{17} 19^{18}): C (defective) is right in 9 and wrong in 2 (6^4 9^{17}): ℵ is right in 17 and wrong in 7 (*i.e.* 5^{13} $6^{4.\,16}$ 7^{15} 9^{17} 14^6 19^{18}): 025 right in 16 and wrong in 8 (*i.e.* $4^{2.\,9}$ 5^{13} 6^4 7^{15} 9^{17} 14^6 19^4): 046 right in 17 and wrong in 7 (4^9 $6^{4.\,16}$ $7^{10.\,15}$ 9^{17} 14^6). C 025 correct the text rightly in 14^{16} and 025. 046 in 20^{11}. From the above statistics we conclude that ℵ 025. 046 are practically of equal value. A stands much above them.

(*c*) In the case of certain Hebraisms we find ℵ 025. 046 correcting the text, but not AC. There is a Hebrew construction in which the participle is resolved into a finite verb in the succeeding clause, which our author has used at times. See vol. i. 14 sq. In $1^{5\text{-}6}$ our author wrote *τῷ ἀγαπῶντι . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν*. Here the finite verb must be translated as if it were *ποιήσαντι*. 046 min^{p} have actually so corrected the text. Again, $15^{2\text{-}3}$ ℵ min^{p} correct the Hebraism *ἔχοντας . . .* [3] *καὶ ᾄδουσιν* into *ἔχοντας . . .* [3] *καὶ ᾄδοντας*. Another Hebraism, *i.e.* in 2^{20}, *τὴν γυναῖκα . . . ἡ λέγουσα . . . καὶ διδάσκει*, is corrected by ℵ^{c} 025 min^{p} into *τὴν γυναῖκα . . . τὴν λέγουσαν*, but by 046 min^{mu} into *ἣ λέγει*. The same Hebraism in 3^{12} *τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα* is corrected by ℵ^{c} into *τῆς κ. Ἰερ. τῆς καταβαινούσης*, and by 046 into *ἣ καταβαίνει*. Again in 12^7 *ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι*, ℵ 046 min^{m} omit the *τοῦ*. In 13^{10}, where the same Hebraism occurs twice, every uncial save A and all cursives remove the Hebraism by drastic corrections. In 19^6 ℵ 025. 046 min^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vg s^{2} arm$^{3\,a}$ insert *ἡμῶν* between *ὁ θεός* and *ὁ παντοκράτωρ*, against A min^{3} Cyp s^{1} arm$^{2.\,4}$ bo sa eth. This insertion is not only against our author's usage, but also against the regular translation of the divine name. See Gram. § 10. (i.) (*f*), p. cxlvii. Such examples show the vast superiority of A (C) to ℵ 025. 046 as witnesses to the primitive type of text.

§ 2. *The absence of conflate readings from A* (*C*) *and their* (*rare*) *occurrence in* ℵ 025. 046 *support the distinction already established between these MSS.*—In 17^4 ℵ (s^{2}) reads *αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γῆς*, where *αὐτῆς* is the reading of A al^{m} Tyc vg s^{1} arm^{2} eth, and *τῆς γῆς* that of 046 al^{pm} gig arm^{3}. Cyp Pr read *τῆς γῆς ὅλης*, and bo (= *αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς γῆς*) conflates this reading with that of A.

In 4^7 ℵ alone reads *ὡς ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπῳ*. This may be a conflation of *ὡς ἀνθρώπου* (A, etc.), and *ὅμοιον* only preserved in 2018.

In $6^{1.\,5.\,7}$ ℵ 046 min^{m} read *ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε*, and in 6^3 ℵ min^{12} alone attest this reading. But since the phrase *καὶ ἴδε* is not used by our author, but *καὶ ἴδου*, this phrase is clearly an early intrusion. But 046 min^{m} Pr gig vg$^{f.\,g}$, which insert *καὶ ἴδε* (or *καὶ ἰδού*, Pr gig vg$^{f.\,g}$), omit *καὶ εἶδον* in the words that follow. Since this form of the text is as old as the 4th century, the text of ℵ is probably conflate.

In 2^{15} 025 min^{p} read *ὁμοίως ὃ μισῶ*—a conflation, though *ὃ μισῶ* is found as yet only in a few cursives and arm^a. Again in 2^7, where A‍ℵC 046 have *ἐν τ. παραδείσῳ*, and 1. 35^m *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου*, 025 reads *ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ*, which may be either a conflation of the above two or else a correction of the latter.

In 046 19^{12} we have the conflate reading *ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα καὶ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον.*

§ 3. *The readings*[1] *of the uncials taken singly and also in groups of two. The evidence of this section confirms the provisional values assigned to these MSS in* §§ 1–2.

Even a cursory study of the statistics on p. clxiv is illuminating. It shows that A stands almost alone in the first class, though in some respects C belongs to this class. But it is better to put C in the second class by itself, seeing that it is so weak when it stands alone. But in combination with A it is different.

In comparing C and the combinations into which it enters with other MSS, we have to bear in mind that more than a third of it is missing. Hence, when we read in Table I. that AC are right in combination 36 times, we have to raise this number to 54 (or less). Thus AC in combination are nearly twice as often right as Aℵ or A 025, and more than twice as many times as A 046. The combinations of C and ℵ with either 025 or 046 are very weak. Another point to be borne in mind is that 025 is also defective. About one-fourteenth of it is missing. Hence, whereas A 025 are right 36 times in combination (reckoning columns one and two together), in Table I. we should raise this number to 38 (more or less). Thus it follows that 025 is, when standing alone, right oftener than C, ℵ, or 046, and when combined with A it is right oftener than Aℵ or A 046 in combination. In the third class, therefore, to which we must relegate ℵ 025 and 046, 025 stands first according to this reckoning. As regards ℵ and 046, the former takes precedence of the latter, and is in certain respects much superior to it.

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[1] I am beholden to Mr. Marsh for the materials on which Tables I.–III. are based. They are to be regarded as approximately, not literally, exact. I have not taken account of 051 since I possess no complete collation of it, and it is very late. It is defective, eleven chapters being missing. Its value is not as great as one of the best cursives, as its readings in chaps. 12. 16 will show. In chap. 12 it agrees with cursives against all the other uncials in reading *τίκτειν*, 12^4, *ἐκεῖ*^{2}, 12^6, in omitting *μετ' αὐτοῦ*, 12^9. In 12^5 it omits *ἐν* (a mere correction) with 025 and cursives, and in 12^6 it omits *ἐκεῖ*^{1} with C and cursives. In 12^3 it is right with A 025 (*μέγας πυρρός*), and in 12^{12} with A and cursives in reading *οἱ οὐρανοί*. In $16^{4.\ 10.\ 12}$ (+*ἄγγελος*) it agrees with cursives against uncials, also in 16^{14} (*δαιμόνων* and *εἰς πόλεμον*) 16^{15} (*βλέπουσιν*). In $16^{8.\ 10.\ 14}$ it agrees with ℵ and cursives against all other uncials: in 16^3 (*ζῶσα*) with ℵ 025. 046 and cursives against A, in 16^{18} (*οἱ ἄνθρωποι*) with ℵ 046 and cursives, in 16^{12} (*ἀνατολῶν*) with A. The readings of 051 given in this edition are derived from Swete's Commentary.

TABLE I.

	Right readings.	Probably right-adopted in text with alternatives in margin.	Possibly wrong-placed in margin.	Wrong.	Peculiar to the MS or pair of MSS named among the uncials. Orthographic variants in brackets.
A[1]	55 (+† 1 †)	7	12	154	229 (+27)
C	1	...	1	67	69 (+10)
ℵ	4 ($2^{18, 24}$ 18^{12} 22^{11})	2 (12^{2} 19^{20})	...	414	425 (+47)
$\aleph^{c}$	...	...	...	12	12 (+1)
$\aleph^{cc}$	...	...	...	7	7
025	4 (5^{3} 14^{13} 18^{11} 19^{14})	2 (4^{4} 5^{13})	5	103	114 (+21)
046	3	...	...	...	350?
AC	36	...	...	2	38 (+13)
Aℵ	30 († 1 †)	2	1	3	37 (+16)
A 025	30	6	3 (+1)	2	43 (+4)
A 046	24	7	...	2	33 (+21)
C 025	2	...	...	12	14
C 046	1 (?)	...	...	6	7
Cℵ	2	...	...	12	16
ℵ 025	2	...	5	21	28 (+12)
$\aleph^{c}$ 025	...	...	1	4	6
ℵ 046	7	2	5	44	59 (+5)
025. 046	4 (4^{4} 6^{8} 19^{18} 21^{12})	2	1	28	49

The classification of the uncials from the above data is thus:

TABLE II.

Class	i.	A
,,	ii.	C
,,	iii.	025 ℵ[2] 046

If, further, to the number of times in which each MS stands alone in preserving the original text we add the number of times in which each of the five MSS, AC 025 ℵ 046, enters respectively into combination with one or other of the remaining four (in such groups as AC, A 025, Aℵ, A 046, C 025, etc., *i.e.* groups of two), we arrive at the following results, allowance having been made for the lost sections of C and 025.

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[1] Weiss (*Die Johannes-Apokalypse: Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 147) is of opinion that A preserves wholly unsupported upwards of 60 right readings, C 4 and ℵ 8. Though I have followed quite different lines of investigation, my results do not differ much. They are slightly more in favour of A as against ℵ. Gwynn's estimate of the readings peculiar to each MS differs alike from those given above and by Weiss. See *Apoc. in Syriac*, p. xliii sq.

[2] The inferior character of the text of ℵ for J^{ap} has been amply proved both by Weiss and Gwynn, *Apocalypse of St. John in Syriac*, p. xl sqq.

TABLE III.

	A.	C.	025.	ℵ.	046.
Standing alone . .	62	1	6	6	3
In combination . .	155	59	49	46	47
	217	60	55	52	50

This table confirms the results of Table II. save that ℵ is nearer to 046. If we combine the results of these two tables, 025 still shows itself to be a better MS than ℵ.

§ 4. *The Uncials in groups of three or more and their evidence.*—Hitherto we have given the evidence of the uncials individually or in groups of two. We shall now study them in groups of three or four, where they attest the original text. I have only space to apply this test in chaps. 1–4. Divergences in orthography are not reckoned as variants.

TABLE IV.

AℵC.[1]	AℵC 025.	AℵC 046.	Aℵ 025.	Aℵ 046.	AC 025.	AC 046.
$1^{4.\ 5.\ 6}$ 2^{27} =4	$1^{4.\ 9.\ 12.\ 16.\ 18}$ $2^{2.\ 5.\ 7.\ 10.\ 13.\ 14\ (bis).\ 24}$ $3^{2\ (bis).\ 3.\ 7.\ 9.\ 12}$ =19	1^{5} $2^{3.\ 7.\ 15}$ 3^{7} =5	3^{7} $4^{5.\ 8.\ 11}$ =4	$4^{2.\ 3.\ 11}$ =3	1^{13} $2^{2.\ 9.\ 24}$ $3^{8.\ 7}$ =6	$2^{10.\ 16.\ 17}$ =3

AC 025. 046.	AC 046.	A 025. 046.	ℵC 025.	ℵC 025. 046.	ℵC 046.	C 025. 046.
$1^{7.\ 16.\ 20}$ $2^{7.\ 18.\ 19.\ 20}$ $3^{3.\ 9.\ 14}$ =10	$2^{10.\ 17}$ =2	$1^{8.\ 18}$ 3^{14} $4^{1.\ 4.\ 9.\ 10}$ =7	1^{9} 2^{20} =2	$1^{5.\ 7.\ 20}$ $2^{2.\ 18.\ 22}$ =6	1^{12} $2^{16.\ 17}$ =3	3^{7} =1

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[1] According to Weiss (*op. cit.*), AℵC have preserved the original text only 20 times over against 025 and 046. This would in all probability nearly agree with the results above arrived at. For since this combination is right only 4 times according to the above table, the number of times it is right for the entire book would apparently lie in the neighbourhood of 20, as Weiss states. It is therefore a wrong basis on which Gwynn (*op. cit.* p. xlviii) proceeds when he assumes that "the consent of ℵAC represents the consent of the uncials" and uses it as a "standard by which to compare P and Q." AℵC 025 represents "the consent of the uncials."

If we study this table we find that the several MSS enter into the above combinations as follows :—

A	63 times.
C	61 ,,
025	55 ,,
ℵ	46 ,,
046	40 ,,

There are two points that call for explanation here. (*a*) First the numbers of C 025 ℵ 046 seem unduly large as compared with those of A, seeing that A belongs to the first class, C to the second, and 025 ℵ 046 to the third, according to our classifications at the close of § 3. But there is really no difficulty here. If C 025 ℵ 046 are to be right at all, they can only be right as members of groups of MSS, seeing that they are hardly ever right when they stand alone. C and in a less degree 025 represent a good secondary uncial text, while ℵ 046 uphold this text in a considerably weakened form, ℵ replacing it to a considerable extent by readings often of an early date, and 046 by readings of a later growth.

(*b*) Since only 1–3^{19} of C is preserved in the four chapters we are considering, it follows that the number 61 of C must be raised proportionately, say to 70 or thereabouts (for the variants in chap. 4 are fewer than in 1–3), so that it would stand above A. This appears to conflict absolutely with the classification arrived at in § 3 *ad fin.* But in (*a*) this difficulty is in the main surmounted, and when to the explanation there offered, we add the fact that C is comparatively free from the obvious foolish slips of the scribe of A,[1] it is surmounted wholly. As critics have generally recognized, the scribe of C (or of the MS on which C is based) either found a more accurately written text than that in A, or else he eliminated most such slips, and with them many of the original readings which have survived in A. C is far freer from obvious slips and obvious corruptions than A.

Thus this fourth table in the main confirms the first. AC stand apart, and but for its almost absolute lack of correct singular readings C might be put side by side with A. The results arrived at in regard to 025 ℵ 046 agree exactly with those of Table II.

The conclusions arrived at with regard to the absolute preeminence of A is confirmed by the study of the papyrus Fragments of the Apocalypse: see vol. ii. 447–451.

§ 5. *The character of the Versions.*—The versions differ greatly from the Greek MSS in regard to the character of their testimony. Each Greek MS of J^{ap} possesses a certain character of trustworthiness or untrustworthiness, and this character it maintains on the whole throughout. But this is not so in the case of most of the versions. In the chief Latin versions we find side by side the best and worst readings. The following examples drawn from what survives of fl[1] and the parallel sections in the other versions and Greek MSS will suffice to prove this. Thus in 1^4 *ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν* (Aℵ C 025) is supported by fl gig vg (s$^{1.2}$) arm bo eth, while Pr supports 046 *ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὁ ὢν* (and Tyc a further development of this reading). In 1^5 *λύσαντι* (Aℵ C) is supported by Pr fl gig (s$^{1.2}$) arm, while Tyc vg bo eth support 025. 046 *λούσαντι.* In 1^6 *βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς* Aℵ*C 046 is supported by Tyc (fl) vg^{-d}, but the corrected text ℵ^c *βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς* by Pr gig vg^d arm$^{1.3.4.}$: 025 arm$^{2.3.a}$ read *βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς*: 046 *βασίλειον ἱερεῖς*, while s$^{1.2}$ bo = *βασιλείαν ἱερατικήν,* and eth = *βασιλ. ἁγνίαν.* In 1^8 the addition *ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ (τὸ) τέλος* ℵ* is supported by Tyc gig vg bo against Aℵ^{c}C 025. 046 Pr fl (s$^{1.2}$) arm eth. In 1^9 *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* ℵ^{cc} 046 is supported by Tyc Pr vg^d s$^{1.2}$ arm$^{2.3.a}$ against *Ἰησοῦ* Aℵ*C 025 fl gig vg^{-d} arm^4 bo eth. In 1^{13} *τῶν λυχνιῶν* AC 025 is supported by Tyc Cyp Pr fl s$^{1.2}$ arm$^{1.2.4.a}$ bo eth against *τῶν ἑπτὰ λυχνιῶν* ℵ 046 gig vg arm^3. In 1^{16} *ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει* AC 025. 046 Tyc gig vg s$^{1.2}$ arm$^{1.2.3.a}$ eth against *φαίνει ὡς ὁ ἥλιος* ℵ Pr Cyp fl arm^4 (?) bo. In 2^1 *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ* AC Pr [in Comm.] (fl ?) s^1 arm^4 against *τῷ ἀγγ. τῆς* ℵ 025. 046 Tyc gig vg arm$^{1.2.3.a}$ bo eth. In 8^7 *ὁ πρῶτος* Aℵ 025. 046 s$^{1.2}$ arm^4 against *ὁ πρῶτος ἄγγελος* 2020 al Tyc Pr gig vg arm$^{1.2.3.a}$ bo eth. In 8^9 *τὸ τρίτον* A 025. 046 s$^{1.2}$ against *τ. τρίτον μέρος* ℵ Tyc Pr fl gig vg arm bo sa eth. In 8^{12} all the uncials and cursives are wrong. The true sense is either preserved or recovered in bo eth and partially in Pr fl. In 9^2 *καμίνου μεγάλης* Aℵ 025 Tyc Pr fl vg arm$^{1.2.a}$ bo eth against *καμ. καιομένης* 046 s^2 and *καμ. μεγ. καιομένης* 2020 gig s^1 arm^4 (~?). In 9^4 *ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων* Aℵ 025 gig vg$^{a.c.d}$ against *ἐπὶ τ. μετώπων αὐτῶν* 046 Tyc Pr fl vg$^{f.g.v}$ s$^{1.2}$ arm (bo) eth. In 9^6 *φεύγει* A(ℵ) 025 against *φεύξεται* 046 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s$^{1.2}$ arm bo eth. In 11^{16} *τοῦ θεοῦ* Aℵ C 025 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s^1 arm$^{1.2.4.a}$ bo eth against *τ. θρόνου τ. θεοῦ* 046 s^2 arm^3. In 11^{19} *ὁ ἐν τ. οὐρανῷ* AC gig fl arm bo eth against *ἐν τ. οὐρ.* ℵ 025. 046 Tyc Pr vg s$^{1.2}$ and *τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ* (> Tyc bo) AC 025 Tyc gig vg s$^{1.2}$ arm$^{1.2.3.4}$ bo against *τ. διαθήκης τοῦ θεοῦ* ℵ fl eth: *τ. διαθήκης κυρίου* 046. In 12^3 *μέγας πυρρός* A 025 Tyc vg s^1 sa eth against *πυρρὸς μέγας* ℵC 046 Pr fl gig s^2 arm bo. In 12^6 *ἐκεῖ*

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[1] Compare in 1^{1} τοῦ δούλου (A) for τῷ δούλῳ : in 1^{5} A > ἡμῶν : in 1^{9} ἐν Χριστῷ (A) for ἐν Ἰησοῦ : in 1^{12} λαλεῖ for ἐλάλει : in 1^{16} > ἔχων : 1^{20} ἐν τ. δεξιᾷ for ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς. On the other hand, A "alone is characterized by singular readings which are to be accepted, not as divergences from a standard text, but as survivals of the primitive and authentic text" (Gwynn, p. liv).

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[1] There are only 61 verses in fl (Codex Floriacensis), *i.e.* 1^1–2^1, 8^7–9^{12}, 11^{16}–12^{14}, 14^{15}–16^5. fl does not show such remarkable faithfulness to the primitive text in the later sections as in 1^1–2^1.

Aא 025. 046 s^{1} arm$^{3.4}$: > C Tyc Pr fl vg s^{2} arm$^{1.2.\alpha}$ (bo ?) eth. In 14^{16} *ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ* all Greek MSS and Versions (– vg$^{f.v}$ fl arm$^{1.2.3.\alpha}$) against *ἐθέρισεν τ. γῆν* vg$^{f.v}$ fl arm$^{1.2.3.}{}_{\alpha}$: > bo. In 14^{18} *ὁ ἔχων* AC Tyc gig vg s$^{1.2}$ arm eth against *ἔχων* א 025. 046 Pr fl bo: *φωνῇ* Aא 046 Tyc fl gig vg s^{1} arm$^{1.2.3.\alpha}$ eth against *κραυγῇ* C 025 s^{2} bo: *ἤκμασαν αἱ σταφυλαί* (A)א 025 fl gig vg s$^{1.2}$ against *ἤκμασεν ἡ σταφυλή* 046 arm eth : > bo. In 15^{2} *ἐκ τ. θηρ. καὶ ἐκ τ. εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ* AC 025 s$^{1.2.}$ arm$^{1.2.\alpha}$ against א Pr fl, which > *ἐκ* ^{2}. Tyc gig vg bo eth give a different construction. In 15^{3} *ᾄδουσιν* AC 025. 046 against *ᾄδοντας* א Tyc Pr fl vg bo eth : *τῶν ἐθνῶν* Aא^{c} 025. 046 (Pr) fl gig bo eth against *τῶν αἰώνων* א*C Tyc vg s$^{1.2}$. Here arm$^{2.3.4.\alpha}$ is conflate. In 15^{4} *φοβηθῇ* AC 025. 046 Pr fl gig arm bo against *φοβ. σε* א 051 Tyc vg s$^{1.2}$ eth. In 15^{6} *οἱ ἔχοντες* AC s$^{1.2}$ arm bo eth against *ἔχοντες* א 025. 046 (Tyc Pr fl gig vg): *ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ* AאC 025 Tyc fl gig vg s$^{(1.)2}$ arm^{4} bo eth against 046 Pr arm$^{1.2}$ which omit: † *λίθον* † AC vg^{-d} against *λίνον* (*-οῦν*) 025. 046 Tyc (Pr) gig vg^{d} and *λινοῦς* א fl bo : > eth. In 16^{1} *μεγάλης φωνῆς* AC 046 (arm^{4}) bo sa against *φωνῆς μεγ.* א 025 Pr fl gig vg s$^{1.2}$ arm$^{2.3.\alpha}$: *φωνῆς* eth. *ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ* AאC 025 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s$^{1.2}$ arm$^{\alpha}$ against 046 arm^{3} which omit: while arm^{4} bo sa eth = *ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* and arm$^{1.2.4}$ = *ἐν τ. ναῷ*: *ἑπτά*^{2} AאC 046 Tyc Pr gig vg s$^{1.2}$ arm against 025 fl bo eth which omit. In 16^{3} *δεύτερος* Aא^{c} 025. Tyc Pr fl gig vg arm^{4} eth against *δεύτ. ἄγγελος* 046 s$^{1.2}$ arm$^{1.2.3.\alpha}$ bo. In 16^{4} *τὰς πηγάς* AאC 025 Tyc Pr fl gig arm bo against *εἰς τ. πηγάς* 046 s$^{1.2}$ eth.

Now, taking the Latin and Syriac versions in the above thirty-three passages (8^{12} 14^{16} 15^{3a} not being included) we arrive at the following results :

	Tyc.	Pr.	fl.	gig.	vg.	S^{1}.	S^{2}.
Right . . .	17	14	18	21	14 (16)	21	16
Wrong . . .	14	16	15	10	13 (12)	9	14

We are not to conclude that these numbers indicate the proportion of right to wrong readings throughout J^{ap}, though they may be in some cases approximately true. They establish the fact, however, that the Latin versions contain an astonishing mixture of good and bad readings. Thus in these sections gig is the best of the Latin, being right twice as often as it is wrong : next come fl Tyc vg, which are oftener right than wrong. Pr comes last, being oftener wrong than right, though, as we have already seen, it preserves more original readings in chaps. 2–3 than all the other Latin versions together. s$^{1.2}$ compare favourably with the Latin, s^{1} being right more than twice as many times as it is wrong, and s^{2} being oftener right than wrong. Unfortunately there is no critical edition of s^{2}.

A further and very important fact emerges from this study of the Latin versions, and this is that *a text akin to 046 and its allies (often ℵ and less often 025) was well established between 200* and *350 A.D. and possibly earlier.*

Let us now compare the above results regarding the versions and the readings in AℵC 025. 046 for the same sections. We find

	A.	ℵ.	ℵ^{c}.	C.[1]	025.	046.
Right . .	33	15	3	23	23	14
Wrong . .	0	14	...	5	9	19

These results confirm on the whole the conclusion reached at the close of § 3. A stands by itself; next comes C as a good second; then 025; and closing the list at a long interval ℵ and 046.

From the above study, therefore, we conclude that *all* the versions may in a given case support a reading that is wholly wrong.

In the order of general trustworthiness they stand as follows: s^{1} gig s^{2} Tyc fl vg Pr. But in the case of certain peculiarly difficult readings (§ 1 (*a*) *ad fin.* above) the version that is here last, *i.e.* Pr, is equal to the first, s^{2} comes next, fl and vg in third place, and gig Tyc[2] last.

We have not as yet taken account of the respective values of arm bo sa eth.

§ 6. *The Armenian, Bohairic, and Ethiopic Versions.*—The Armenian version is difficult to compare with the other versions. In Mr. Conybeare's edition five texts are distinguished, arm$^{1.2.3.4}$ and arm^{a}. The last is a recension of the 12th century. The four first represent various forms of the Old Armenian. Of these arm^{4} stands apart from arm$^{1.2.3}$. Conybeare describes arm^{4} as a recension of the 8th century, and arm$^{1.2.3}$ as texts of the fifth. Conybeare rather throws discredit on arm^{4}, but it is in many respects the best of the Armenian texts. It frequently stands alone against arm$^{1.2.3.a}$ in supporting the true text. In the sections which we have used for purposes of comparison, *i.e.* the sixty-one verses which alone survive of fl, there are two conflate readings in arm. Thus arm^4 (together with 2020 gig s^1) reads καμίνου μεγάλης καιομένης in 9^2, and arm$^{2.3.a}$ read τῶν αἰώνων καὶ βασιλεὺς πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν in 15^3.

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[1] C is defective in some of these sections.

[2] It must be borne in mind that there is no critical text of Tyc. Tyc may appear in better company when this is published.

In the next place, an adequate comparison of the Bohairic and Ethiopic is difficult. In Horner's edition of the former the translation of only one MS is given. The readings of the other MSS are given in the *Appar. Criticus*, but not translated. Mr. Horner has, however, translated the variants for me and I append the results below. The Ethiopic version which I have used is that of Platt. It is wholly uncritical. Hence the results given here are to be regarded as only approximately right. Despite such disadvantages, bo and eth show clearly that they have a character of their own.

	arm$^{1.2.3.4.a}$.	arm^4 (alone against one, two, or more members of arm$^{1.2.3.a}$).	bo.	eth.
Right . .	20	8	14	17
Wrong . .	13	2	15	13

Where arm^4 and one or more of arm$^{1.2.3.a}$ agree, their evidence is recorded in the first column. Where arm^4 is right over against arm$^{1.2.3.a}$ it stands in the second column. arm^4 is only twice wrong against combinations of arm$^{1.2.3.a}$.

It is now possible to arrange the versions in the order of their merit in the sections preserved in fl, *i.e.* 1^1–2^1, 8^7–9^{12}, 11^{16}–12^{14}, 14^{15}–16^5.

In this arrangement, according to the number of the right readings which they attest, it must be borne in mind that s^2 eth and Tyc are wholly uncritical texts. They may be better or worse than they appear here. Furthermore, while it is true that s^1 arm are foremost *both in regard to the quality and the number of their right readings*, Pr, which has the fewest right readings, has preserved most important readings lost in nearly every other Latin authority, and also in bo eth. This holds true of bo in 8^{12}, which in this passage has alone preserved the original or else restored it.

Versions in order.—S^1 arm gig s^2 eth Tyc fl vg bo Pr.

If we arrange these versions in classes in relation to each other and not to the Greek MSS, we should arrive at the following result:

Class i. arm^4 s^1 gig arm$^{1.2.3.a}$.
" ii. eth s^2 Tyc vg.
" iii. bo Pr.

I have not taken account of sa in the above classification, as I do not possess a continuous collation of its text. For some hundreds of its readings I am indebted to Rev. George Horner. Judging from these, I should be inclined to place it in the second class. The reader will observe that in 2^{12} it enjoys the honour of attesting the original text together with 2050 s^1 $arm^{4.\,a}$ against all the uncials and all the remaining versions.

§ 7. *Relations of bo sa eth to each other.*—These versions form one group over against the rest. (*a*) bo eth *continually* support each other throughout J^{ap} generally in agreement with some other authorities, but at times they stand alone. As an instance of the former, cf. 19^{10} where with Pr they add ὅτι before σύνδουλος: of the latter, 18^1 ἐκ + τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ καί: 21^{4d} + καὶ (> bo) ἰδοὺ πάντα ποιηθήσονται (ἐποιήθησαν, eth) καινά: 21^{18} (crit. note *ad fin.*): 22^3 (crit. note *ad fin.*).

(*b*) bo sa agree against eth and all else in 20^{11} μέγαν θρόνον (∼ rest): in 22^{18} + ὅτι before ἐάν τις bo sa agree with certain authorities against eth and others: 19^9 καὶ λέγει μοι ^{2} with Aא etc.: > eth א etc.: 20^{11} ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανός with Aא etc. (instead of ὁ οὐρ. κ. ἡ γῆ with 35. 432 Pr eth).

(*c*) bo sa eth stand alone in 18^2 ἡ μεγάλη + ἡ πόλις: 20^1 in transposing order of ἅλυσιν μεγάλην: 21^{5b} ποιήσω πάντα καινά. bo sa eth agree with some other authorities in 16^1 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 42. 367 arm (for τοῦ ναοῦ): 16^6: 19^6: 21^3 οὐρανοῦ 025. 046 etc. (for θρόνου).

(*d*) sa eth agree with certain authorities against bo: 18^{19} οὐαί ^{2} with AC etc.: > bo with א etc. 19^9 τοῦ γάμου with $Aא^c$ etc.: > bo with א* etc. 22^{14} πλύνοντες τ. στολὰς αὐτῶν with Aא etc. against ποιοῦντες τ. ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ bo with gig 046 Cyp etc.

(*e*) bo eth agree against sa: 19^{19} αὐτῶν bo eth א etc. against αὐτοῦ sa A etc.

(*f*) bo stands against eth: 18^6 ποτηρίῳ eth AC etc. against ποτ. αὐτῆς bo א etc. 18^{12} ξύλου bo אC etc. against λίθου eth A etc.

The above are a few examples from chaps. 16–22.

§ 8. *Character of the uncials as regards their textual value.*

A, C. These two MSS present the normal uncial text just as 046 and *in some degree* 025 present the normal cursive text. But whereas C is most carefully written, this is not true of A, which is seriously affected by copyists' blunders. C exhibits fewer singular readings than any other uncial (about 67), and these singular readings, moreover, with a single exception, possess no special interest. Here it is that it differs *in kind* from A and calls for different classification. A contains over 150 singular readings, and of these 56 (if not 63) preserve the original. Thus whereas C's singular readings take no particular direction, A's are pre-eminent as being certainly right in over 60 passages.

ℵ. This MS "is of all the five MSS far the least worthy of regard as representing a defensible form of the text; it is aberrant rather than divergent from the rest, to the point of eccentricity." So Gwynn (*op. cit.* p. xliv) rightly judges. When it stands alone, it is only right in four passages. The bulk of its variants are unquestionably scribal blunders and corruptions of an early date, and call for no further consideration. A considerable part of the remainder represents an *ancient* element foreign to the normal uncial text and finds large support in the versions and to a less extent in certain cursives. Other variants connect ℵ with the normal cursive form of text, but these are not numerous.

025. 046. These MSS are so widely sundered that they differ from each other in kind. While 025 represents on the whole the uncial type of text, 046 represents the cursive type. While slightly over half the variants of 025 from the other uncials find support among the cursives, more than four-fifths of the variants of 046 find such support.

But though 046 is largely cursive in character, its record compares favourably with ℵ, considering its late date. We have already seen (see Table I. p. clxiv) that whereas ℵ alone preserves 6 right readings (reckoning together columns one and two) against the rest of the uncials, 046 preserves 3. Again Aℵ in combination are right 33 times, A 046 are right 31 times. Once more, from the results arrived at in § 4 we learn that, whereas ℵ enters into groups of three or more MSS attesting the right text 45 times, 045 does so 40.

025 and 046 are to be further distinguished from each other in this respect, that whereas 046 represents the close amongst the uncials of a long process of correction which began in the 2nd century, 025 represents to a considerable extent a deliberate recension of the texts of the 8th cent. or earlier. That 025 is the result of a deliberate recension is easy to prove. Nearly forty times it differs from the other uncials in correcting or improving the Greek text from the standpoint of Greek syntax. Thus in 1^{4} we have πνευμάτων ἃ + ἐστιν ἐνώπιον. 1^{5} τῷ ἀγαπήσαντι. 1^{6} βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς. 1^{9} συγκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ (+ ἐν τῇ) βασιλείᾳ. 2^{9} τὴν βλασφημίαν ∧ τῶν λεγόντων. 2^{13} ἐν τ. ἡμέραις + ἐν αἷς. 2^{17} δώσω αὐτῷ + φαγεῖν. 2^{20} τὴν γυναῖκα . . . τὴν λέγουσαν. 4^{1} ἡ φωνὴ . . . λέγουσα. 5^{2} κηρύσσοντα ∧ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. 5^{6} ἀρνίον . . . ἔχον. 7^{9} ὄχλος . . . ἑστῶτες, . . . περιβεβλημένοι. 8^{13} ἀγγέλου πετομένου. This change is due not to the scribe's idea of syntax, but of the sense of the passage. 9^{14} φωνὴν . . . λέγουσαν. 10^{1} καὶ ∧ ἶρις, corrected

according to sense of context. The scribe knew no better. 11^4 ἐλαῖαι – ἑστῶσαι. The above examples are sufficient to prove the fact of a deliberate recension. On the influence of this recension on 35. 205 and other cursives, see under 35. 205, p. clxxv sq.

The following cursives—the list is provisional—agree with 046 in giving the latest form of text:

$$18.\ 35^{**}\left\{\begin{array}{lll}149 & 175 & 325\\ 201 & 617 & 456\\ 386 & 1934 & 468^{*}\end{array}\right\}337.\ 632^{*}.\ 919.\ 920.\ 1849.\ 2004.\ 2040\ (1\text{–}11^{7}).$$

046 contains many readings of so late a date that they are not supported by any version. These are of the inferior cursive type. A few examples will suffice. Thus in 1^{12} 046 with cursives reads καὶ + ἐκεῖ: 1^{16} χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾳ̂: 2^{25} ἀνοίξω (for ἂν ἥξω): 3^2 ἀποβάλλειν for ἀποθανεῖν: 3^4 ὀλίγα ἔχεις ὀνόματα (order): 3^7 εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων.

§ 9. *Cursives collated for this edition.*—The list of the 22 cursives collated for this edition is given in vol. ii. p. 234, where attention is drawn to such as are defective. Of these the most interesting and valuable are 2020. 2040. 2050.

2020 is a good cursive and would stand close to 025 א in the third class. It agrees with A 2019 in 2^{18} and in 1^{10} save that for ὄπισθεν it reads ὀπίσω, and with A and certain cursives in 1^6. Over against seven agreements with A, it supports א in 18 passages and 025 in 13.

920. 2040. 2040 (xi–xii cent.). 920 (x cent.). Though 2040 is written by the same hand throughout, it exhibits two distinct types of text. From 1–11^7 it is of the late cursive type and seems to have been copied from 920 (x cent.). These two MSS contain unique readings in the following passages: 3^5 τῶν ζώντων: 3^8 τὰ ἔργα (for τὸν λόγον): 3^{12} τῷ ὀνόματι (for τῷ ναῷ): 4^9 + καὶ προσκυνήσωσιν (-σουσιν, 920) τῷ ζῶντι and another addition in 8^2. In 4^{10} they omit ἐνώπιον τ. θρόνου and have other omissions in 4^4 5^{12} 7^4 9^9. They invert the order in 3^8 and attest the same impossible readings in 5^1 6^{14} 7^1 9^5.

From 11^9 to 20^{11} where it ends, the text is largely free from corruptions of the later cursives. It often supports A against most other authorities (cf. 11^{11} εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, 12^{12} οἱ οὐρανοι) and א and less often 025. But its excellence is still more clearly shown by the fact that in 11^9–20^{11} it agrees with the majority of uncials against the majority of cursives. The latter half, therefore, of 2040 is of so high a character as to entitle it to be ranked with 046, and after א.

2050. This MS, which consists only of 1–5, 20–22, and was clearly copied from a defective MS, stands in point of excellence alongside the uncials. In about 80 passages it agrees with the majority of the uncials against the majority of the cursives. Thus in 1^4 it reads ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν with AℵC 025 al^{20} fl gig vg s$^{1.\,2}$ bo against 046 and most cursives. In 1^9 ἐν Ἰησοῦ with ℵC 025. 2020 gig vg s^1 bo against the rest; Ἰησοῦ (without Χριστοῦ) with Aℵ* 025 al^5 fl gig vg^{-d} arm^a against the rest. In 1^{12} καί (without ἐκεῖ Aℵ 025. 045 al Tyc Pr fl vg s$^{1.\,2}$ bo against the rest. In 1^{13} λυχνιῶν (without preceding ἑπτά) ACP al^{10} Tyc Pr fl s$^{1.\,2}$ arm$^{1.\,2.\,4.\,\alpha}$ bo against the rest. In 2^{13} >τὰ ἔργα σου καί (added by 046 al^{pl} s^2 arm$^{3.\,\alpha}$) with AℵC 025. 2020 and versions (– s^2 arm$^{3.\,\alpha}$): ὁ πιστός μου AC 61. 69 Or^s s^2 against rest. These suffice to show the character of this cursive. This cursive shows some slight affinities with A, as in 1^{13} 4^4 5^4 22^{11} etc., and still more with ℵ. Thus with the latter it agrees in 1^8 (+ ἡ ἀρχὴ κτλ.), 1^{15} πεπυρωμένῳ (a correction), 1^{17} ἐπέθηκεν, 2^{20} 4^{20} etc. It agrees with 025 in 1^{15} χάλκῳ λιβάνῳ, al^6: 2^{20} τὴν λέγουσαν (also ℵ^c al^5), etc.

This cursive has a conflate reading in 2^{27} καὶ συντρίψει αὐτοὺς ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται. Such a conflation is not found in any other MS or in any version. But gig arm^4 bo eth read συντρίψει αὐτούς. Is 2050 influenced by gig or some ancestor of these versions? In 1^{16} 2050 with 920. 2040 Tyc fl gig vg read δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ against all other Greek authorities. Is there a trace of Latin influence here?

149. 386. 201. Of these 201 was not collated for this edition. The first of these cursives, 149 (xv cent.), is a slavish copy of 386 (xiv cent.). It reproduces it where it is absolutely wrong: cf. 2^{14} ἐδίδασκεν τ. Βὰλαάμ, 3^{14} ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς πίστεως, 14^{19} 18^4 λάθητε. In 13^6 it reads κατοικοῦντας with 201 against 386. 2019 οἰκοῦντας. Where 386 is quoted in the *Appar. Crit.* it carries 149 with it, unless 149 is quoted to the contrary. 201 (xiii cent.) is a member of this group. It agrees with 149. 386 in unique (or almost unique) readings in 3^2 (>πεπληρωμένα): 3^{14} ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς πίστεως: 10^2 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (also 1): 11^4 οἱ ἐνώπιον: 14^{18} βοτάνας: 15^6 οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγ. ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ οἱ ἔχοντες τ. ἑπτὰ πληγάς (also s^1 bo): 16^{17} τοῦ θρόνου + τοῦ θεοῦ. This is a conflation of τοῦ θρόνου, A 046 al^{pl}, all versions (– gig) and ℵ τοῦ θεοῦ, 18^7 εἰμὶ καθώς, 20^4 ἐδόθη κρίμα, and others. This group gives a late cursive text.

175. 617. 1934. These cursives form a group, but one much less closely connected than the one immediately preceding. In 2^{19} they stand alone in reading χείρονα τῶν πρώτων, and in 17^{15} ἃ εἶδες + καὶ ἡ γυνή: with 141. 242 in 6^{17} in reading σωθῆναι. In the following passages these cursives attest the same text in conjunction now with one set of authorities now with another—not consistently with any—10^8 17^3 $18^{8.\,22}$ $19^{7.\,11.\,13}$ 20^{12} $21^{6.\,27}$ $22^{8.\,12.\,13.\,16.\,20.\,21}$. 175 and 617 several times agree where 1934 diverges: 18^{16} 19^{20} 20^5 21^3 22^5 etc. and generally in conjunction with the 025 text. This group gives a very late form of the cursive text, except in chapters 16–22 where they agree generally with 35. 205.

325. 456. 468. The first two members of this group are closely connected. They stand alone in adding in *κατά σòυ* in 2^{5} and the marginal note *ἐν ἄλλῳ* Ƀ in 14^{20}, in omitting *καὶ ἐνώπιον . . . αὐτοῦ* in 3^{5} and *ἔχων . . . τέταρτον ζῷον* in 4^{7}, in reading (325**) δῷ in 4^{9} and *χρόνον* for *ἔτι χρ. μικρόν* in 6^{11}, in omitting *γεμούσας* in 15^{7}. In very many passages these two cursives attest the same text in conjunction with a variety of others: cf. 6^{17} 7^{5} 8^{2} $9^{2.\,9}$ 14^{8} etc. 468 agrees frequently (but apparently always in conjunction with others except in 15^{6} *οἱ ἄγγ. οἱ ἑπτά*) with 325. 456. See 1^{6} *καὶ ποιήσαντι ἡμῖν βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα* and >*εἰς τ. αἰῶνας*, 2^{22} *βάλω*, 3^{2} *τήρησον*, 7^{2} *τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντος*. See also $9^{6.\,11}$ 14^{14}.

35. 205. 205 may be directly derived from 35, though other links may have come between. They stand alone in 3^{2} *κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ*, 9^{18} *τῶν τριῶν τούτων πληγῶν*. In conjunction with a variety of uncials, these two cursives agree in over 110 passages. This number would be still greater but that 18^{14}–20^{9} (= one page of 205) was not photographed through an error of the photographer. Hence for the number 110 we should read 120 or thereabouts. But dealing with the passages actually given in the *Appar. Crit.* 35. 205 agree 20 times with each of Aℵ 025 and AℵC 025; 3 times with each of Aℵ and AℵC; 2 times with AC 025; 5 with A; 1 with A 046. All these are first class groups, and nearly all the readings so attested are right. *Thus so far 35. 205 exhibit a good uncial type of text.* But 35. 205 show affinities with another type of readings, a considerable number of which have originated with the recension of 025, which they have followed 28 times, and almost always wrongly.

The influence of this recension of 025[1] is seen clearly in 1. 35. 67^{mg} (?). 104 (?). 205. 468**. 620 (?). 632**. 1957. 2015. 2019 (?). 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067, etc. I add here three examples of the influence of 025 on later MSS. 2^{5} *ἐκπέπτωκας* (instead of *πέπτωκας*) 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 620. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067. 2^{17} + *ἀπό* before *τοῦ μάννα* 025 (where the slip *ξύλου* in 025 is rightly corrected in later MSS). 1. 35. 61^{mg}. 104. 205. 468**. 620. 632. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067. 2^{9} *βλασφημίαν ἐκ* (>025) *τῶν λεγόντων*. Here this obvious correction is followed by 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Or^{s}.

Of groups of the second or third class 35. 205 follow ℵC

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[1] 35, but not 205, adopts the correction of 046 in 3^{12}, *i.e.* *ἡ καταβαίνει*. Some 20 other cursives do likewise.

025, ℵ 025. 046, ℵ 046 once each: ℵ (or ℵ^c) C 025 3 times: ℵ 025. 11: ℵ 6.

205 presents two conflate readings in 13^{14} 14^{6}.

Thus group (35. 205) has quite the value of an uncial—superior in the main to 046, but falling short of 025.

§ 10. *Origen's so-called text—in this edition Or^s.*—Whether the text which accompanies undoubted scholia of Origen is really the text of Origen, Harnack in his edition (*Der Scholien-kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*, 1911), p. 81, leaves undecided. He claims that it is a text of the highest character of the 10th century, which "though it may not prove to be even a rival of C, perhaps even not of A, is at all events on an equality with ℵ and 025, while it is certainly superior to the text of 046 and Andreas."

But this text is not deserving of such praise. (*a*) It has nothing to do with the text that Origen used. I will compare the texts in a few passages. In 3^7 Or^s reads: *τάδε λέγει ὁ* **ἄγγελός** *ἀληθινός . . . ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει* **αὐτὴν** *καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει.* Here, as the *Appar. Crit. in loc.* shows, the text which Origen used differed in two respects (see heavy type) in this verse, and agreed in these with the text of this edition. Or^s alone is conflate. It combines *καὶ κλείων . . . ἀνοίγει* (the text of A 025) and *εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων . . . ἀνοίξει* (the text of 046 and most cursives). Again Origen >*ἀκούσῃ τ. φωνῆς μου καί* always when quoting 3^{20}, but not so Or^s. This may be an accident. In 5^1 Origen reads *ἔσωθεν κ. ὄπισθεν* and also *ἔμπροσθεν κ. ὄπισθεν*, but Or^s *ἔσωθεν κ. ἔξωθεν.* In 5^5 Origen rightly reads *ἀνοῖξαι*, but Or^s *ὁ ἀνοίγων* with 046 and cursives. In 7^3 Origen reads *μήτε τ. θάλασσαν*, but Or^s *καὶ τ. θάλασσαν*, and *ἄχρι* against Or^s *ἄχρις οὗ*. In 1^6 Origen (*c. Celsum*, viii. 5) has *βασιλείαν* where Or^s gives merely a cursive reading. A multitude of such divergences will be found in Harnack's work (p. 76 sqq.). In the face of such divergences it is impossible to identify Or^s with the text of Origen.[1]

But a more important task awaits us. We have to define the relations of Or^s and determine its position with reference to the main texts of J^{ap}. We shall find that *this position is not high amongst the uncials*, as Harnack would have it, *but low amongst the cursives.* It will not be necessary to bring forward the entire evidence, but the following will suffice.

(*a*) *Or^s is full of corrections like 046, or rather in dependence on it.*—In 1^{20} it reads *ἀστέρων ὧν* with 046. But our author never uses the attracted relative. After 046 it corrects 2^{20} *τὴν* γυναῖκα . . . ἡ λέγουσα into τὴν γυν. . . . ἣ λέγει, and 3^{12} τῆς καινῆς Ἰερ. ἡ καταβαίνουσα into τ. καινῆς Ἰερ. ἣ καταβαίνει. With cursives only it corrects 10^{8} λάλουσαν . . . λέγουσαν into λάλουσα . . . λέγουσα. Now this last correction is most probably the correction of an original slip of the author, but the other two constructions are Hebraisms in the text and should not have been altered. 5^{10} βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς into βασιλεῖς κ. ἱερεῖς.

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[1] Naturally some points of agreement are found. Cf. the addition with ℵ al^p in 1^8 *ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος* and others, for any MS of J^{ap} has of necessity many points of contact with every other.

(*b*) *It makes additions to the text with 046*: 2^{13} + τὰ ἔργα σου καί: and with ℵ 046: 2^{9} + τὰ ἔργα καί.

(*c*) In 8^{12} we have a conflation of A and 046: καὶ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς μὴ φάνῃ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ φάνῃ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς, where 046 comes first and A second. Another conflation appears in 4^{8} (see (*g*) below).

(*d*) *A few of the passages where it follows 046 and some cursives.*—1^{10} φωνὴν ὀπίσω μου μεγάλην: 1^{12} καὶ + ἐκεῖ: 2^{10} παθεῖν: ἰδοὺ + δή. δή does not belong to our author's vocabulary. 2^{14} + καί before φαγεῖν: 4^{4} τοὺς θρόνους + τούς: 4^{7} > ὡς before ἀνθρώπου: 4^{11} ἡμῶν + ὁ ἅγιος: 5^{5} ὁ ἀνοίγων (where the text is ἀνοῖξαι): 9^{2} καμίνου καιομένης.

(*e*) *Directly or indirectly it follows 025 in the following corrections.*—2^{9} τὴν βλασφημίαν τῶν λεγόντων: 2^{17} δώσω αὐτῷ + φαγεῖν: 7^{9} ὄχλος . . . περιβεβλημένοι.

(*f*) *Or^{s} is not unfrequently without any support but that of cursives.*—1^{16} δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ χειρί: 2^{14} ὃς ἐδίδαξεν τὸν Βαλ.: 3^{7} τοῦ before Δαυείδ: 3^{18} ἵνα ἐγχρίσῃ: 5^{13} ὅσα ἐστίν: 6^{9} ἐσφραγισμένων (for ἐσφαγμένων!): 10^{4} γράφῃς with only 205: 11^{7} > καὶ ὅταν τελέσωσιν with 617. 920. 2040 arm$^{2.3}$: 13^{7} πόλεμον ποιῆσαι.

(*g*) Thus every step we have taken proves in an increasing degree the secondary, eclectic and cursive character of the text. It now remains to define *the group of cursives with which it is most intimately connected. These are 61 (xvi cent.) and 69 (xv cent.).* With these cursives it agrees against all other authorities in the following: 4^{5} καὶ (for ἅ ἐστιν): 4^{8} κυκλόθεν ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν, where 61. 69 have κυκλ. ἔξωθεν κ. ἔσωθεν—conflations of κυκλ. κ. ἔσωθεν Aℵ etc., and κυκλ. κ. ἔξωθεν 1957. 2050: 11^{5} ἐκπορεύσεται: 13^{5} πολεμῆσαι (instead of ποιῆσαι): 13^{15} ἀποκτανθῆναι (instead of ἵνα . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν). In 3^{18} with 69 alone Or^{s} reads φανῇ for φανερώθῃ.

Again with 61. 69 al^{8} Or^{s} agrees against all authorities in 1^{6} βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα: with 046 in 12^{16} ἐνέβαλεν (where 61. 69, however, have ἀνέλαβεν): in 3^{9} γνώσει with ℵ 69 γνώσῃ.

From (*g*) it follows that Or^{s} belongs to a very small and late group. So far as is known as yet, Or^{s} 61. 69 are the only members of this group. It could not well have originated earlier than the 9th or 10th century. Hence it should be numbered as cursive 2293.

§ 11. *Some account of the Versions.*

(i.) Latin Versions: (*a*) Tyconius; (*b*) Primasius; (*c*) Codex Floriacensis (= fl); (*d*) Codex Gigas (= gig); (*e*) Vulgate.

(*a*) *Tyconius.*—There is no critical edition of this text. Dr. Prinz has such a text in preparation. The readings in the *Appar. Crit.* of the present work are taken from Professor Souter's "Tyconius' Text of the Apocalypse, a partial restoration," *J.T.S.*, April 1913.

(*b*) *Primasius* (= Pr).—Haussleiter has published a critical edition of Primasius' text in his work, *Die lateinische Apocalypse*, 1891, pp. 80–175.

(*c*) *Codex Floriacensis* (= fl).—Only fragments of this Latin version made in Africa survive. These amount to 61 verses: 1–2^1, 8^7–9^{12}, 11^{16}–14^{14}, 14^{15}–16^5. They are preserved in a palimpsest in the National Library of Paris—No. 6400 G (formerly in the library of Fleury). This palimpsest has been deciphered and published by Vansittart, *Journal of Philology*, iv. (1872) pp. 219–222; Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, xliv. (1883) pp. 445–451, Belsheim in 1887; Berger, *Le palimpseste du Fleury*, 1889; Haussleiter in his edition of Primasius, 1891, and a recent collation in 1906, *J.T.S.* p. 96 sqq.

Pr and fl render mutual service to each other. They make the detection of intrusions of vg in one or other of these two versions an easy task. The canon of criticism here is that where Pr and fl differ, such variants as agree with vg are to be rejected and the remainder to be retained as the older text.

(*d*) *Codex gigas* (= gig).—This codex of the xiii cent., formerly in Prague, is now in Stockholm. It contains the whole Bible, but only Acts and the Apocalypse are Old Latin. This codex was edited by Belsheim in 1879, but inaccurately. For the collation used in the present work I am indebted to Professor White, who has put at my service the fresh collation made by Dr. Karlsson in 1891 for John Wordsworth, bishop of Salisbury. It appears to have an Italian character (Gregory).

(*e*) *Vulgate* (= vg).—I have used Professor White's Editio Minor of the Vulgate—*Novum Testamentum Latine*, Clarendon Press, 1911. In this edition the following seven MSS vg$^{\text{a. c. d. f. g. h. v}}$) are used:

a—Amiatinus (vii–viii) cent.
c—Cavensis (ix).
d—Armachanus (812 A.D.).
f—Fuldensis (vi).
g—Sangermanensis (ix).
h—Hubertianus (ix–x).
v—Vallicellanus (ix).

ii. Syriac Versions: (*a*) Philoxenian, (*b*) Harkleian or Syriac Vulgate.

(*a*) *Philoxenian* (= s^1). This version was discovered and edited by Professor Gwynn in 1897. He ascribes it on good grounds to the 6th century. It is perhaps the most valuable of all the versions, its only rival being arm^4 (see p. clxvi sqq.). It is remarkable that with the Armenian versions it has many readings in common with the Latin versions (see Gwynn, p. cxliii), where these differ from all Greek MSS (though the list is not quite correct). Thus in 5^4 s^1 arm^1 Pr read *λῦσαι τὰς σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ* for *βλέπειν αὐτό*: in 13^{10} s^1 gig sa eth read *ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἀποκτανθήσεται*: in 9^{17} s^1 Tyc Pr gig vg arm$^{1.\,2.\,3.\,a}$ read *τοῦ στόματος*; but this is found in one Greek cursive—35. The presence of a common Latin (?) element in s^1 arm sa eth calls for investigation. Most of this element, no doubt, goes back to lost Greek MSS, but there appears to be a residuum of Latin readings which made their way into s^1 arm and other versions.

s^1 exhibits conflations in 5^{10} 6^2 11^{11} 18^{17} *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων.*

Gwynn puts forward two hypotheses to account for the form of the text of s^1. The translator formed the text for himself, taking as basis our main exemplar, but modifying it to the extent of about one-third by the introduction of readings from a secondary subsidiary exemplar. Otherwise he followed a single exemplar in which the primary and secondary factors stood to each other in the ratio of two to one.

(*b*) *The Harkleian* (= s^2).—This version was made about 616. As yet no critical edition of the text has appeared. It preserves very ancient readings lost in most of the Latin versions, but it is decidedly inferior to s^1. See above, p. clxviii, and Gwynn (*op. cit.*), pp. lxxi–lxxv, lxxxi–lxxxiv.

iii. *Armenian Versions.* — The Armenian version was admitted into the Armenian canon in the 12th century through the agency of Nerses. But the Armenian version was known in the earliest years of the 5th century. There are in reality two distinct Armenian versions. The first is exhibited in arm^1, arm^2, arm^3, arm^a, which on the whole form, notwithstanding many differences, a homogeneous whole over against arm^4. Arm$^{1.\,2.\,3}$ represent the sources of the older and unrevised text, and arm^a the Nersesian 12th century recension, which was based on arm$^{1.\,2.\,3}$ etc. Arm^4 and arm$^{1.\,2.\,3}$ represent, according to Conybeare, "two independent renderings of a common Greek text." But this statement needs drastic revision. The Greek source of arm^4 differed very much from that of arm$^{1.\,2.\,3}$. Conybeare ascribes arm$^{1.\,2.\,3}$ to a 5th century text and arm^4 to a redaction of the early 8th.

As in the case of s^1, so here the Latin element is evident. In 19^1 arm^2 this influence is undeniable. Thus, where the

Greek has ὄχλου πολλοῦ, vg$^{a.\ c.\ v}$ have *tubarum multarum*, and so arm^2. This corruption could only have arisen in Latin, *i.e.* *tubarum* corrupt for *turbarum*. The same corruption reappears in 19^6, where ὄχλου πολλοῦ is rendered by Pr vg$^{a.\ c.\ d.\ f.\ v}$ by *tubarum* (-ae -vg) *magnarum* (-nae vg).

Conybeare thinks that the early Armenian version "was made from an old Latin copy, or perhaps from a bilingual Greco-Latin codex." The latter appears the more probable, but the question requires thorough investigation, not only in regard to arm, but also in regard to s^1 bo sa and eth.

It is much to be regretted that Conybeare did not print in its entirety arm^4 alongside arm$^{1.\ 2.\ 3.\ a}$, seeing that it represents a more ancient type of Greek text than arm$^{1.\ 2.\ 3.\ a}$. Arm^4 is alone complete, and yet neither is its text nor even a single variant from it given in Armenian. Only English renderings of the variants and of 16^{17}–19^{18} are supplied. It is rather strange for a scholar, who is editing both a text and a translation, to translate two chapters (16^{17}–19^{18}) from a text which he does not give, and print a text (arm^2) of these chapters, which he does not translate save in the case of its variants. For the text of arm^4 he refers his readers to Dr. F. Murat's edition of it "in the great university libraries of our country," or "to the Armenian Convent of St. James in Jerusalem."

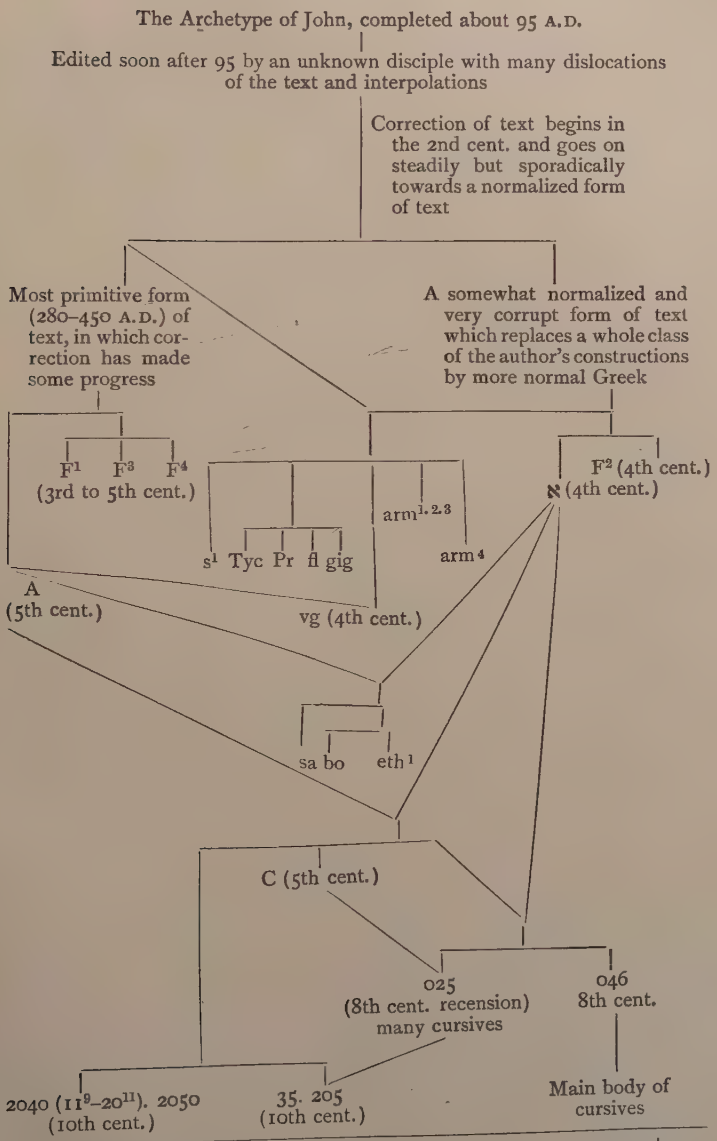
Students of the J^{ap} cannot be other than most grateful to Dr. Conybeare for his edition of the Armenian version, but it does not bear the character of a final one.

(*d*) *Bohairic Version* (= bo).—The Bohairic (or Memphitic) version has been edited with great care by the Rev. G. Horner. This editor prints J^{ap} from the Curzon MS 128 with variants from other MSS. He has provided an English version of this MS, but unfortunately the variants are not translated. The result is that the reader who does not know Bohairic cannot get to know anything beyond MS Curzon 128.

(*e*) *Sahidic Version* (= sa).—The same scholar is engaged on an edition of the Sahidic. He has most generously supplied the present editor with some hundreds of readings from this fragmentary version. This version appears to agree more with A and its allies than do bo eth.

(*f*) *Ethiopic Version* (= eth).—Only two uncritical editions of this version exist—that of Platt and that contained in Walton's Polyglott. I have used the edition of Platt published in 1899, and only consulted the other version that is printed in Walton's Polyglott.

Bo sa and eth form one group as we have already seen, but their exact relations cannot be determined till critical editions of the three are accessible, and a scholar who has a mastery of the three languages takes the task in hand.


The Archetype of John, completed about 95 A.D.
Edited soon after 95 by an unknown disciple with many dislocations of the text and interpolations
Correction of text begins in the 2nd cent. and goes on steadily but sporadically towards a normalized form of text
Most primitive form (280–450 A.D.) of text, in which correction has made some progress
A somewhat normalized and very corrupt form of text which replaces a whole class of the author's constructions by more normal Greek
F¹ F³ F⁴ (3rd to 5th cent.)
s¹ Tyc Pr fl gig
arm¹·²·³
arm⁴
F² (4th cent.)
א (4th cent.)
A (5th cent.)
vg (4th cent.)
sa bo eth¹
C (5th cent.)
025 (8th cent. recension) many cursives
046 8th cent.
Main body of cursives
2040 (11⁹–20¹¹). 2050 (10th cent.)
35. 205 (10th cent.)

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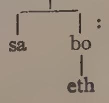
[1] Possibly these three versions should be represented rather as  but the uncritical text of eth does not easily admit of this arrangement.

For the meaning of the above symbols and abbreviations of MSS and versions, see vol. ii. pp. 227 sqq., 234 sqq. For $F^{1.2.3.4}$ (*i.e.* Papyri Fragments), see vol. ii. pp. 447–451.

Though the above table must in many of its features be regarded as purely hypothetical, the editor is convinced of its general accuracy down to Aא $F^{1.2.3.4}$: also that, though C belongs to the family of A, it has been influenced by that of א, besides showing signs of frequent correction.

So far the evidence is on the whole clear. Henceforth the relations of the MSS and versions can only be partially and, until several important questions are investigated, provisionally represented. 025 and 046 are certainly descendants of A and א, or of the families of which these are representatives; for 025. 046 preserve primitive readings lost in Aא. Thus in 4^4 *ἐπὶ τ. θρόνους* (+*τους* 046) *εἴκοσι τέσσαρας πρεσβυτέρους* is undoubtedly right where Aא are wrong and C is defective; for $s^{1.2}$ $arm^{2.3.4.a}$ Pr gig vg bo eth here support 025. 046. In 6^8 *ὁ θάνατος* of 025. 046 is right, where A is corrupt and Cא wrong. In 9^{10} *οὐρὰς ὁμοίας σκορπίοις* of 025. 046 is again right against the greater uncials, and also in 19^{18} *τῶν καθημένων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν*. This fact cannot be represented in the above table.

Further, a study of 025. 046 shows that these two MSS are connected; for they have 36 (more or less) readings in common against AאC. This connection is accordingly represented in the above table. But 025 and 046 are related differently to A and א. 025 is more closely associated with the text of A, and 046 with that of א. Moreover, 025 shows signs of a deliberate recension, whereas 046 exhibits rather signs of a progressive correction. But these MSS have other connections. Thus in 14^{18} 025 unites with C in reading *κραυγῇ* (a wrong reading) against *φωνῇ* of Aא 046: in 14^{13} in reading *ἐν Χριστῷ* against *ἐν κυρίῳ* of all other MSS. This connection is represented in the above table.

Certain cursives, *i.e.* 35. 205. 2040 (11^8–20^{11} only). 2050 preserve some original readings lost wholly in א 025. 046 (see clxxiii sqq.). These cursives are in many respects as valuable as the later uncials, while in a few they are superior.

Of the remaining cursives a considerable number follow for the most part 025, while the main body appears to follow 046. But the exact differentiation of these cursives has not yet been investigated.

Turning from the Greek MSS to the versions, we enter on a more difficult task. Of the versions, Tyc sa eth and s^2 have not yet been critically edited. All the materials for such a critical edition of bo are given in Horner's edition of the Bohairic N.T., but they are accessible only to Coptic scholars. The internal relations of the Latin versions Tyc Pr fl gig which are still undetermined, and likewise the influence of the Latin versions (or of the Greek MSS from which a large part of this peculiar (?) Latin element may be derived) on arm s^1 bo eth form attractive problems for future researchers.

Since we know that the Latin versions (or their Greek progenitors) exercised some influence on arm and s^1, I have placed these versions in close connection on the above table. But the Latin influence on bo eth is not represented, nor is s^2 even mentioned.

XV.

THE METHODS OF INTERPRETATION ADOPTED IN THIS COMMENTARY.

In my *Studies in the Apocalypse* I have given a short history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse, dealing with each method as it arose, its contribution to the elucidation of our author, its developments, or, it may be, its final condemnation and rejection at the bar of criticism. Here there is no historical treatment of the subject, but merely an enumeration of the methods, which have stood the test of experience and been found necessary for the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

§ 1. *The Contemporary-Historical Method.*—This method rightly presupposes that the visions of our author relate to contemporary events and to future events so far as they arise out of them. The real historical horizons of the book were early lost. Yet, even so, traces of the Contemporary-Historical Method still persist in Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Victorinus of Pettau. But with the rise of the Spiritualizing Method in Alexandria this true method was driven from the field and lost to use till it was revived by the Roman and non-Roman Christian scholars of the 17th century. These scholars established as an assured result that the Apocalypse was originally directed against Rome. The Apocalypse is not to be treated as an allegory, but to be interpreted in reference to definite concrete kingdoms, powers, events, and expectations. But, though the visions of our author related to contemporary events, they are not limited to these. For, as I have said in vol. ii. 86, "no great prophecy receives its full and final fulfilment in any single event or series of events. *In fact, it may not be fulfilled at all in regard to the object against which it was primarily delivered by the prophet or seer.* But if it is the expression of a great moral and spiritual truth, it will of a surety be fulfilled at sundry times and in divers manners and in varying degrees of completeness" in the history of the world.

§ 2. *The Eschatological Method.*—But the Apocalypse deals not only with contemporary events but also with future events. So far as these future events arise naturally out of contemporary events their elucidation can to a certain extent be brought under § 1. But the last things depicted by our author contain a prophetic element. These in a certain sense arise out of the past and yet are inexplicable from it. The future events depicted in the Apocalypse are not to be treated symbolically or allegorically (save in exceptional cases), but as definite concrete events.

§ 3. *The Chiliastic Interpretation.*—Strictly speaking, Chiliasm forms a subdivision of Eschatology. But in point of fact there are interpreters who, while applying the Eschatological Method rightly on the whole, treat everything relating to Chiliasm in our author purely symbolically. But the prophecy of the Millennium in chap. xx. must be taken literally, as it was by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Victorinus of Pettau. These writers were acquainted with the original interpretation of this chapter. But this interpretation was soon displaced by the spiritualizing methods of Alexandria. Tyconius, adopting these methods, rejected the literal interpretation of chap. xx., treated the Millennium as the period between the first and second advents of Christ. Jerome and Augustine followed in the footsteps of Tyconius, and a realistic eschatology was crushed out of existence in the Church for full 800 years. The Eschatological Method, including Chiliasm, was revived by Joachim of Floris (*circ.* 1200 A.D.), but the latter element was again abandoned for some centuries and declared heretical by the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions. In England, where these Confessions were without authority, Chiliasm was revived by Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, and Whiston.

§ 4ª. *The Philological Method in its earlier form.* — This method was resorted to in the 16th cent. as a counsel of despair. The Church and World-Historical Methods which originated in the 14th cent. as well as the Recapitulation Method of Victorinus had, combined with other more reasonable methods, been applied to the Apocalypse by numberless scholars, with the result that the best interpreters of the 16th cent. confessed that the Apocalypse remained more than ever the Seven-sealed Book.

But the value of the Philological Method was only in part recognized. The chief philological problems were either not recognized at all or only in part, and so this method failed to make the indispensable contribution that could be made by it and by it alone, and that could put an end to the wild vagaries of the Literary Critical School which had its founder in Grotius. To this method I will return after § 9 under the heading § 4^b.

§ 5. *The Literary-Critical Method.*—If the methods just mentioned were the only valid methods, and if at the same time the absolute unity of the Apocalypse were assumed as given or proved, then large sections of it would have to be surrendered as unsolved and unsolvable. But there is no such *impasse.* In the Apocalypse there is no such rigid unity of authorship and consistency of detail as has been constantly assumed. A new method of interpretation was initiated by Grotius—the Literary-Critical. Grotius, observing that there were conflicting elements alike in tradition and within the text itself, conjectured that the Apocalypse was composed of several visions written down at different times and in different places, some before and some after the destruction of Jerusalem. This method finally gave birth to three different hypotheses, each of the three possessing some element of truth, but especially the third. These hypotheses are:

(*a*) The Redactional-Hypothesis.
(*b*) The Sources-Hypothesis.
(*c*) The Fragmentary-Hypothesis.

(*a*) *The Redactional-Hypothesis.* — Many interpreters have availed themselves of this hypothesis, but a thorough study of John's style and diction makes it impossible to recognize the Apocalypse as the result of the work of a series of successive editors, such as we recognize in the Ascension of Isaiah. That the Apocalypse suffered one such redaction appears to the present writer to be a hypothesis necessarily postulated by the facts; see vol. i. pp. l–lv, vol. ii. pp. 144–154.

(*b*) *The Sources-Hypothesis.*—This theory assumes a series of independent sources connected more or less loosely together as 1 Enoch. That this theory can be established to a limited extent, I have sought to show in 7^{1-3} 7^{4-8} 11^{1-13} 12. 13. 17. 18 (see pp. lxii–lxv). Some of these sources are purely Jewish, or Jewish-Christian in origin, and one at least of them—*i.e.* chap. 12—is derived ultimately from a heathen expectation of a World Redeemer (see vol. i. 310–314). But this theory, which breaks up the entire book into various sources, cannot explain the relative unity of the work as a whole—nay more, a unity which might be described as absolute in respect to its purpose steadily maintained from the beginning to the close, its growing thought and dramatic development, its progressive crises, and its diction and style, which are unique in all Greek literature.

(*c*) *Fragmentary-Hypothesis.*—From the above two forms of the Literary-Critical Method we turn to its third and most satisfactory form—the Fragmentary-Hypothesis—a most unhappy designation. This hypothesis presupposes an undoubted unity of authorship, though the author has from time to time drawn on foreign sources (as we have pointed out in the preceding section), and has not always assimilated these fragmentary elements in all their details to their new contexts.

§ 6. *Traditional-Historical Method.* — This method was applied first by Gunkel to the Apocalypse, and subsequently by many other scholars in an extravagant degree. Each new apocalypse is to some extent a reproduction and reinterpretation of traditional material—whether in the form of figures, symbols, or doctrines. Hence it is necessary to distinguish between the original meaning of a borrowed symbol or doctrine and the new turn given to it by our author. This is done in the introduction to each chapter in this Commentary. In nearly every case our author has transformed or glorified the borrowed material. Thus the sealing in 7^{1-8}, which in its Jewish source carried with it the thought of security from *physical* evil, is a pledge of God's protection from *spiritual* evil. The doctrine of the Antichrist as it appears in our author is unique: see vol. ii. 76–87, where the various stages of the development of this idea are given. Occasionally details in the borrowed material are inapplicable to our author's purpose (see notes on 12^{13-16} 18^{4}), or possibly unintelligible to him. In these cases he omits all reference to such details in his interpretation of the source of which he has availed himself. But it is probable that these defects and inconsistencies would have been removed by our author if he had had the opportunity of revising his book.

§ 7. *Religious-Historical Method.*—There are certain statements and doctrines in the Apocalypse which could not have been written first hand by a Christian. These are in some cases of Jewish origin, but others are ultimately derived from Babylonian, Egyptian, or Greek sources; see vol. i. 121–123 on the Cherubim, vol. i. 310–314 on the doctrine of a World-Redeemer. The order of the twelve precious stones, see vol. ii. 165–169, points to our author's knowledge of the heathen conception of the City of the Gods and of contemporary astronomy, and his deliberate deviation from them.

§ 8. *Philosophical Method.*—Apocalyptic is a philosophy of history and religion. The Seer seeks to get behind the surface and penetrate to the essence of events, the spiritual motives and purposes that underlay and gave them their real significance. Hence apocalyptic takes within its purview not only the present and the last things, but all things past, present, and to come. Apocalyptic and not Greek philosophy was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity—a unity following naturally as a corollary of the unity of God. And yet serious N.T. scholars of the present day have stated that apocalyptic has only to deal with the last things!

§ 9. *Psychological Method.*—Are the visions in the Apocalypse the genuine results of spiritual experience? That our author speaks from actual spiritual experience no serious student of to-day has any doubt. The only question that calls for solution is the extent to which such experience underlies the visions of the Apocalypse. On pp. ciii–cix the present writer has made an attempt to discuss this question.

§ 4^{b}. *The Philological Method in its later form.*—This method has already been dealt with in the order of its historical appearance under § 4^{a} above. But its value in determining some of the chief questions of the Apocalypse has never yet been appreciated. It has therefore been all but wholly neglected, and no writer has made a really serious study of the style and diction of our author save Bousset, and that only in a minor degree. Hence on every hand individual verses and combinations of verses have been unjustifiably rejected as non-Johannine, and others just as unjustifiably received as Johannine. After working for years on the Apocalypse under the guidance of all the above methods, I came at last to recognize that no certain conclusion could be reached on many of the vexed problems of the book till I had made a thorough study of John's grammar. On pp. cxvii–clix I have given the results of a study extending over many years. In not a few respects it is revolutionary. To give a few examples. As regards John's Greek it shows that constructions (such as τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, and so in the other six passages), which every modern German scholar has rejected, were exactly the constructions which a complete study of John's grammar *required.* Next, this study revolutionizes the translation of the Apocalypse. Frequently it is not the Greek but the Hebrew in the mind of the writer that has to be translated. Thirdly, as regards large sections which have been rejected by most modern scholars as non-Johannine, this grammar shows that such sections are essentially Johannine—and *vice versa.*

XVI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.[1]

Editions.—*Greek Commentaries.*—The Apocalypse does not owe much to Greek expositors. The earliest were probably the best. Fragmentary expositions are preserved in Justin and Irenaeus which are referred to by Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* ii. 9. The two earliest complete Commentaries by Melito (cf. Eus. *H.E.* iv. 26. 2) and Hippolytus (Jerome, *op. cit.* 61) are lost. Clement of Alexandria (Eus. *H.E* vi. 14. 1) commented on the Apocalypse, and Origen recorded his intention of so doing, *In Matt.* 49 (Lommatzsch, iv. 307). That his Scholia on the Apoc. have been preserved is highly probable: see p. clxxvi. Commentary by Oecumenius (discovered by Diekampf; see *Sitzungsberichte der Kön. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1901, 1046 sqq.). The Commentary ascribed by Cramer (*Catena*, viii. p vi, 497–582) to Oecumenius is, according to Diekampf, a compendium of Andreas (ed. Sylburg, 1596; Migne, *P.G.* cvi) and Arethas (Cramer's *Catena*, viii. 171–496; Migne, *P.G.* cvi).

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[1] This bibliography is abbreviated as much as possible. For fuller bibliographies in various directions the reader should consult Lücke, *Einl. in d. Offenbarung*^{2}, 518 sqq., 952 sqq.; Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, 1906, pp. 48–118; Holtzmann-Bauer's *Hand-Commentar*, iv. 380–390; Walch, *Bibl.*

Latin Commentaries.—Victorinus (iii cent.). This Commentary appears in a shorter and in a longer form. For the latter see Migne, *P.L.* v. Haussleiter is engaged on a critical edition. Tyconius (iv–v cent. See Souter in *J.T.S.* xiv. 338 sqq. A critical edition is promised by Haussleiter); Primasius (vi cent., ed. by Haussleiter, *Die Lateinische Apocalypse*, 1891); Apringius (vi cent. ed. by Férotin, Paris, 1900). Bede, Ansbertus, Beatus, Haymo, and others carried on the tradition of the Church in the West.

There were some Syriac Commentaries, the most important of which is that of Barṣalibi (see Gwynn in *Hermathena*, vi–vii).

In the mediaeval period the most important commentator was Joachim, abbott of Floris, 1195 (ed. Venice, 1519, 1527).

Commentaries since the Reformation.—Since the Reformation the number of writers on the Apocalypse is almost beyond count. Only a few of the chief names can be given. Erasmus, *Annotationes in N.T.*, 1516; Bibliander, *Comment. in Apoc.*, 1549; Bullinger, *In Apoc. Conciones*, 1557; Ribeira, *In sacram b. Ioannis . . . Apoc. Commentarius*, Lyons, 1593; Pereyra, *Disputationes selectissimae super libro Apocalypsis*, Venice, 1607; Salmeron, *In Johannis Apoc. Praeludia*, 1614; Alcasar, *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apoc.*, Lyons, 1618; Juan Mariana, *Scholia in . . . N.T.*, 1619; Brightman, *Revelation of St. John*, 1616; Cornelius a Lapide, *Comm. in Apoc.*, 1627; Mede, *Clavis Apocalypseos*, Cambridge, 1627; Grotius, *Annotationes*, 1644; Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations upon the N.T.*, 1653; Coccejus, *Cogitationes in Apoc.*, 1673; Marckius, *In Apoc. . . . Commentarius*, Amsterdam, 1689; Vitringa, Ἀνάκρισις *Apocalypsios*², 1719; I. Newton,

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Theol. selecta, iv. 760 sqq.; Stosch, *Catalogus rariorum in Apoc. Joannis Commentariorum*; Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticae*, iv. 275–528. In my *Lectures on the Apocalypse*, pp. 1–78, I have combined a bibliography and a history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse, as Bousset and Holtzmann-Bauer have done, though on a smaller scale than Bousset.

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Versions.—See vol. i. pp. clxvi–clxxi, vol. ii. 234 sq.

SOME OF THE ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK.

Versions.[1]

Aq. or α′	Version of Aquila or α.
A.V.	Authorized Version.
LXX or ο′	Septuagint.

[1] For those used in the Greek text see vol. ii. 227–235.

R.V.	Revised Version.
Symm. or σ′ . . .	Symmachus.
Theod. or θ′ . . .	Theodotion.
Abbott, *Gram.* . .	Abbott, *Johannine Grammar*, 1906.
„ *Voc.* . . .	„ *Johannine Vocabulary*, 1905.
Blass, *Gram.* . . .	Blass, *Grammar of N.T. Greek* (transl. by Thackeray), 1898.
D.A.C.	Hastings' *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church.*
D.B.	Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*
J	The Fourth Gospel.
1. 2. 3 J.	Johannine Epistles.
J$^{\text{ap}}$	The Apocalypse.
K.A.T.^{3}	Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, edited and rewritten by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 1903.
M.-W.'s *Gram.* . .	Moulton's edition of Winer, 1882.
Moulton, *Gram.* . .	Moulton's *Grammar of N.T. Greek*^{2}, vol. i., 1906.
MT.	Massoretic Text.
N.T.	New Testament.
O.T.	Old Testament.
Robertson, *Gram.* .	Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek of the N.T.*, 1914.
S.B.E.	*Sacred Books of the East* (edited by Max Müller), Oxford.
Thackeray, *Gram.* .	Thackeray, *Grammar of the O.T. in Greek*, vol. i., 1909.
T.L.Z.	*Theologische Literaturzeitung.*
Weber^{2}	Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*, 1897.
WH	Westcott and Hort, *The N.T. in Greek.*
Völter i.	See above under the Section "Studies mainly Critical."
ii.	„ „
iii.	„ „
iv.	„ „
Z.A.T.W.	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
Z.f.N.T.W. . . .	Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
Z.K.W. or *Z.K.W.L.*	*Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben.*
Z.W.T.	*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie.*

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

Page 215, line 22 *ab imo.* *After* "unexampled" *add* "except perhaps in Aq. Ex. xxiv. 16."

Page 224, footnote, line 11. *After* "xvi. 19" *add* "(an interpolation)," and see the emended form of this note in vol. i. Introd. p. clix *ad init.*

Page 294. Paragraph beginning "It is noteworthy," etc., was written before I recognized that xvi. 5^b–7 should be restored after xix. 4.

Page 297, line 8. *Delete* "A slip for the dative." See also text in vol. ii. 306: 415, 416 footnote.

THE REVELATION
OF ST. JOHN.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *The Contents and Authorship of this Chapter.*

The Superscription (i. 1–3) falls into three parts, each part of which in turn is formed of three elements. The first sets forth the source of the Apocalypse, the second its contents, and the third the blessedness of those who receive and fulfil its teachings. As regards the source—it was God by whom the Apocalypse was given to Christ: it was Christ who sent His angel and signified it to John: it was John who bare witness to it as from God and Christ. As for its contents—these were the word of God and the truth attested by Christ, which were embodied in the visions which John had seen. As for the blessedness that attends on its reception—this blessedness is to be the portion of those that read it in the Churches, of those that hear, and of those that observe it.

After the Superscription follows the Introduction (i. 4–8), which is composed of three stanzas of three lines each. In these John salutes the Seven Churches, invoking upon them grace and peace from God, which is and which was and which is to come,[1] and from Jesus Christ. Of these two Divine Beings he proceeds to speak more definitely—of Christ in 5–7 and of God in 8. Christ is the faithful witness, the sovereign of the dead, the ruler of those that rule the living. To Him is to be ascribed glory and power, inasmuch as loving us with an everlasting love He hath redeemed us from our sins and endowed us with the offices of kingship and priesthood unto God (i. 4–6), and will speedily come in the clouds—whose advent His crucifiers will witness to their cost and the heathen-hearted nations with fear and anguish. Of God our author does not speak in the third person, but introduces the Supreme Being as declaring: I am the Alpha and the Omega—the Lord of the past, the present and the future.

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[1] The clause that follows relating to the seven spirits is an interpolation (see note *in loc.*).

In i. 9–20 we have the Seer's call by the Son of Man and his vision of the Son of Man, standing in the midst of seven golden candlesticks and holding seven stars, risen and glorified. By Him the Seer is bidden to write what he saw and to send it to the Seven Churches. Any paraphrase of this sublime description of the Son of Man would only hopelessly weaken it. It may, however, be observed that it contains the attributes of the Ancient of Days and of one like a Son of Man in Daniel (vii. 9, 13) as well as of the nameless angel in Dan. x. 5–6, and that nearly every phrase in this description of the Son of Man (13–16) and of His words (17^c–20) recurs in ii.–iii. to which it forms an introduction, just as x. does to xi. 1–13.

In 17^c–18 the Son of Man declares who He is (even as God does in 8), *i.e.* the First and the Last, He that liveth and was dead and had thereby become the holder of the keys of death. As such He bids the Seer afresh to write what he saw, and to learn the mystery that the seven candlesticks were the Seven Churches and the seven stars the heavenly ideals of the Seven Churches, which could only be realized through Him.

As regards the authorship of this chapter, whilst there is no evidence either in point of idiom or diction against its being from the hand of John the Seer, there is, as I have shown in the summary in § 2, the most positive evidence for its derivation from him.

§ 2. *Diction and Idiom.*

There can be no question as to the authorship of this chapter. Alike in its diction and its idiom it is from the hand of John the Seer.

(*a*) *Diction.*—This subject is dealt with in detail in the notes. But the results can be shortly summarized and some of the chief parallelisms in phraseology within the rest of the Book emphasized. But first of all it is to be observed that whereas none of the diction and phraseology is against our author's use, much of it is specifically Johannine and all of it in keeping with his use.

I. 1. δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ, ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. This clause recurs as a whole in xxii. 6 and in part in iv. 1. *δείκνυμι* is characteristic of our author in its apocalyptic sense.

τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ. Cf. xi. 18, *τοῖς δούλοις σου τ. προφήταις.*

2. ἐμαρτύρησεν. Cf. xxii. 16, 18, 20.

τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ τ. μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. Cf. i. 9, vi. 9, xii. 11 (*τ. λόγον τ. μαρτυρίας*), 17 (*τ. μαρτυρίαν* Ἰησοῦ only and in xix. 10), xx. 4.

3. μακάριος . . . τ. λόγους τ. προφητείας καὶ τηροῦντες. Cf. xxii. 7, 10. We have here the first of the seven beatitudes in this Book: cf. xiv. 13, xvi. 15, xix. 9, xx. 6, xxii. 7, 14.

ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς. Cf. xxii. 10.

5. ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός. Cf. ii. 13, iii. 14.

6. ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς. Cf. v. 10.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας [τ. αἰώνων]. Cf. i. 18, iv. 9, 10, v. 13, vii. 12, x. 6, etc. But in Gospel and 1 and 2 John always *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*

8. τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω . . . ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5, xxi. 6, xxii. 13.

Κύριος ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, 14, xix. 6, 15, xxi. 22. *Παντοκράτωρ* occurs eight times in the rest of the Apocalypse and not once elsewhere in the N.T. except in an O.T. quotation (2 Cor. vi. 18).

10. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. Cf. iv. 2.

12. βλέπειν. Our author uses this verb twice in i., once in iii. and thirteen times in the rest of the book, and never in the aorist; for in xxii. 8 A is to be followed.

13. ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. Only elsewhere in xiv. 14, in this form in all literature.

ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη καὶ περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν. Cf. xv. 6.

14. οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός. Cf. ii. 18, xix. 12.

15. ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν. Cf. xiv. 2, xix. 6.

16. ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. Cf. x. 1.

ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτά. Cf. ii. 1, iii. 1.

ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὀξεῖα. Cf. ii. 13.

17. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. Cf. ii. 8, xxii. 13.

19. οὖν. Here used (probably owing to its fourfold occurrence in ii.–iii.) of logical appeal, never of historical transition as in the Fourth Gospel: cf. ii. 5, 16, iii. 3, 19. In the later chapters our author uses *διὰ τοῦτο* instead: cf. vii. 15, xii. 32 [xviii. 8]. Thus this *entire* chapter is most closely connected by its distinctively Johannine phraseology with ii.–vi., x.–xi., xiv.–xvi., xix.–xxii. Let us now turn to the most striking idioms in this chapter.

(*b*) *Idiom.*—These are dealt with fully in the notes. But we shall mention a sufficient number to confirm beyond question the conclusion that this chapter comes from the hand of our author.

I. 4. ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. On this wholly abnormal construction with *ἀπό*, which is nevertheless quite intelligible in our author and yet not in any other, see note *in loc.* As regards *ὁ ὢν . . . ἐρχόμενος*—this title recurs wholly or in part in i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5.

5. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς πιστός. This anomalous construction of the nominative in apposition to an oblique case recurs ii. 13, 20, iii. 12, vii. 4, viii. 9, ix. 14, xiv. 12, 14, xx. 2. That this solecism is characteristic of our author cannot be denied, since it occurs so frequently, whereas it is exceptional in the *Κοινή* and the LXX, in the latter of which it is clearly, as in our author, a Hebraism.

5–6. τῷ ἀγαπῶντι . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν. This Hebraism recurs frequently in our author: cf. i. 18, ii. 2, 9, 20, iii. 9, vii. 14, xiv. 2–3, xv. 3.

10. φωνήν . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης. Here we should expect *λέγουσαν*. But cf. iv. 1.

13. ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. Cf. xiv. 14 for this otherwise unexampled construction. See Additional Note, p. 36.

16. ἔχων = εἶχε or **ἔχει** as elsewhere in our author: cf. x. 2, xii. 2, xxi. 12, 14. Moreover, *ἐκπορευομένη* is used as *ἐξεπορεύετο* in this same verse. In our author these are Hebraisms, though this usage is found occasionally in the *Κοινή*. Again, the Hebraism *ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει* though not found elsewhere in this Book, is closely akin to our author's many Hebraisms, especially in connection with ὡς = כְּ. See p. 36.

20. τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας—this is a slip for the genitive. There are other analogous slips in our author, which are best explained as due to his not having had an opportunity to revise his text.

Thus this chapter is connected by Johannine idioms with ii.–iv., vii.–xii., xiv.–xvi., xx.–xxi. There can be no doubt as to the genuineness of the text.

§ 3. *Order of Words.*

The order is Semitic. Thus the verb is before the subject and object once, before the subject twice, before the object five times. It stands at the beginning of the clause or sentence followed by adverbial phrases eleven times. On the other hand, the verb follows the subject (9) once, the object (a pronoun) once. The participle, where it stands for a finite verb, occurs once at the close of a clause (16^b). These facts are in keeping with our author's style.

Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου.

The word *ἀποκάλυψις* is not used as the title of any work before the time of our Apocalypse, though it is used by St. Paul exactly in the same sense of minor revelations: cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 26. So far as the word itself goes it is found in Sir. xi. 27, xxii. 22 (*μυστηρίου ἀποκαλύψεως*), xlii. 1, while *ἀποκαλύπτειν* is found in Amos iii. 7, *ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς* προφήτας, in the sense of a "revealing" of something hidden. In the second passage we have an approach to the use of the word in our text. In Theodotion's rendering of Daniel the verb ἀποκαλύπτειν is used exactly in the sense of the noun ἀποκάλυψις in the title: cf. ii. 19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47, x. 1. It appears in the title of 2 Baruch—"The Book of the Apocalypse of Baruch the son of Neriah"—the publication of which was nearly contemporary with that of our Apocalypse. It signifies a vision and its interpretation. Elsewhere in the N.T. it is found with the same meaning in the Pauline Epistles (Rom. xvi. 25; 2 Cor. xii. 1; Gal. i. 12, etc.). In 1 Pet. i. 7, 13, iv. 13, Luke ii. 32, etc., this word is not used in quite the same sense, but means rather, manifestation, appearance. ἀποκάλυψις is found also in Classical Greek in the sense of to lay bare, to disclose, in Plato, *Protag.* 352 D, *Gorg.* 460 A; while ἀποκάλυψις is found in Plutarch, *Paul. Aemil.* 14, *Cat. Maj.* 20, *Quom. Adul. ab Am.* 32 (ἀποκ. ἁμαρτίας) in the sense of a laying bare. The verb frequently bears this meaning in LXX, and the noun once. But the special religious meaning of ἀποκάλυψις in Greek and *révelatio* in Latin was unknown to the heathen world.

ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου was the title of our Book in the 2nd cent.: cf. Murat. i. 71 sq.: "Scripta apocalypse(s) etiam johanis et petri tantum recipimus." That the Book was ever known by the bare term ἀποκάλυψις cannot safely be inferred from Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5, or Irenaeus, v. 30. 3 (τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος); for in both these passages the context clearly defines whose apocalypse is in question. V. 30. 2, "Propter hoc non annumeratur tribus haec in Apocalypsi," would be more relevant here; but even this passage is wholly indecisive, since the authorship of the Apocalypse is stated in v. 26. 1.

I. 1–3. THE SUPERSCRIPTION.

1–3. The Superscription, which sets forth (1) the source of the Apocalypse, (2) its contents, and (3) the blessedness of those who receive its teachings. (1) There are three definite stages in the transmission of this Apocalypse from its source to its publication. First it is God Himself who gave it to Christ to make it known unto His servants—ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τ. δούλοις αὐτοῦ . . . ἐν τάχει (cf. the declaration of God in xxi. 6^b–8), and the statement as to God's sending the angel, in δεῖξαι . . . ἐν τάχει in xxii. 6. Next, Christ sent and signified it through His angel to John—ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ (cf. the declaration of Christ in xxii. 6–7, 16, 13, 12, 10, 18^a). Thirdly, John bare witness to this Apocalypse accorded by Christ to him, *i.e.*, the word of God and the truth attested by Christ—τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσα εἶδεν (cf. the testimony of John in xxii. 8–9, 20–21). This correspondence between i. 1–2 and xxi. 6^{b}–8, xxii. 6–21, is, therefore, not accidental. But if we desire further confirmation of the close connection of 1–3 with the xxi.–xxii., we have it in the repetition by Christ in xxii. 7 of the beatitude pronounced by John in i. 3.

(2) Its contents are "the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ, everything that He saw." Here there are three elements corresponding to the three agents mentioned above. First, there is the word of God. Secondly, this word is attested by Christ. Thirdly, it is seen by John in vision.

(3) The blessedness of those who receive and observe its teachings. Here, again, there is a threefold division: blessed is he that reads them in the public assemblies: blessed is he that hears these prophecies: blessed is he that observes them.

1. ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The genitive here is subjective. The revelation is given by Jesus Christ to John as God gave it to Him. Cf. John vii. 16, ἡ ἐμὴ διδαχὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὴ ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με, and iii. 35, v. 20 sqq., 26, xvi. 15, etc. The title Ἰησοῦς Χριστός is found only here and in verses 2, 5: Ἰησοῦς alone nine times; Κύριος Ἰησοῦς twice (xxii. 20, 21); Κύριος once only, xiv. 13; ὁ Κύριος αὐτῶν (xi. 8). Χριστός, when used alone, always has the article (xx. 4, 6, + αὐτοῦ, xi. 15, xii. 10. In the Johannine Epistles Ἰησοῦς Χριστός occurs nine times, Ἰησοῦς six, ὁ Χριστός three times.

ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ. Cf. Amos iii. 7, οὐ μὴ ποιήσει Κύριος ὁ θεὸς πρᾶγμα ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφήτας. In our text the servants, who are God's servants (αὐτοῦ), are the Christian prophets. Cf. x. 7, xi. 18, xxii. 6. δεῖξαι. This word is characteristic of our author when it means to communicate a divine revelation by means of visions.

ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. The δεῖ denotes not the merely hasty consummation of things, but the absolutely sure fulfilment of the divine purpose. That this fulfilment would come "soon" (ἐν τάχει: cf. xxii. 6; Deut. ix. 3; Ezek. xxix. 5 (not in Mass.); Luke xviii. 8; Rom. xvi. 20), has always been the expectation of all living prophecy and apocalyptic. ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι is drawn from Dan. ii. 28 (ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν), 29. ἃ . . . ἐν τάχει recurs in xxii. 6.

ἐσήμανεν—a Johannine word: cf. John xii. 33, xviii. 32, xxi. 19. It is Christ that is the subject of the verb here.

ἀποστείλας. Cf. xxii. 16, where Christ sent (ἔπεμψε) His angel, and xxii. 6, where God sent (ἀπέστειλε) His angel. Once again this verb is used in v. 6. ἀποστέλλειν διά = שלח ביד, Ex.

iv. 13; Matt. xi. 2, πέμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ: Acts xi. 30, ἀποστείλαντες . . . διὰ χειρὸς Βαρνάβα.

2. ὃς ἐμαρτύρησεν. μαρτυρεῖν, which is found four times and always with the acc. in our author—for this is the best way of treating xxii. 18—occurs more frequently in the Johannine Gospel and Epistles than elsewhere in the N.T. (*i.e.*, 33 + 10 = 43 times). The aorist ἐμαρτύρησεν is epistolary: the author transports himself to the standpoint of his readers.

τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν **μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** = the revelation given by God and borne witness to by Christ (subjective genitive). It means the Christian revelation as a whole in i. 9, vi. 9, xx. 4, but in the present passage the expression is limited by the words that follow ὅσα εἶδεν—to the revelation made in this Book. Kindred expressions occur in xii. 17, τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ . . . τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, and xix. 10, τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ: but in the last passage the phrase may have a different meaning in the traditional text, and Ἰησοῦ be the objective genitive. The λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ is not to be limited in our text to the O.T. It embraces the entire revelation of God which now in its fulness is attested by Christ.

ὅσα εἶδεν. These words limit, as we have said, the scope of the two preceding phrases. On the significance of εἶδεν in our author, see note on iv. 1. We should observe how the ministry of angels (1^{d}) and the visions of the Seer are here closely combined, as also later.

3. This verse consists of a stanza of four lines. We have here the first of the *seven* beatitudes in the Apocalypse (xiv. 13, xvi. 15, xix. 9^{a}, xx. 6, xxii. 7, 14. The last beatitude, which is pronounced by Christ and is given in xxii. 7^{b} (for the present text of xx. 4-xxii. is in disorder), reaffirms the beatitude here pronounced by John.

ὁ ἀναγινώσκων. This is not the private student but the public reader, the ἀναγνώστης or *lector*, as the sing. ὁ ἀναγινώσκων as opposed to the plural οἱ ἀκούοντες shows. At the close of the first century A.D., the reader was probably any suitable person who was nominated for this purpose by the presbyters or president from among the congregation. The reader in time acquired an official position and became a member of the clergy, and is first mentioned in this capacity in Tertullian (*De Praescr.* 41). The books which were read were originally those of the O.T., as in the synagogues, and afterwards the books of the N.T., as well as the sub-apostolic epistles: cf. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67), τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. This practice of reading at public worship was adopted from the Jews: cf. Neh. viii. 2; Ex. xxiv. 7; Luke iv. 16; Acts xiii. 15; 2 Cor. iii. 15. Amongst the Jews the Scripture lessons from the Law and the Prophets could be read by any member of the congregation, but if any priests or Levites were present they took precedence. The earliest mention of the reading of the Prophets is found in Luke iv. 17, Acts xiii. 15 (comp. Megilla iv. 1–5); but they were not read on week-days nor on Sabbath afternoon services, but only at the chief service by one person (Megilla iv. 5) on the morning of the Sabbath. See Schürer^3, ii. 456.

οἱ ἀκούοντες . . . καὶ τηροῦντες. These two participles are, as the Greek shows, to be taken closely together. These two lines therefore reproduce the words of Christ in Luke xi. 28, *μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες.* Cf. also John xii. 47, *ἐάν τίς μου ἀκούσῃ τ. ῥημάτων καὶ μὴ φυλάξῃ.* But our author does not use *φυλάσσειν*, and replaces it with the familiar Johannine word *τηρεῖν.* Ps. i. represents on a large scale this combination of faithful reading and faithful living.

τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας. Here as in xxii. 7, 10, 18 the Seer claims for his Book a place in the forefront of prophetic literature.

ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς. These words relate to the blessedness of those who are faithful in the present evil time; for they will not have long to wait; the season of their deliverance is at hand. Cf. Rom. xiii. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 29, *ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν.* The beatitude, of course, is true in itself independently of the time of consummation (cf. xxii. 7), but the closely impending recompense is repeatedly dwelt upon by our author to encourage his readers in the face of universal martyrdom.

4–8. INTRODUCTION. JOHN'S GREETING TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

4. Ἰωάννης ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις. This is the usual form for beginning a letter (cf. Gal. i. 1, etc.). Indeed the whole Book from i. 4 to its close is in fact an Epistle.

ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. The article before *ἑπτά* refers proleptically to ver. 11, where these Churches are enumerated. Other Churches existed at the time with which the Seer must have been familiar, such as Colossae (Col. i. 2, ii. 1), Hierapolis (Col. iv. 13), Troas (Acts xx. 5 sqq.), Magnesia (Ignatius, *Ad Magn.* i. 1), Tralles (Ignatius, *Ad Trall.* i.). Why the particular seven Churches mentioned in i. 11 were chosen by our author cannot now be determined (see, however, note on i. 11); but the fact that seven were chosen, and no more and no less, can occasion no difficulty. For seven was a sacred number not only in Jewish Apocalyptic and Judaism generally, but particularly in our Author: cf. i. [4^a] 12, 16, iv. 5, v. 1, 6 [viii. 2], x. 3, xi. 13 [xii. 3], xiii. 1, xv. 6, 7, 8, xvi. 1, xvii. 1, etc.

ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. According to the usage of the Maccabean Books (1 Macc. viii. 6, xi. 13, xii. 39, xiii. 32; 2 Macc. iii. 3, x. 24; 3 Macc. iii. 14; 4 Macc. iii. 20), Asia embraces the empire of the Seleucids. In the Sibylline Oracles, iii. 168, 342, 350, 351, 353–4, 367, 381, 388, 391, 450, 599, 611, iv. 1, 71, 76, 79, 145, 148, v. 99, 118, 287, etc., the extension of the term varies—at times apparently comprehending the entire continent, at others restricted to the coast cities and the lower valleys of the Maeander, Cayster, etc. But on the transference of the kingdom of Attalus III. to Rome, the Roman province of Asia conterminous with the limits of this kingdom was formed in 133–130 B.C., and this province was subsequently augmented by the addition of Phrygia in 116 B.C. Ἡ Ἀσία in the N.T. is all but universally (contrast Acts ii. 9) identified with Proconsular Asia.

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος
[καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων τῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ].
5. καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός.

In these three lines the second is beyond question an interpolation of a later hand (probably early in the 2nd cent.). Since xxii. 8–9, and (possibly) xix. 9–10 are from the hand of our author, he cannot have put forward such a grotesque Trinity as the above. In the passages just cited the worship of angels (see note on xxii. 8) is denounced in most forcible terms, and from the class of subordinate beings co-ordinate with the seven archangels we cannot exclude "the seven spirits." The Seer cannot therefore have accorded divine honours to these seven spirits at the very opening of his Book. Moreover, when this interpolation is removed, we have three stanzas of three lines each beginning with χάρις 4^b, and ending 7^c αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. Thus in 4^b–5^a as in 5^c–6^a only God and Christ are mentioned.

4^b. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη. These words do not form a mere salutation, for this has been given in the preceding words, but a benediction from God. Grace and peace cannot be said to emanate from angels—even from the seven archangels. The χάρις here is the favour of God and of Jesus Christ. It is only found once again in our author, *i.e.* in xxii. 21, where this spiritual endowment is derived from Jesus Christ. See notes on χάρις and εἰρήνη in Sanday's *Romans*, 10 sq., 15 sq.; Milligan, 1 *Thess.* i. 1. The εἰρήνη is the harmony restored between God and man through Christ. In all the Pauline Epistles these are said to proceed from God the Father and from Jesus Christ, *just as in the original text here.* In 1 and 2 Timothy we have the fuller form χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη. Moreover, in nine of the Pauline

Epistles the phrase is exactly as here, *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη*, while in 1 and 2 Timothy it stands as in the preceding sentence.

ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Cf. i. 8, iv. 8, and ὁ ὢν κ. ὁ ἦν in xi. 17, xvi. 5. We have here a title of God conceived in the terms of time. The Seer has deliberately violated the rules of grammar in order to preserve the divine name inviolate from the change which it would necessarily have undergone if declined. Hence the divine name is here in the nominative. It could have been preserved in classical Greek, *i.e.* *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὤν*. But our author shows no knowledge of this construction. But there are other irregularities—as, for instance, *ὁ ἦν*. The *ἦν* is said to have been used because there was no past participle of *εἰμί*. But this does not really explain *ἦν* nor yet *ὁ*. Besides he could have used *ὁ γεγονώς* (cf. xvi. 17, xxi. 6) or *ὁ γενόμενος* (i. 18). I offer, therefore, the following explanation. Our author could have written here *ὁ ὢν καὶ ἦν*, in keeping with a Hebraism which he *frequently* avails himself of; for *ὁ ὢν καὶ ἦν* would be an exact reproduction of the Hebrew הַהֹוֶה וְהָיָה. See note on 5^c. Herein we have a probable explanation of *ἦν*. It is harder to explain the *ὁ* which precedes it. The article here may be inserted before the *ἦν* since it accompanies the other two elements in the divine name: *ὁ ὢν . . . καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*.

As for *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, where our author returns to the participial construction, it is clear that he uses *ἐρχόμενος*, instead of *ἐσόμενος*, with a definite reference to the contents of the Book and especially to the coming of Christ, i. 7, ii. 5, 16, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, etc., in whose coming God Himself comes also.

Besides, our author does not use the future participle.

Passing now from the grammar of this clause to its meaning, we find that this divine name was common to both Jews and Gentiles. Thus the Targ. Jon. on Ex. iii. 14 (אהיה אשר אהיה, where the LXX has *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν*, and Aquila and Theod. *ἔσομαι <ὃς> ἔσομαι*) has אֲנָא הוא דַהֲוֵינָא ועתיד לְמֵיהֱוֵי = "Ego sum, qui sum et futurus sum," and Deut. xxxii. 39, אנא הוא דהוויי והוית ואנא הוא דעהיד למהוי = "Ego sum qui sum, et fui, et ego sum qui futurus sum." Also Shem. rab. iii. f. 105^b, "Dixit Deus . . . ad Mosen: Ego fui, et adhuc sum et ero in posterum" (this last from Wetstein). In the Greek we find analogous titles of God. Cf. Pausanias, x. 12. 5: for the songs of the doves at Dodona, *Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἔστιν, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται*: in the inscription at Sais (Plutarch, *De Iside*, 9), *ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδείς πω θνητῶν ἀπεκάλυψεν*: in the Orphic lines, *Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραυνος, Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.* Finally, in reference to Ahuramazda it is stated in the Bundahis, i. 4 (*S.B.E.* v. 4), "Aûharmazd and the region, religion and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be."

[**καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων κτλ.**]

Although I have without hesitation bracketed these words as an early interpolation, we must consider the explanations of those who have accepted them as from the hand of our Seer, and also deal briefly with the probable origin of this conception.

1. First of all we have the interpretation—more or less of Victorinus, Primasius, Apringius, Beatus among the earlier commentators, and in modern times Alford and Swete—which regards the seven spirits here as the sevenfold energies of God or of the Holy Spirit. In support of this view Swete quotes Heb. ii. 4, *πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς*: 1 Cor. xii. 10, *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων*: xiv. 32, *πνεύματα προφητῶν*: Apoc. xxii. 6, *ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν*. "Here the 'spirits' are seven, because the Churches in which they operate are seven" (Swete). This reason is less convincing than that adduced by other supporters of this view, who trace the conception of the seven spirits to an erroneous though not unnatural interpretation of Isa. xi. 2, 3, whereby the six spiritual endowments that are to be given to the Messiah were transformed into seven: cf. 1 Enoch lxi. 11; Targ. Jon. on this passage; also the LXX; Justin, *Dial.* 87, *ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα θεοῦ, πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως, πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος, πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ ἐμπλήσει αὐτὸν πνεῦμα φόβου θεοῦ*: also 39; *Cohort. ad Gentiles*, 32, *οἱ ἱεροὶ προφῆται τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα εἰς ἑπτὰ πνεύματα μερίζεσθαί φασιν.*

But that we have here to deal, not with impersonal energies but with concrete beings, may be inferred from iii. 1 of our text, where the seven spirits and the seven stars are regarded as parallel conceptions. Further, the scribe who interpolated 4^{c} between 4^{b} and 5^{a} manifestly regarded these seven spirits as much concrete beings as God and Jesus Christ. Hence the seven spirits here cannot be interpreted either as abstractions or impersonal energies.

2. The seven spirits are to be identified with the seven archangels. Judaism was familiar with seven archangels: cf. Ezek. ix. 2; Tob. xii. 15; 1 Enoch xx. 7, xc. 21 ("the seven first white ones"); T. Levi viii. 2. This number, it is said (cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 294–302; Zimmern, in Schrader's *K.A.T.*^{3} ii. 620–626; Bousset, *Offenbarung*, 184–187, 291 sq.), presupposes a religion of which the worship of seven gods was a characteristic. Now we find such a religion in the Zend with its seven Amshaspands (*S.B.E.* v. 10 *n.*; xxiii. 291; xxxi. Introd. pp. xviii, xxiv, 77, 179 sq.), which in their turn were derived from the Babylonish cult of the seven

star deities.[1] The existence of these astral divinities Judaism did not question any more than in earlier times it questioned the existence of the tribal deities of the nations that surrounded Israel, but in the interests of Monotheism, Judaism degraded these foreign deities into angels—subject beings in the service of Yahweh. In due time the source of these conceptions was wholly forgotten as well as the historical development involved. Like his contemporaries, the Seer accepted the traditional Jewish formula,—God and the seven spirits,—and to this formula appended the specifically Christian element. Thus according to Bousset originated one of the most extraordinary Trinities in Christianity: cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 6, quoted on xxii. 9. As furnishing parallel trinities, Luke ix. 26, 1 Tim. v. 21 have been adduced. But in neither passage is there any ground for such a view. It might as reasonably be contended that every time God and the angels were mentioned together a duality of the Godhead was involved.

Now, if we identify "the seven spirits" and the seven archangels, it is inconceivable that the Seer, who issued so emphatic a polemic against angel worship, could have inserted such a clause as 4^c between 4^b and 5^a.

3. The seven spirits and the seven archangels are not identical in the mind of the Seer, according to Bousset (on viii. 2) and others. Whether this is so or not does not affect the question of the originality of 4^c. For whatever be the dignity possessed by the seven spirits, they were after all merely created beings in the opinion of the Seer, and could not therefore be put by him on a level with God and Jesus Christ or represented as fitting objects for man's worship.

But, though 4^c is due to the hand of an interpolator, the phrase τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα in iii. 1, ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας, is a redactional addition of our Seer. It is therefore our task to define, if possible, the nature of these spirits. Now the conjunction of the πνεύματα and the ἀστέρες in iii. 1 suggests that they are to some extent kindred conceptions. But this does not take us far, unless we can gain some definite idea of the meaning of both ἀστέρες and πνεύματα in our author. Happily this we can do in part. First, in i. 20 the ἑπτὰ ἀστέρες are definitely stated to be the ἄγγελοι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησιῶν, and

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[1] Jewish tradition seemingly testifies to a certain connection between the great golden candlestick with seven arms and the seven planets: cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 6. 7; *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 5, ἐνέφαινον δ' οἱ μὲν ἑπτὰ λύχνοι τοὺς πλανήτας: Philo, *Quis rerum divin. haeres* (ed. Cohn), 221 sq., τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανήτων χορείας μίμημά ἐστιν ἡ ἱερὰ λυχνία καὶ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἑπτὰ λύχνοι. Josephus states also that the twelve loaves of the shewbread pointed to the twelve signs of the zodiac: *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 5. Possibly these are merely after-thoughts of both Josephus and Philo.

Christ is said to hold these ἀστέρες, *i.e.* ἄγγελοι, in His right hand in i. 16: that is, to have supreme authority over them. Hence in iii. 1 the seven πνεύματα of God and the seven ἄγγελοι of the Churches are conjoined, as apparently kindred conceptions. We might here for a moment turn aside to observe that in 2 Enoch xxx. 14 angels are spoken of as stars, in 1 Enoch xli. 5, 7 the stars have a conscious existence, and hence are capable of disobedience, xviii. 13–16, xxi. 1–6, while in lxxxvi. 1, 3 stars are used to symbolize angels.

So much for the ἀστέρες. Now as to πνεύματα. Over these also Christ has supreme authority, iii. 1. In v. 6 these πνεύματα are identified with the seven eyes which are sent forth unto all the earth, and in iv. 5 with the seven fiery lamps that burn before the throne of God. In the former passage they are obviously conceived as having a personal existence. As the servants of the Lamb they are described as His eyes. That the lamps and the eyes are identical is clear from our text and from Zech. iv. 10 where, in the vision which our Seer has in view, it is said "these seven (lamps) are the eyes of the Lord, they run to and fro through the whole earth."

From the above examination it may be concluded that the πνεύματα are angelic beings. In Jub. ii. 2 the chief orders of spirits are called angels: cf. Heb. i. 7, 14. Whether these seven spirits are to be identified with the seven archangels cannot be inferred with certainty, but this identification may be regarded as highly probable; since thereby Christ's sovereignty is asserted over the highest order of the angels, as it is elsewhere declared by the Seer to be paramount over all creation.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. Cf. iv. 5, 6, 10, vii. 9, etc.

5. ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Since 4^c is an interpolation, the grace and peace proceed from God and Christ as in the Pauline Epistles. In 2 John 3 we find παρά instead of ἀπό in a like context. This is the last passage where the title Ἰησοῦς Χριστός occurs. From this onward Ἰησοῦς stands alone save in xxii. 20, 21, where we have κύριος Ἰησοῦς.

ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός. Cf. iii. 14; also ii. 13. This anomaly, which recurs not infrequently—cf. ii. 13, 20, iii. 12, ix. 14, xiv. 12, 14, xx. 2, is best explained as a Hebraism. Since the Hebrew noun in the indirect cases is not inflected, the Seer acts at times as if the Greek were similarly uninflected, and simply places, as in the present instance, the nominative in apposition to the genitive; *i.e.* ὁ μάρτυς in apposition to Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. We have here a frequent solecism in our author. While it is found occasionally in the LXX, as might be expected in a translation from Semitic (cf. Ezek. xxiii. 12; Zeph. i. 12), it is here almost a characteristic construction; cf. ii. 13, 20, iii. 12,

vii. 4, viii. 9, ix. 14, xiv. 12, 14, xx. 2. The participle is also put in the nominative when the normal construction would be the gen. or acc. Cf. ii. 20, iii. 12.

μάρτυς appears only here and in iii. 14 in the N.T. in reference to Christ. Christ is here conceived not in a limited sense in reference to His earthly life or the present Apocalypse, but as the true witness of every divine revelation (so Düsterdieck, Bousset, and others). Cf. John xviii. 37, *εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἵνα μαρτυρήσω τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*. The phrase *ὁ μάρτος ὁ πιστός*, when taken in connection with the words that follow, *ὁ πρωτότοκος . . . τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*, furnishes strong evidence that our author had Ps. lxxxix. in his mind; for the former phrase is found in 38, where the moon is said to be עֵד בַּשַּׁחַק נֶאֱמָן (LXX, *ὁ μάρτυς*[1] *ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός*), and the latter in 28,

> *κἀγὼ προτότοκον* (בְּכוֹר) *θήσομαὶ αὐτόν,*
> *ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τῆς γῆς.*

Here our author appears to have had the LXX before him. This passage is given a Messianic reference by R. Nathan in Shem. rab. 19, fol. 118^4. As I made Jacob a firstborn, so also will I make King Messiah a firstborn (Ps. lxxxix. 28). Thus "the firstborn" became a Messianic title (see Lightfoot, *Col.* i. 15).

ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν. See preceding note on Ps. lxxxix. 28. In Col. i. 18 we have *ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, and in 1 Cor. xv. 20, *ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων*. In these Pauline passages Christ's resurrection is undoubtedly referred to, which carries with it His claim to headship of the Church, as in Col. i. 15 *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* implies His claim to headship over all creation by virtue of His primogeniture. But the sense of being first in point of time appears in certain passages to be displaced wholly by the secondary idea of Sovereignty. Thus in Heb. xii. 23 the phrase *ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων* emphasizes wholly this latter idea. Even God Himself was called בכורו של עולם (= *πρωτότοκος τοῦ κόσμου*). (See Lightfoot on Col. i. 15.) Our present context appears to require the secondary meaning of *πρωτότοκος*, and accordingly Christ is here said to be "the true witness of God, the *sovereign* of the dead, the ruler of the living" (*i.e.* the kings of the earth and their subjects). See note on iii. 14.

ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς. Cf. Ps. lxxxix. 28; also Isa. lv. 4.

5^c–6. We have here the second of the three stanzas which compose 4^b–7. The second line is to be taken as forming a perfect parallelism with the first; for in the *τῷ ἀγαπῶντι . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν* we have a pure Hebraism, in which the participle of the first line is resolved into a finite verb in the second. This second line is therefore no parenthesis, nor from the standpoint of the Seer is there the slightest irregularity in the construction. He is simply reproducing a common Hebrew idiom literally in Greek. The A.V., the Syriac and Latin versions are here, therefore, right, and the R.V. is wrong—wrong as a translation and bad as a piece of English. Hence we are to translate, "To Him that loveth us . . . and hath made us." This Hebrew idiom recurs frequently in our author (i. 18, ii. 2, 9, 20, iii. 9, vii. 14 (see note), xiv. 2–3, xv. 3), and in none of the instances has it been recognized as such by any commentator. This Hebrew idiom has become so naturalized in our author's style that I cannot but regard the *οἵτινες* in xx. 4, *τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν*, as an addition by John's literary executor in order to make the text better Greek. John's words were most probably *τ. πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησαν.* In i. 18 the failure to recognize this idiom has led most scholars to mispunctuate the text, and the rest, like Wellhausen and Haussleiter, to excise *ὁ ζῶν.* The *ἐγώ εἰμι . . . ὁ ζῶν* is to be taken closely with *καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός* (cf. Amos vi. 3 for this Hebrew construction) = I am . . . He that liveth and was dead." Hence the first two lines =

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[1] In Ps. lv. 4, David is given as a witness (עֵד) to the nations.

אֲנִי הָרִאשׁוֹן וְהָאַחֲרוֹן
וְהַחַי וָאֱהִי מֵת

τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι. As Swete well remarks, the two participles bring out "the contrast between the abiding *ἀγάπη* and the completed act of redemption."

λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ κτλ. This is by far the best attested reading. With the idea in *λύσαντι* we might compare the somewhat kindred *ἀγοράζειν* in v. 9; the Pauline *ἐξαγοράζειν*, Gal. iii. 13, iv. 5; *ἀπολύτρωσις*, Rom. iii. 24, viii. 23; 1 Cor. i. 30; Eph. i. 7, iv. 30; Col. i. 14. The weakly attested reading *λούσαντι . . . ἀπό* is not really supported by vii. 14, *ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν . . . ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου*, and xxii. 14, though these passages have been brought forward in favour of it. For, whereas these two passages express man's own action in the working out his own salvation, the *λούσαντι . . . ἀπό* denotes God's part in man's salvation, *i.e.* his deliverance from sin by Christ. At the same time it is to be observed that this metaphor is a familiar one in the N.T. in this connection: cf. 1 Cor. vi. 11; Eph. v. 26; Tit. iii. 5; Heb. x. 22.

Swete aptly compares Plato, *Crat.* 405 B, where the two verbs are brought together in a similar connection, *οὐκοῦν ὁ καθαίρων θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀπολύων τε καὶ ἀπολούων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν αἴτιος ἂν εἴη:*

WH explain the corruption of *λύσαντι* into *λούσαντι* as "due to failure to understand the Hebraic use of *ἐν* to denote a price . . . and a natural misapplication of vii. 14."

ἐν τῷ αἵματι. Here as in v. 9 *ἐν* denotes the price by means of which a thing is bought: cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 24.

6. καὶ ἐποίησεν. As we have shown in the note on 5^c–6 above, this is a Hebraism for *καὶ ποιήσαντι*. Christ not only delivers men from sin—the negative side—but also makes them a kingdom and priests.

βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς. These words go back to Ex. xix. 6, מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים. This the LXX renders *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα* (see 1 Pet. ii. 9); Aquila, *βασιλεία ἱερέων*: Symmachus and Theodotion, *βασιλεία ἱερεῖς*. The last rendering is that of our text and presupposes ממלכה כהנים. This last reading is in part supported by Jub. xvi. 18, which gives "a kingdom and priests"; so also the Syriac version of Ex. xix. 6. With this last we may compare the Jer. Targ. on Ex. xix. 6, "kings . . . and . . . priests," and Onkelos, "kings, priests." It is clear that our text presupposes the same text as Symmachus and Theodotion.

Our text then means that Christ has made us a kingdom, each member of which is a priest unto God. The kingship here involved was to be an everlasting possession (xxii. 5). Of the like duration of the priesthood nothing is said in the closing chapters. As respects the priesthood, the privileges of ancient Israel have passed over to the Christian Church. Even to pre-Christian Judaism it was foretold that all true Israelites would become in a certain sense priests—priests as compared with the nations that served them. "And strangers shall feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen . . . but ye shall be named the priests of the Lord: men shall call you the ministers of our God" (Isa. lxi. 5–6). But that this general priesthood of Israel as regards the heathen nations was not to supersede the special ministries of priests and Levites in the redeemed Israel is clear from lxvi. 21: "And of them will I take for priests for Levites, saith the Lord." But in the spiritual kingdom of Christ no such distinction is recognized: all the faithful are already kings and priests to God (i. 6). On the other hand, when the Messianic kingdom is established the glorified martyrs will in a special sense be kings and priests; for in that kingdom the priesthood and kingship of the glorified martyrs will come into actual manifestation relatively to the heathen nations, who will then be evangelized by them (xx. 6). *ἔσονται ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ χίλια ἔτη.* But this special and limited priesthood and kingship belong only to the Messianic kingdom. It should be observed in this connection that, although all the faithful were to become kings and priests, it is never implied that they should likewise become prophets. The prophetic office may have been conceived by our author in a limited sense and as bestowed on a limited class of men for a special purpose. When this purpose was once achieved, the prophetic gift may in his view be no longer necessary.

After the final judgment the limited kingship and priesthood of *the martyrs* will be succeeded by an eternal kingship of *all the faithful*: xxii. 5, *βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων.* But the special priestly office will no more exist; and so far as the priestly blessing is given, it will be given by God Himself: xxii. 5, *κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς* (see note *in loc.*).

τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. The *αὐτοῦ* is to be taken with *τῷ θεῷ* as well as with *πατρί.*

αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, *i.e.* **τῷ ἀγαπῶντι κτλ.** Similar doxologies addressed to Christ are to be found in v. 13, vii. 10, 2 Pet. iii. 18, and most probably in 2 Tim. iv. 18, Heb. xiii. 21, and possibly in 1 Pet. iv. 11. In 4 Macc. xviii. 24 we have a good parallel in diction, as *ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*: in the Didache viii. 2, x. 5, *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, at the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer—the doxology in Matt. vi. 13 not being original, but adopted, according to Hort, into some forms of the text through liturgical use in Syria as early as the 2nd century. 1 Chron. xxix. 11, "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness and the power and the glory," appears to be the original source of most of the doxologies of later times. See Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, 168 sqq.

7–8. The prophet's thought is carried forward to the Second Advent of Christ in glory (7). It must be confessed that 8 has no obvious links with what precedes or follows.

7. Here again we have a stanza of three lines—which are a reminiscence and an adaptation of Dan. vii. 13 and Zech. xii. 10. In both cases, as we shall see, the text presupposed by our author is mainly that presupposed by Theodotion's version; but their combination here is best explained as due to our author's acquaintance with the Jewish Christian Apocalypse, which has been worked into the text of Matt. xxiv. (= Mark xiii. = Luke xxi.), and which in Matt. xxiv. 30 represents this combination as already achieved (see below). But not only does our text agree in combining Zech. xii. 10 and Dan. vii. 13, but also in transforming the original meaning of Zech. xii. 10. Thus, whereas in the O.T. text we have "they shall mourn for him," in Matt. xxiv. 30 and in our text "the tribes of the earth shall mourn (for themselves) because of Him" (*ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν* omitted in Matt.).

The fulfilment of this prophecy of the visible and victorious return of Christ with a view to judgment is dealt with in the vision of the Seer in xiv. 14, 18–20, in xix. 11–21, and most probably in xx. 7–10.

ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν. Cf. Dan. vii. 13, וַאֲרוּ עִם־עֲנָנֵי שְׁמַיָּא כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ אָתֵא הֲוָא. Here Theodotion renders *καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ* (LXX, *ἐπί* = על: cf. xiv. 14 sqq.; Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64; Didache xvi. 8 (*ἐπάνω*), Justin, *Apol.* i. 51 sq. (*ἐπάνω*); *ἐν* = עִם, Mark xiii. 26; Luke xxi. 27: cf. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, 242). But the *ἐπί* in xiv. 14 of our text is due to our author's use of *καθήμενον* in this connection) *τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος* (LXX, *ἤρχετο*). Cf. Mark xiv. 62, *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*: 4 Ezra xiii. 3. It does not necessarily follow from the above that our author used an early translation similar in character to that of the later Theodotion, but that the Semitic text he followed was such as that followed by Theodotion.

ἔρχεται. The idea of the impending Advent is resumed in iii. 11, xiv. 7, xvi. 15, xxii. 7, 12, 20.

ὄψεται αὐτὸν . . . καὶ ἐξεκέντησαν . . . καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. These words, with the exception of the last four, are based on Zech. xii. 10 and agree for the most part with the versions of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus against the LXX. The LXX reads *καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο* (= רקדו) *καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτόν.* Theod. and Aquila, *καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ, εἰς ὃν* (*σὺν ᾧ*, Aquila) *ἐξεκέντησαν καὶ κόψονται αὐτόν.* Symmachus, *ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεξεκέντησαν κτλ.* Here the three latter translators support the Massoretic דקרו by *ἐξεκέντησαν.* It is a question whether our author used an early Greek version—the parent of Theodotion's and others—or whether he translated directly from the Hebrew. The evidence on the whole is in favour of his translating directly from the Hebrew. His use of *ἐξεκέντησαν*[1] marks his independence of the LXX; and the fact that *ἐκκεντεῖν* is the stock rendering in the versions of דקר, shows that our author's use of this verb cannot be advanced as evidence for his dependence on any Greek translation here. Whilst there is thus no trustworthy evidence of his dependence, there is some evidence of his independence of all the versions. This we find in *ὄψεται αὐτόν*, where the versions have *ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ.* Our author, it is true, does not use *ἐπιβλέπειν*, but he uses *βλέπειν* frequently in the sense required here. Moreover, the last words, *πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς* (found also in Matt. xxiv. 30), are a free adaptation of the Hebrew in Zech. xii. 12, where the LXX gives the literal rendering, *ἡ γῆ κατὰ φυλὰς φυλάς.*

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[1] In Justin, *Apol.* i. 52, we find, *κόψονται φυλὴ πρὸς φυλήν, καὶ τότε ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*: *Dial.* 14, 32; 64, *ἐπιγνώσεσθε εἰς ὃν ἐξεκεντήσατε*: 126. The reference in all these passages is eschatological.

It is noteworthy that in John xix. 37, the passage in Zechariah is rendered in a way closely akin to that in our text ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν. But, whereas our author applies the prophecy to the whole world, the Fourth Gospel limits to the four soldiers "the looking" to Him whom they had pierced. Abbott (*Johannine Gram.*, p. 247) writes: "They look to Him now in amazement; they will look to Him for forgiveness and salvation." In the Gospel the main reference is to the crucifixion: whereas in our author it is eschatological.

In Matt. xxiv. 30 we have an analogous combination of the passages in Daniel and Zechariah to that in our text, *καὶ τότε φανήσενται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν.* Here, as in our text, the reference is eschatological. Swete writes that both Gospel and Apocalypse "were indebted . . . perhaps to some collection of prophetic testimonies." This is a good suggestion, but the explanation is, I believe, to be found elsewhere. A large body of scholars are agreed that in Matt. xxiv. (as in the parallel chapters in Mark and Luke) there are two distinct apocalypses worked together. One of these is from our Lord, xxiv. 4–5, 9–14, 23–25, 32 sqq., while the other is a later Jewish Christian Apocalypse consisting of xxiv. 6–8, 15–22, 29–31, 34, 35 (see my *Eschatology*², 379–385). Now the close parallelism of our text, i. 7 and Matt. xxiv. 30 (observe use of ὄψεσθαι in both, as well as the phrase πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς—unique as regards the N.T. and the LXX), presupposes some real connection; and since the Jewish Apocalypse just referred to was written before 70 A.D., it is reasonable to conclude that the indebtedness lies on the side of our author, and that Matt. xxiv. 30 first suggested to him the combination of Zech. and Daniel, though the diction is mainly his own, and due to his independent translation of the O.T. passages; for he keeps more closely to Daniel and Zechariah and reproduces their text more fully.

ναί, ἀμήν. We have here the Greek and Hebrew forms of affirmation side by side—a fact which would tempt us to take them as synonymous, as in ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ in Mark xiv. 36. But this does not appear to be so here. And yet it is hard to bring out the distinction. In our author ἀμήν is used (*a*) at the close of one's own doxology or prayer: i. 6, vii. 12 (*ad fin.*). (*b*) It is used for the purpose of adopting as one's own what has just been said: v. 14, vii. 12 (*ad init.*), xix. 4, xxii. 20. (*c*) It is used at the close of a solemn affirmation: i. 7 (*ναί, ἀμήν*). (*d*) It is used as a designation of Christ: iii. 14, ὁ Ἀμήν. Here Christ is represented as the personalized divine Amen, the guarantor in person of the truth declared by Him. Cf. Isa. lxv. 16, אלהי אָמֵן,

"God of the Amen," which, however, is by the best critics emended into אלהי אמֵן = "God of truth."

The meaning of *ναί* in this context is difficult to determine. It occurs four times in all. In xxii. 20 it denotes a divine promise, where the *ἀμήν* expresses the trustful acceptance of this promise (cf. 2 Cor. i. 20). In xiv. 13, xvi. 7, it is used to confirm what has just been said of the heavenly voice. But in xiv. 13 it could be taken as the affirmation of a promise by the Spirit: "Yea—in that they shall rest," etc.

If xiv. 13 is to be taken as just suggested, then, since xvi. 7 is not from our author's hand, it would follow that in our author *ναί* "expresses," as Hort says, "affirmation or reaffirmation divine or human," and that they are here purposely combined to express the same ideas as in xxii. 20, "It is so, amen."

8. The Speaker is God.

τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὦ. This is a natural symbol for the first and last of all things. It was known among the Romans: cf. Martial, v. 26. Among the later Jews the whole extent of a thing was often denoted by the first and last letters of the alphabet, את. Thus (Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb. in loc.*) Adam transgressed the whole law from aleph to tau (*Jalkut Rub.* f. 17⁴); Abraham observed the whole law from aleph to tau (f. 48⁴); when God blesses Israel, He does it from aleph to tau (f. 128³). It represented the entirety of things, and thus could fitly express the Shekinah, Schoettgen, i. 1086. Hence it is not improbable that "Alpha and Omega" is a Greek rendering of a corresponding Hebrew expression. The thought conveyed by this title is essentially that of Isa. xliv. 6: *θεὸς Σαβαώθ· ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα* (יהוה צְבָאוֹת אֲנִי רִאשׁוֹן וַאֲנִי אַחֲרוֹן: cf. xli. 4, xliii. 10).

κύριος ὁ θεός . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ (= יהוה אלהי צבאות, Hos. xii. 6; Amos ix. 5). A favourite title in our author: cf. iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3 [xvi. 7], xix. 6, xxi. 22. In iv. 8 (cf. xi. 17) we have the entire passage, *κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ὁ παντοκράτωρ*, save that the *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* precedes the *ὁ ὤν*. *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* is not found in the N.T. outside our author save in 2 Cor. vi. 18 in a quotation.

ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν κτλ. See note on i. 4.

9–20. JOHN'S CALL AND COMMISSION. HIS VISION OF THE SON OF MAN—RISEN AND GLORIFIED.

9. Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης. Cf. xxii. 8; Dan. vii. 15, 28, viii. 1, ix. 2 (*ἐγὼ Δανιήλ*); 4 Ezra iii. 1; 1 Enoch xii. 3, etc. The insertion of the name is required after 8.

ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ συνκοινωνὸς ἐν. The absence of the article before the second noun shows that the two nouns are to be taken closely together. Cf. vi. 11, οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτέννεσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί: xii. 10. Here, as in its pagan use, ἀδελφός means a fellow-member in the same religious society. With ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν cf. 2 Pet. iii. 15, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Παῦλος. With συνκοινωνός cf. συνκοινωνεῖν in xviii. 4; and for ἐν after κοινωνός cf. Matt. xxiii. 30. Fellowship in suffering naturally was an essential mark of early Christianity. Cf. 2 Cor. i. 7, κοινωνοί ἐστε τῶν παθημάτων: Phil. iii. 10, κοινωνίαν τῶν παθημάτων: iv. 14, συνκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει.

ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ ἐν Ἰησοῦ. The θλίψις here is the tribulation of the last time: cf. vii. 14, τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης. It is the same as the τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς μελλούσης ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης in iii. 10. This last great tribulation necessarily precedes the Millennial Kingdom—hence καὶ βασιλείᾳ: but to have part in the kingdom faithful endurance throughout the tribulation is necessary—hence καὶ ὑπομονῇ: cf. ii. 2, 3, 19, iii. 10, xiii. 10, xiv. 12. ὑπομονή being the spiritual alchemy, which transmutes those who share in the θλίψις into members of the βασιλεία, can only achieve its end in fellowship with Jesus (ἐν Ἰησοῦ)—a Pauline conception which recurs in xiv. 13, but is set forth under another figure in iii. 20, ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ ἀνοίξῃ τὴν θύραν, εἰσελεύσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δειπνήσω μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ. It is a question whether ἐν Ἰησοῦ should be connected with all three nouns or with ὑπομονή only. Probably the latter is best: cf. 2 Thess. iii. 5, τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, though the idea here is somewhat different.

ἐγενόμην ἐν = "I found myself in." We might conclude from this clause that when he wrote he was no longer in Patmos. Patmos was one of the Sporades, a barren rocky island about ten miles long and five wide. It is first mentioned by Thucydides, iii. 33, and later by Strabo, x. 5. 13, and Pliny, *H.N.* iv. 12. 23, the last of whom states that it was used as a penal settlement by the Romans, as were other islands, *i.e.* Pontia, off the coast of Latium, to which Domitian banished Flavia Domitilla (Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 18. 5), and Gyara and Seriphus in the Aegean (see *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 3603).

διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. These words define the ground for his presence in Patmos, *i.e.* his preaching of the Gospel and his loyalty to it in a time of tribulation. The phrase τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ τ. μαρτυρίαν Ἰ. here give the contents of his preaching, whereas in 2 they describe the Apocalypse itself: cf. ὅσα εἶδεν. It has been urged by many scholars that

John had gone to Patmos for the purpose of receiving this revelation, *i.e.* that mentioned in 2. But this interpretation appears to be inadmissible on several grounds. 1. In our author *διά* never means "for the sake of" (= *ἕνεκα*) receiving the word of God, etc., but "because of," "in consequence of" the word of God which he had preached. In other words, *διά* denotes the ground and not the purpose in this Book: cf. ii. 3, iv. 11, vi. 9, vii. 15, xii. 11, 12, xiii. 14, etc. 2. In two passages our author speaks of death by persecution in connection with these very phrases, *i.e.* vi. 9, *ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τ. μαρτυρίαν*, and again in xx. 4. These passages in themselves indicate the interpretation to be adopted in the present passage. 3. The fact that our author has just described himself as *συνκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει . . . καὶ ὑπομονῇ* suggests that he has in a special—and not in any ordinary—manner suffered for the faith. If he suffered no more than the average Christian, it is not in keeping with his reticence as to himself that he should lay emphasis on what after all was the common lot of the faithful. 4. An early tradition, in itself not uniform nor quite credible in its details, testifies to the banishment of John to Patmos. Cf. Tert. *De Praescript.* 36, "Apostolus Ioannes . . . in insulam relegatur"; Clem. Alex. *Quis dives*, 42, *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον*: Origen, *In Matt.* t. xvi. 6, *ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον.* If we combine this tradition with the fact cited above that Patmos was a penal settlement (Pliny, *H.N.* iv. 12. 23), as well as 1, 2, and 3, the evidence for John's exile is adequate. There is no just ground for the suggestion that the tradition arose as an elaboration of the present passage.

10. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. Not merely "I was in," but "I fell into." These words denote the ecstatic condition into which the Seer has fallen, just as *ἐν ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος* (Acts xii. 11) describe the return to the normal condition. We have equivalent phrases in Acts xi. 5, *εἶδον ἐν ἐκστάσει*, and xxii. 17, *γενέσθαι με ἐν ἐκστάσει.* Apart from extraordinary ecstatic experiences, all Christians could be said to be *εἶναι ἐν πνεύματι* (Rom. viii. 9) as opposed to the faithless, who were *ἐν σαρκί.*

In this passage, then, *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* denotes nothing more than that the Seer fell into a trance. It was not until he was in this trance that Christ addressed him. But in iv. 2 (see note), where this phrase recurs, if the text is right, it must mean something more, since the Seer is already in a trance.

ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ. This is the first place in Christian literature where the Lord's Day is mentioned. Some scholars have proposed to take this phrase as meaning "in the day of the Lord," *i.e.* "the day of Yahweh," the day of judgment—in the LXX, ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου, and elsewhere in our text, ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη, vi. 17, xvi. 14. It is sufficient to mention this interpretation and pass on to the generally accepted and, in the opinion of the present writer, the right interpretation, which takes these words to mean "on the Lord's day," *i.e.* the day consecrated to the Lord. We might compare an analogous phrase in 1 Cor. xi. 20, οὐκ ἔστιν κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν. In the 2nd cent. we have the following undisputed testimonies to the use of this phrase for Sunday: Didache xiv. 1, κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον: Evang. Petri, 35, ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή: *ib.* 50, ὄρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς: Ignatius, *Ad Magn.* ix. 1, μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν: Melito of Sardis—the title of one of his writings, περὶ κυριακῆς, preserved in Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 26. 2. Here "Lord's Day" has become a technical designation of Sunday. Since all these writings emanate from Asia Minor, the term may first have arisen there, but that it was in general use before the close of the 2nd cent. may be inferred from the statement of Dionysius of Corinth in Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 23. 11, τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 12; Tert. *De Cor.* iii., "Die dominico jejunium nefas ducimus," etc.

The reason given by the early Christians for naming the first day of the week "the Lord's Day," was that it was the day of His resurrection. But how it came to be celebrated weekly and not only yearly seems to be first explained by Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, 218 sq.; *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 2815 sq.). It appears that the first day of each month was called "Emperor's Day" (Σεβαστή) in Asia Minor and Egypt before the Christian era, Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, I. ii. 714; nay more, according to two inscriptions from Ephesus and Kabala—to which might be added an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*circ.* 100 A.D.)—it is inferred by Buresch (*Aus Lydien*, 1898, pp. 49–50) and Deissmann that Σεβαστή was a day of the week. If these conclusions are valid we can understand how naturally the term "Lord's Day" arose; for just as the first day of each month, or a certain day of each week, was called "Emperor's Day," so it would be natural for Christians to name the *first day* of each week, associated as it was with the Lord's resurrection and the custom of Christians to meet together for worship on it, as "Lord's Day." It may have first arisen in apocalyptic circles when a hostile attitude to the Empire was adopted by Christianity.

ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ὄπισθέν μου. Our author has probably Ezek. iii. 12 in his mind, καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα, καὶ ἤκουσα κατόπισθέν μου φωνὴν σεισμοῦ μεγάλου. Wetstein quotes a good parallel from Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 54 C, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ φωνὴν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ . . . ὡς δὲ μεταστραφέντος οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ὁ φθεγξάμενος ἦν, θεῖον ἡγησάμενον.

φωνὴν μεγάλην . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος. Cf. iv. 1 note. The voice is loud and clear as a trumpet blast. It appears to be that of the Son of Man (so Alcasar, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Bousset), who bids the Seer ὃ βλέπεις γράψον εἰς βιβλίον (11), and at the close of this theophany repeats the command in 19, γράψον οὖν ἃ εἶδες. This is the natural interpretation. Düsterdieck and Alford take the voice to be that of an unnamed angel.

ὡς σάλπιγγος. In ὡς we have to deal with the most difficult particle in all our author's vocabulary. See the Additional Note at the close of this chapter on ὡς and ὅμοιος.

λεγούσης. We should expect λέγουσαν. But this is no oversight of our author; for the same construction recurs in iv. 1, ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλούσης, when we should expect λαλοῦσα.

This connection of the participle with the dependent genitive instead of with the governing nouns we find also in vi. 7, ἤκουσα φωνὴν τ. τετάρτου ζῴου λέγοντος, though here this construction is very intelligible.

11–16. These verses appear to be composed of four stanzas, the first three of four lines each and the fourth of three.

11. βλέπεις. Our author, like most of the N.T. writers (including Johannine Gospel and Epistles), uses βλέπειν and not ὁρᾶν in the present tense, except in the case of ὅρα in the imperative = "beware." For the future of βλέπειν he uses ὄψεσθαι, and for the passive aorist ὀφθῆναι.

γράψον εἰς. For other constructions with ἐν and ἐπί see i. 3, ii. 17, iii. 12, xiv. 1, xvii. 5, etc. The Seer is repeatedly bidden to write down his visions, except in the case of the Seven Thunders.

ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις. According to Ramsay (*Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 191), "the Seven groups of Churches, into which the province had been divided before the Apocalypse was composed, were seven postal districts, each having as its centre or point of origin one of the Seven Cities, which (as was pointed out) lie on a route which forms a sort of inner circle round the Province." Ramsay's reason for these Seven Churches—including two comparatively small towns, Thyatira and Philadelphia, and excluding the well-known cities of Colossae, Hierapolis, Troas, Tralles, etc.—being chosen and none others, is (*op. cit.* p. 183) that "all the Seven Cities stand on the great circular road that bound together the most populous, wealthy, and influential part of the Province, the west-central region." If delivered at these Seven Cities, the Apocalypse would easily spread throughout the rest of the Province; for "they were the best points on that circuit to serve as centres of communication with seven districts: Pergamum for the north (Troas, doubtless Adramyttium, and probably Cyzicus and other cities on the coast contained Churches); Thyatira for an inland district on the north-east and east; Sardis for the wide middle valley of the Hermus; Philadelphia for Upper Lydia, to which it was the door (iii. 8); Laodicea for the Lycus Valley and for central Phrygia, of which it was the Christian metropolis in later time; Ephesus for the Cayster and Lower Maeander Valleys and coasts; Smyrna for the Lower Hermus Valley and the North Ionian coasts" (p. 191 sq.). This is an attractive hypothesis. The fact, however, that seven, and just seven, were chosen, is determined apparently by the sacredness of this number in the eyes of our author. This fact, however, does not exclude the possibility that the Seven Churches in our author were selected on the ground of their fitness as desirable centres of publication. To each of these centres the roll would be carried in turn and then copied. Smyrna lay 40 miles north of Ephesus, Pergamum 40 north of Smyrna, Thyatira 45 S.E. of Pergamum, Sardis 30 nearly due S. of Thyatira, Philadelphia 30 E.S.E. of Sardis, and Laodicea 40 S.E. of Philadelphia (see map in Ramsay).

12. βλέπειν τὴν φωνήν. Cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 106, *κτύπον δέδορκα.* The voice is here used for the person from whom it comes.

ἥτις ἐλάλει μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ. The *ἥτις* here represents an indirect question, and accordingly the construction is classical. On *ἐλάλει μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ*, see note on iv. 1.

12^b. ἑπτὰ λυχνίας χρυσᾶς. On the position of *ἑπτά* as contrasted with its position in 16, see note on viii. 2. These seven lampstands recall Zech. iv. 2, where, however, only one lampstand appears with seven lamps, which, as the LXX and Vulg. rightly testify, were each fed by a pipe from one common reservoir of oil. In Ex. xxv. 31 sqq. there is a description of a seven-branched candlestick (*λυχνία* = מְנֹרָה), which was said to stand outside the second veil of the Tabernacle. The candlestick or lampstand carried seven lamps (*λύχνοι* = נֵרוֹת). In our text the lampstands are separate. Their function is to embody and give forth the light of God on earth. Should the lamps fail to do so, their lampstand is removed (ii. 5).

Various scholars (Gunkel, *Chaos*, 294 sqq.; Zimmern, *K.A.T.*^{3} 624 sqq.) have drawn attention to the original connection between the seven-armed candlestick and the seven planets, and quoted the passages from Josephus and Philo (see note on p. 12) to this effect. But of this our Seer was probably wholly unconscious.

13–18. If the student studies the titles of the Son of Man in these verses, he will see that they recur at the beginning of six of the letters, but not in that to the Church of Laodicea.

Thus it seems to have been the intention of our author to connect each of the Seven Letters with a special title. But this intention was carried out only partially and in a superficial manner in this preliminary sketch of his work. For, as already observed, the title at the beginning of the letter to Laodicea is not found in i. 13–18; and in the letters to Ephesus and Sardis the same title is used twice: cf. ii. 1, *ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ* (cf. i. 16^{a}), and iii. 1, *ὁ ἔχων . . . τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας.*

Again, that the titles were intended to have some connection with the letters in which they respectively appear is clear in most of the cases. Thus in the letter to the Church in Ephesus the title, *ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἑπτὰ λυχνιῶν τῶν χρυσῶν* (ii. 1), is at all events related verbally to the words of warning in ii. 5, *εἰ δὲ μή . . . κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς.* In the letter to the Church in Smyrna the title, *ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν* (ii. 8), may contain a reference to ii. 10^{d}, *γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου, καὶ δώσω σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς.* In the letter to the Church in Pergamum *ὁ ἔχων τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον* (ii. 12) is anticipatory of the words in ii. 16^{c}, *πολεμήσω μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου.* In the letter to the Church in Thyatira the title, *ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρός* (ii. 18), may be chosen with reference to the claim in ii. 23, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας.* In the case of the three remaining Churches the connection between the introductory title of Christ and the contents of the letters is obscure except in the letter to the Church in Philadelphia. In the letter to the Church in Sardis the title, *ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ* (iii. 1), may point to the need of watchfulness (iii. 2), since the seven spirits are sent forth by Christ to witness the doings of men (v. 4). In the letter to the Church in Philadelphia the title, *ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν Δαυείδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων κτλ.* (iii. 7), is introduced to justify Christ's power to fulfil His promise that He will cause the Jews after the flesh to bow down before the true spiritual Israel (iii. 9), and will make the latter pillars in the spiritual community of God (iii. 12). It is Christ that shuts out the one from this community and admits the other to it. Finally, in the letter to the Church in Laodicea the title, *ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός* (iii. 14), may have reference to the testimony given against the Laodicean Church in iii. 16–19.

The above facts show that, whereas only in the case of the Churches of Philadelphia and Thyatira is there any sort of organic connection between the divine title and the contents of the letter, in the case of the rest the connection is at the best either artificial or doubtful. Thus these titles give the impression of being an afterthought on the part of our author—inserted by him in order to link up chap. i. (whence the titles are drawn) and chaps. ii.–iii. This supposition gains confirmation from the fact that the Seven Letters were undoubtedly written before the time of Domitian, and in fact before our author had any apprehension of a world-wide persecution, whereas the rest of the Apocalypse is saturated through and through with this conviction.

13. ὅμοιον υἱόν. Cf. xiv. 14. Here, as I have shown in the Additional Note (p. 36) on ὡς and ὅμοιος, ὅμοιος is used as the equivalent of ὡς, not only in meaning but in construction.

ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. Cf. xiv. 14. The fact that the articles are absent (*i.e.* τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) is so far from being a matter of difficulty that in this context they could not be present. The Being whom the Seer sees is not "like the Son of Man," but is "the Son of Man." But the Seer can rightly describe Him as being "like a son of man." This technical phraseology in Apocalyptic means that the Being so described is not a man. Further, since Ezekiel, and particularly 1 Enoch xxxvii.–lxxi. (also lxxxiii.–xc.), used the term "man" in their *visions* to symbolize an angel, *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* would most naturally bear the same meaning in this passage. Thus *ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου* would = "like an angel." Hence the Being so described is a supernatural Being, *like* an angel and yet not an angel. Cf. 1 Enoch xlvi. 1, where the supernatural Messiah is described as a "being whose countenance was as the appearance of a man" (= כמראה אנוש). Such is the literal rendering of this latter passage. Further, there can be no doubt that long before the time of our Seer the phrase "like a Son of Man" (כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ) in Dan. vii. 13 was taken as a Messianic designation. Thus ὡς *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* in Apocalyptic is the exact equivalent of ὁ *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in the Gospels and Acts vii. 56.

ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη. Cf. Dan. x. 5, *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ εἶς ἐνδεδυμένος βύσσινα* (LXX: *βαδδείν*, Theod.), *i.e.* לָבוּשׁ בַּדִּים; Ezek. ix. 2, *εἶς ἀνήρ . . . ἐνδεδυκὼς ποδήρη* (also in 3, 11)—a rendering of the same Hebrew phrase. Since in xv. 6 we have *ἐνδεδυμένοι* † *λίθον* † . . . *καὶ περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη* used in reference to angels, there is not necessarily any reference here to the priestly character of Christ. In Ex. xxviii. 4, xxix. 5, *ποδήρης* is used as a rendering of the high priestly robe (מְעִיל). Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 4, ὁ *δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς . . . ἐπενδυσάμενος δ' ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποιημένον χιτῶνα, ποδήρης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος, μεεὶρ καλεῖται τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶσσαν, ζώνῃ περισφίγγεται*: iii. 7. 2, where the linen vestment of the priests is called *ποδήρης χιτών*. See also Wisd. xviii. 24, *ἐπὶ γὰρ ποδήρους ἐνδύματος ἦν ὅλος ὁ κόσμος*. But even if *ποδήρης* was in the mind of the Seer a rendering of מעיל, the priestly reference is still doubtful; for the מעיל was commonly used by men of high rank (cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 4, xxiv. 5, 12; Ezek. xxvi. 16, etc.). The long robe is used here simply as an Oriental mark of dignity, though it may have had originally a very different meaning and origin: cf. Gressmann, *Eschatologie*, 346 sq.

περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν. This phrase recurs in a slightly different form in xv. 6. Both this and the preceding phrase were suggested by Dan. x. 5, ἐνδεδυμένος βαδδείν, καὶ ἡ ὀσφὺς αὐτοῦ περιεζωσμένη ἐν χρυσίῳ Ὠφάζ, where there is no connection of any kind with the priestly dress. The golden clasp or πόρπη was worn by the king and his chosen friends (φίλοι), 1 Macc. x. 89, xi. 58. The high priest also wore a girdle (אבנת), but it was a loosely-woven scarf: cf. Ex. xxviii. 4, xxxix. 29; Lev. xiii. 7. This priestly girdle was worn on the breast a little above the armpits: cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 2, ποδήρης χιτών . . . ὃν ἐπιζώννυνται κατὰ στῆθος ὀλίγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τὴν ζώνην περιάγοντες. πρός in local sense with dative is rare in the N.T. Here only in the Apocalypse: cf. Mark v. 11; John xviii. 16, xx. 11, 12.

14. ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν [ὡς χιών]. Our text presupposes Dan. vii. 9 and 1 Enoch xlvi. 1. The former, according to Theod., Vulgate, and most commentators, is to be rendered: "his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool"; while 1 Enoch xlvi. 1 = ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔριον λευκή (or λευκόν). Thus in the first place we explain the combination of ἡ κεφαλή and αἱ τρίχες in our text. But our text diverges clearly from Theodotion's version and the Massoretic of Dan. vii. 9; for the latter read "the hair of his head like pure (*i.e.* cleansed) wool." But unless we assume that the wool is white, which, of course, it sometimes is, the comparison is not a good one. Since the LXX here has τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρόν ("spotless as white wool"), it is clear that our author had either it or the Aramaic text presupposed by it before him. 1 Enoch xlvi. 1 could be either "his hair was white like wool" or "like white wool," the latter being the more likely. Hence our text agrees with the LXX and 1 Enoch here against the Massoretic of Dan. vii. 9. It should be observed that the description which in Daniel and 1 Enoch belongs to the Ancient of Days, is here transferred to the Son of Man. The term κεφαλή may refer to the hair.

[ὡς χιών.] This was manifestly a marginal gloss. It is extremely awkward in its present context. Moreover, in Dan. vii. 9 it is the raiment that is "white as snow," not the hair of his head.

οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός. Cf. ii. 18, xix. 12, where the same description is again applied to Christ. The phrase is suggested by Dan. x. 6, "His eyes were as lamps of fire" (λαμπάδες *πυρός*); 2 Enoch i. 5, "Their eyes were like burning lamps." The metaphor is a very common one in Latin and Greek, as Wetstein has shown on this passage.

15. οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ. Here again our author has drawn upon Daniel. Cf. x. 6, "His feet like in colour to burnished brass" (LXX, *ὡσεὶ χαλκὸς ἐξαστράπτων*: Theod. *ὡς ὅρασις χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος* (כְּעֵין נְחֹשֶׁת קָלָל): Ezek. i. 4, 27, viii. 2, "From the appearance of his loins and downward, fire: and from his loins and upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber"; also i. 7, "they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass" (LXX, *ὡς ἐξαστράπτων χαλκός*—נצצים כעין נחשת קלל). *χαλκολίβανος* (here and ii. 18 only) is as yet an unidentified metal. Hence, whatever translation we assign it is purely provisional. Suidas defines it as *εἶδος ἠλέκτρου τιμιώτερον χρυσοῦ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἤλεκτρον ἀλλότυπον χρυσίον μεμιγμένον ὑελῷ καὶ λιθείᾳ . . . ἤλεκτρον, ἀλλοίωσις χρυσίου, μεμιγμένον ὑέλῳ καὶ λιθίοις.* The word, which is of uncertain derivation, is rendered in Latin by *aurichalcum.* Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiii. 4, writes: "Omnino auro inest argentum vario pondere. Ubicunque quinta argenti portio est, electrum vocatur." ix. 41, "Argentum auro confundere, ut electra fiant." Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 402, "Electrum . . . quod fit de tribus partibus auri et una argenti." Eustathius on *Od.* iv. p. 150. 13, *ἤλεκτρος . . . μίγμα τι χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου.* (These last three quotations are drawn from Wetstein.)

ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ †πεπυρωμένης†. So AC. But, if this is original, it can only be a slip for *πεπυρωμένῳ* on the part of the Seer, which he would have corrected in a revision of his text. For the explanation given by Hort and Swete, that *πεπυρωμένης* is explained by *χαλκολιβάνου* understood, is too prosaic and intolerable, *i.e.* "like burnished brass as in a furnace of burnished brass." Hence I assume that our author intended to write *πεπυρωμένῳ*—a correction which was early and rightly introduced into the text as the following authorities testify: *i.e.* ℵ, some cursives, s$^{1.2}$, vg., Sah., Eth. Vict. Thus we have the vigorous and fitting conception: "like burnished brass as when it is smelted (or 'refined') in the furnace." *πυροῦν* is used only in the passive in the N.T. In the present passage and in iii. 18 it is used as the equivalent of צרף (in Ps. xii. 6, lxvi. 10; Dan. xii. 10; Zech. xiii. 9), of which it is the stock translation.

ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν. The voice of the Son of Man is described in exactly the same terms as the voice of God in Ezek. xliii. 2, קולו כקול מים רבים (so the Heb. but not the LXX). Here our author rejects the corresponding simile in Dan. x. 6—כקול המון "like the voice of a multitude."

16. ἔχων = εἶχε, a Semitic idiom, though the participle is used in the *Κοινή* occasionally as a finite verb. The reading of A, *καὶ* ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρες ἑπτά, seems to assimilate the text to the adjoining clauses, but it may be original.

ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτά. Cf. ii. 1 (where the clause is probably an interpolation), iii. 1. This clause is to be interpreted purely symbolically and not literally. It means that these seven stars were subject to him, and wholly in his power. On the other hand the words ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμέ in 17 are to be taken literally.

In 20 these seven stars are interpreted as symbolizing the Seven Churches. That they were originally conceived as forming the constellation of the Bear has been suggested by Bousset, who quotes Dieterich (*Eine Mithrasliturgie*, p. 14, line 16 sq., pp. 72, 76 sq.), where the God Mithras is represented as appearing to the mystic . . . κατέχοντα ἐν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μόσχου ὦμον χρύσεον, ὅς ἐστιν ἄρκτος ἡ κινοῦσα . . . τὸν οὐρανόν. But, whatever may be the original derivation of this conception, it could hardly be present to the mind of the Seer in the present passage, else we should have τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας and not ἀστέρας ἑπτά. The number seven, in itself sacred, determined the number of the Churches (i. 20), and thus by a coincidence the number of the stars as seven. See Jeremias, *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, 24–26. But the seven stars may be the seven planets.

ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὀξεῖα ἐκπορευομένη. Cf. ii. 12, 16. These words go back to Isa. xi. 4, "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth" (here the LXX has τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ), xlix. 2; "He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword" (ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν). See also note on xix. 15, where part of the above clause recurs: cf. Heb. iv. 12; 2 Thess. ii. 9; 4 Ezra xiii. 4. The sword that proceeds from the mouth of the Son of Man is simply a symbol of his judicial authority. Religious art has been very unhappy in representing this symbol literally as a sword proceeding from the mouth of Christ.

ῥομφαία δίστομος. Cf. Ps. cxlix. 6 (ῥομφαῖαι δίστομοι = חרב פיפיות); Sir. xxi. 3.

ἐκ τ. στόματος . . . ἐκπορευομένη. Cf. ix. 17, xix. 15.

ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ. ὄψις = "face"; ὄψις is found only here and in John vii. 24, xi. 44 in the N.T., but this usage is not infrequent in the LXX. Part of the clause ὁ ἥλιος and ἐν τ. δυν. αὐτοῦ goes back to Judg. v. 31, "Let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his strength" (ὡς ἔξοδος ἡλίου ἐν δυνάμει αὐτοῦ = כצאת השמש בגברתו).

ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. Cf. Matt. xvii. 2, ἔλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. The faces of the righteous are also to shine like the sun, Matt. xiii. 43; as do also those of the angels: x. 1; 2 Enoch i. 5, xix. 1.

ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει. We have here a Hebrew construction, the same as in Deut. xxxii. 11; Job vii. 2, ix. 26, xi. 16; Isa. lxi. 10; Jer. xxiii. 29. Hence our text = כְּשֶׁ֫מֶשׁ יאיר בגבורתו. The clause should be rendered, "And his face was as the sun shining in his strength." See Additional Note on ὡς, p. 36.

17. καὶ ὅτε εἶδον αὐτόν κτλ. The Seer had in his mind Dan. x. 7, 9, (LXX), *καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ Δανιὴλ τὴν ὅρασιν . . .: 9, καὶ . . . ἐγὼ ἤμην πεπτωκὼς ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.* Cf. also Josh. v. 14; Ezek. i. 28, iii. 23, xliii. 3.

καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξίαν αὐτοῦ . . . Μὴ φοβοῦ. Cf. Dan. x. 10, 12, 19. The *μὴ φοβοῦ* is found also separately in Isa. xliv. 2; Matt. xiv. 27, xvii. 7; Luke i. 13, 30, etc. It is used to give comfort (cf. Matt. xiv. 27 = John vi. 20; Acts xxvii. 24), and to remind the Seer that He that is seen is no unknown one (Spitta).

From *μὴ φοβοῦ* to the close of this verse there is a stanza of four lines.

ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. Cf. ii. 8, xxii. 13. In all three cases these words are used as a designation of Christ. They are derived from Isa. xliv. 6, כֹּה־אמר . . . יהוה צְבָאוֹת אֲנִי רִאשׁוֹן וַאֲנִי אַחֲרוֹן, and xlviii. 12, where, of course, they are used as self-designations by Yahweh. In both instances the LXX diverges from the Massoretic: xliv. 6, *οὕτως λέγει . . . θεὸς σαβαώθ· Ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα*: xlviii. 12, *ἐγώ εἰμι πρῶτος καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* Cf. also Isa. xli. 4 and xliii. 10.

18. This verse sets forth the threefold conception of Christ in John: the ever abiding life He had independently of the world; His humiliation even unto physical death, and His rising to a life not only everlasting in itself but to universal authority over life and death.

καὶ ὁ ζῶν καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός. These words form the second line of the stanza and are to be taken closely together. Here, as in i. 5–6, ii. 2, 9, etc., the participle after the Hebrew idiom has been resolved into the finite verb. See note on i. 5–6, where it is shown that the line should be rendered

"And He that liveth and was dead."

Most recent commentators connect the *καὶ ὁ ζῶν* with the preceding words. But in every instance, whether in Isaiah or in the Apocalypse, the phrase "I am the first and the last" is complete in itself, and the phrase *καὶ ὁ ζῶν* would simply impair the fulness of the claim made in these words. On the other hand, when taken with *καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός* they are full of significance in the contrast between the ever abiding eternal life which He possesses and the condition of physical death to which He submitted for the sake of man.

ὁ ζῶν. This designation is based on the O.T. phrase אֵל חַי, θεὸς ζῶν, in Josh. iii. 10; Ps. xlii. 3, lxxxiv. 3, etc.

ζῶν εἰμι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. These words are used of the Father in iv. 9, 10, x. 6. They are found in this connection in Dan. iv. 31, xii. 7 (חֵי הָעוֹלָם), and Sir. xviii. 1; 1 Enoch v. 1.

ἔχω τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου. *θανάτου* and *ᾅδου* can be taken as objective genitives, *i.e.* the keys that lock or unlock Hades; or as possessive genitives, seeing that they are personified in vi. 8, *i.e.* the keys held by death and Hades.[1] Hades is the intermediate abode of only the wicked or non-righteous in our author (see xx. 14 note; also vi. 8, xx. 13) as in Luke xvi. 23, where it is set over against Paradise. It has the same meaning in the Psalms of Solomon xvi. 2: cf. xiv. 6, xv. 11. In our author Paradise (cf. ii. 7) has no connection with Hades: nor yet in Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4. Hades is not spoken of in the NT as containing Paradise except in Acts ii. 27 (31), which is a quotation from Ps. xvi. 10. Hades or Sheol, however, bears many different meanings in Jewish literature; see my *Eschatology*², under "Sheol" in the Index, p. 482 sq. But to return. No soul can enter Paradise save through death. So far, therefore, death is the avenue alike to Paradise and Hades. But by submitting to death Christ has through His death and resurrection won complete authority over death. It is not improbable, further, that the text implies the same belief that underlies 1 Pet. iii. 18 sqq.[2] Neither death nor Hades can resist the power of the risen Christ. It is not only that they cannot withhold from Him the faithful that have already died, but that Christ has entered their realm as a conqueror and preached there the Gospel of Redemption to those that had not as yet heard it. No soul can henceforth be a prisoner in Hades, which is there owing to spiritual and other disabilities, in the creation of which it had no part. This interpretation of the text is in keeping with the universal proclamation of the Gospel to the heathen world, which according to xiv. 6–7, xv. 4, was to precede the end. All—wherever they were—were to hear the Gospel before the Final Judgment.

Again we have here one of the earliest traces in Christian literature of the Descent of Christ into Hades, and the conquest of its powers. This idea is in certain forms pre-Christian. Thus in the Babylonian Religion we have the descent of Ishtar, of Hibil Ziwa in the Mandaean Religion, of the primitive man in the system of Manes (see Bousset, *Offenbarung*², p. 197 sq.; Gunkel, *Zum . . . Verständniss d. NTs*, p. 72; Clemen, *Religionsgesch. Erklärung d. NT*, pp. 153–156); but these non-Jewish sources do not appear to have given birth to the Christian doctrine of the *Descensus ad Inferos*, as Loofs, in his art. in *E.R.E.* iv. 648–663, has shown.

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[1] Sheol and death are personified in Hos. xiii. 14. They are classed together in Ps. xviii. 6; Prov. v. 5.

[2] Loofs, in *E.R.E.* iv. 662, accepts this view, and holds that the doctrine of the Descensus underlies Matt. xxvii. 51–53, the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 39 sq., xii. 22, ix. 8).

κλεῖς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου. The power over these keys, according to the Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxx. 22 (cf. also on Deut. xxviii. 12), belongs to God alone: Sanh. 113ᵃ, "Elijah asked for the key of the raising of the dead. Therefore he was told: Three keys are not committed to a messenger: those of birth, rain, and of the raising of the dead": Taan. 2ᵃ. According to the Midrash Tehillin on Ps. xciii. the Messiah is called Jinnon because he will awake the dead (Weber², 368).

19. οὖν resumes the command given in 11, enforced with the authority of One who has power over death. This particle occurs only here and in ii. 15, 16, iii. 3, 19, in our author, but 195 times in the Fourth Gospel.

ἃ εἶδες καὶ ἅ εἰσὶν καὶ ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. These words summarize *roughly* the contents of the Book. The *ἃ εἶδες* is the vision of the Son of Man just vouchsafed to the Seer: *ἅ εἰσίν* refers directly to the present condition of the Church as shown in chaps. ii.–iii., and indirectly to that of the world in general; *ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα* to the visions from chap. iv. onwards, which, with the exception of a few sections referring to the past and the present, deal with the future. At the beginning of iv. the Seer is summoned to heaven, where a voice declares: *δείξω σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα* (iv. 1).

ἃ εἶδες. Cf. i. 2, iv. 1.

ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. On *μέλλει*, which in our author is generally followed by the imperfect inf., see x. 7 note; Blass, *Gram.* 197, 202.

20. This verse is independent grammatically of what precedes. The construction of the Greek is highly irregular. In the first place, we have an accusative absolute in *τὸ μυστήριον*: in the second we have an accusative *τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας* where we should expect a genitive dependent on *τὸ μυστήριον*. These anomalies are not explicable either from the standpoint of Greek or Hebrew. The second of them is best accounted for by the hypothesis that John did not revise his work. There are, it is true, a few instances of the acc. absolute in the N.T.: cf. Acts xxvi. 3, *γνώστην ὄντα σε*: 1 Tim. ii. 6, *τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίοις*: Rom. viii. 3, *τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου*. To these we may add the instance in our text. This construction is very rare in the papyri as compared with earlier Greek. See Robertson, *Gram.* 490, 1130.

The verse is to be rendered: "As for the mystery of the seven stars, which thou sawest in (lit. "upon") my right hand, and of the seven golden candlesticks, the seven stars are," etc. τὸ μυστήριον = "the secret meaning." We have analogous interpretations of mysteries in xiii. 18, xvii. 7, 9.

οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀστέρες ἄγγελοι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰσί. See note on i. 4. Various explanations of these ἄγγελοι have been given. Some scholars take them to be the actual messengers entrusted with the delivery of the letters to the various Churches, or the delegates sent from the Asiatic Churches to Patmos who were returning with the Apocalypse. Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Bengel connect them with subordinate officials of the synagogue. Primasius, Völter (*Offenbarung Johannis*, iv. 159) and others connect them with some prominent officials of the Churches. Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 606) and J. Weiss (*Offenbarung Johannis*, 49) identify them with the bishops of the Seven Churches. But the use of ἄγγελος in Apocalyptic in general and also in our author is wholly against making ἄγγελος represent a human being. If used at all in Apocalyptic, ἄγγελος can only represent a superhuman being.

Hence the only interpretation that can be accepted is one which does justice to the term ἄγγελος. From this standpoint two interpretations are advanced. 1. The angels are guardian angels of the Seven Churches. This interpretation can be supported from Daniel, where the doctrine of the angelic guardians or patrons of the nations is definitely presupposed: cf. x. 13, 20, 21, xi 1, xii. 1. It appears also in Sir. xvii. 17; Deut. (LXX) xxxii. 8. In the N.T. individuals are supposed to have special guardian angels: cf. Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxiii. 10, "I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of thy angel": also on xlviii. 16; Chag. 16ª. But, if these angels are conceived of as distinct personalities, this interpretation is open to unanswerable objections; for Christ is supposed to send letters to superhuman beings through the agency of John, and the letters in question are wholly concerned, not with these supposed angels, but directly with the Churches themselves and their spiritual condition. Hence the only remaining interpretation is that which takes these angels to be the heavenly doubles or counterparts of the Seven Churches, which thus come to be identical with the Churches themselves. Even this last interpretation is not free from difficulty; for it in reality amounts to explaining one symbol "the stars" by another symbol "the angels." Notwithstanding, we must hold fast to the latter interpretation in some form. Perhaps the seven stars represent in Semitic fashion the heavenly ideal of the Seven Churches: while the seven candlesticks are the actual realization of those ideals. Even this view is open to criticism. Notwithstanding, it seems to express best the thought in the mind of our author. Christ holds in His hand (*i.e.* His power) these ideals: that is, only through Him can they be realized. *αἱ λυχνίαι αἱ ἑπτὰ ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαι εἰσίν.* Here, since the Seven Churches have been definitely enumerated in i. 11, we should probably with WH regard *ἑπτὰ ἑπτά* as a primitive error for *ἑπτά.* We should then have "the candlesticks are the Seven Churches." But not only have the Churches been previously mentioned, but the subject and predicate are here identical. Hence the article should be used with the predicate as in i. 8, 17, iii. 17. See Robertson, *Gram.* 768.

Additional Note on ὡς and ὅμοιος.

Our author uses ὡς in several idiomatic constructions, which if considered in relation to the bulk of his work as a whole differentiates it from all other writings.

1. *φωνὴν . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος* = "a voice like the voice of a trumpet." The Seer has never in his earthly experience heard such a voice. It was a heavenly voice. The nearest earthly equivalent he could suggest was the sound of a trumpet. But it was not the sound of a trumpet: *it was only like it* (ὡς). The construction here is a pregnant one = כקול שׁופר = כשׁופר as in Isa. xxix. 4, lxiii. 2; Jer. l. 9. This pregnant construction recurs in iv. 1, 7, *ὡς ἀνθρώπου* = כפני אדם = כאדם, and in xiii. 2, *οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου*: xvi. 3, *αἷμα ὡς νεκροῦ.* The same idea is conveyed by *ὡσεί* in 1 Enoch xvii. 1, xxiv. 4, xxxii. 4, and by ὡς in xiv. 10, 11, 13, xvii. 1; but in none of these cases have we the pregnant construction. In xiv. 18, *τροχὸς ὡς ἡλίου*, it is a pregnant one.

2. ὡς is used in a certain sense as the subject or the object of the verb as = כְּ in Hebrew, and *yet it does not affect the case of the noun which follows it.* It is used as the subject or, if the student prefer, in connection with the subject in ix. 7, *ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὡς στέφανοι.* Here *ὡς στέφανοι* = כַּעֲטָרוֹת = "the appearance of crowns was on their heads." In Num. ix. 15 we have this idiom: "There was upon the tabernacle the likeness of the appearance of fire" (*ὡς εἶδος πυρός*); also in Dan. x. 18: "then there touched me again, one like the appearance of a man." Here כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם (rendered by the versions *ὡς ὅρασις ἀνθρώπου*) is the subject of the verb and = "the likeness of the appearance of a man." As the Vulgate has here "quasi visio hominis" we can determine the Hebrew behind 4 Ezra xiii. 2, "quasi similitudinem hominis" (Eth. and Arab. Verss.); but here the ὡς is connected with the accusative, to which we shall now turn. Thus we have in vi. 6, *ἤκουσα ὡς φωνήν*, and also in xix. 1, 6—the heavenly

equivalent of an earthly voice. In v. 11 the ὡς is omitted; for there the voice is definitely said to be that of angels. In xv. 2, εἶδον ὡς θάλασσαν—"the likeness of a sea"; xviii. 21, λίθον ὡς μύλινον μέγαν—"the likeness of a great millstone."

3. ὡς is used simply as a particle of comparison in xii. 15, xiii. 2, 11, xxi. 11.

4. In vi. 1 our author has rendered כקול, which was in his mind, literally and inadvertently by ὡς φωνή (ACQ); but since כקול in this context = כבקול, it should here have been rendered by ὡς φωνῇ. Possibly, however, our author wrote φωνῇ, which was subsequently corrupted into φωνή.

5. ὡς is used with the participle as in Hebrew. Cf. Gen. xl. 10, "It was as though it budded" (הִיא כְפֹרַחַת). Cf. in our text, ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, v. 6, xiii. 3.

6. Finally, ὡς is followed by a finite verb where the Greek idiom requires the participle: cf. i. 16^c, ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει, where we should expect φαίνων. But this is distinctively a Hebrew idiom; for in Hebrew frequently relative sentences with the relative omitted are attached to substantives which are preceded by the particle of comparison כְּ (= ὡς). Cf. Isa. lxii. 1, כלפיד יבער (LXX, ὡς λαμπὰς καυθήσεται), "as a lamp that burneth." See also for literal but unidiomatic renderings in the LXX of Isa. liii. 7; Ps. xc. 5. But generally the finite verb is rendered idiomatically by the participle in the LXX: cf. Hos. vi. 3; Jer. xxiii. 29, כפטיש יפצץ סלע (LXX, ὡς πέλεκυς κόπτων πέτραν); Ps. lxxxiii. 15; Job vii. 2, ix. 26, xi. 16.

ὅμοιος.

That our author uses ὅμοιος as synonymous in *meaning* with ὡς we learn from iv. 6, ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ, as compared with xxii. 1, ὡς κρύσταλλον, and iv. 3, ὅμοιος . . . λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι, as compared with xxi. 11, ὡς λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι. In 1 Enoch also ὡς and ὅμοιος are equivalent in meaning: cf. xviii. 13, ἴδον ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα, and xxi. 3, τεθέαμαι ἑπτὰ τῶν ἀστέρων . . . ὁμοίους ὄρεσιν μεγάλοις.

ὅμοιος is used also like ὡς in our text in a pregnant sense (see 1 under ὡς): cf. ix. 10, οὐρὰς ὁμοίας σκορπίοις: also xiii. 11.

But there are two passages in our text in which our author attached not only the same meaning but also the same construction to ὅμοιος as to ὡς. These are i. 13, xiv. 14, where we have ὅμοιον υἱόν where we should expect ὅμοιον υἱῷ. We have seen that he regarded ὅμοιος as = ὡς in respect of *meaning*, but these two passages exhibit an identification of ὅμοιος with ὡς not only in respect of *meaning* but also of *construction*; and thus as ὡς does not affect the case that follows it, neither does ὅμοιος. That our author knew quite well that ὅμοιος was followed by the dative is shown by his universal usage outside these two passages, which stand alone in all literature in making ὅμοιος as the absolute equivalent of ὡς alike in *construction* and *meaning*.

CHAPTER II.–III.

§ 1. *The Seven Letters—their Authorship, their present and their original meaning.*

These two chapters, to which the great vision in i. forms an introduction, contain the Seven Letters addressed to seven actual Churches in Asia Minor, in which their spiritual character and environment are distinctly and concretely described. As they stand at present, the circumstances of the Seven Churches are to be regarded as typical of the Church as a whole. Thus in addressing certain specific Churches, our author is addressing all Christian Churches. In this representative sense the Seven Churches are identified with the seven candlesticks (i. 20). That these Letters are from the hand of our author is amply proved by their diction and idiom (§ 2).

But a close examination of the Letters shows that they contain two expectations which are mutually exclusive (§ 4), one of which is in harmony with the Book as a whole, while the other clearly conflicts with it. The recognition of this fact leads to the hypothesis that our author wrote these Letters at a date anterior to that of the Book as a whole, before the all-important conflict between the mutually exclusive claims of Christianity and Caesarism came to be recognized, and that in the "nineties," when he put together all his visions, he re-edited these Letters. In re-editing these Letters he made certain changes in the beginnings of them which brought them more into harmony with i. 13–18, and inserted certain additions which adapted the Letters more or less to the expectations underlying the rest of the Book (§ 5). It is not improbable that these Letters were actually sent in their original form to the Seven Churches (§ 6).

§ 2. *Diction and Idiom.*

These two chapters, alike on the ground of diction and idiom, come from the hand of our author.

(*a*) *Diction.*—Though a few expressions are found in these chapters and not elsewhere in our author, they do not take the place of equivalent expressions in our author save in the case of οὖν (see ii. 5 below), but arise naturally from the nature of the subject.

II. 1. τάδε λέγει seven times in ii.–iii. and only once elsewhere in N.T., *i.e.* Acts xxi. 11.

ὁ περιπατῶν. Cf. iii. 4, ix. 20, xvi. 15, xxi. 24.

2. οἶδα. Cf. 9, 17, 19, iii. 1, 8, 15, 17, vii. 14, xii. 12, xix. 12.

τὸν κόπον. Cf. xiv. 13. **τὴν ὑπομονήν** (not in Fourth Gospel). Cf. i. 9, ii. 3, 19, iii. 10, xiii. 10, xiv. 12. **ψευδεῖς.** Cf. xxi. 8. Only once elsewhere in N.T.

4. ἀλλά. Cf. ii. 6, 9 (*bis*), 14, 20, iii. 4, 9, ix. 5, x. 7, 9, xvii. 12, xx. 6.

5. οὖν. Used of logical appeal. Cf. ii. 16, iii. 3 (*bis*), 9. Also in i. 19, probably owing to its occurrence in ii.–iii.

πόθεν. Cf. vii. 13. 13 times in Gospel. *δέ* (also in 16, 24); cf. x. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 8.

κινήσω. Cf. vi. 14. Here only in our author.

7. ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω. Cf. 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22, xiii. 9 (Matt. xi. 15, xiii. 9, etc.).

τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει. Cf. 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22, xiv. 13, xxii. 17.

τῷ νικῶντι δώσω. Cf. 17, iii. 21, xxi. 7, *ὁ νικῶν κληρονομήσει ταῦτα.*

τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, xxii. 2, 14 [19].

8. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. Cf. i. 17, xxii. 13.

ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν. Cf. i. 17 and xiii. 14, xvii. 8 (*bis*), where the demonic Nero is somewhat similarly described.

9. θλίψιν. Cf. i. 9, ii. 10, 22, vii. 14.

βλασφημίαν. Cf. xiii. 1, 5, 6, xvii. 3.

συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Here only and in iii. 9. In xi. 8 we have the same attitude towards Judaism, though the diction differs.

10. ἄχρι, cum. gen. Cf. ii. 25, 26, xii. 11, xiv. 20 [xviii. 5]. Not in Gospel, which uses *ἕως ὅτου* (or *οὗ*) and *ἕως*. *ἕως* only found in Apoc. vi. 10, 11.

11. οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου. Cf. xx. 6, *ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν.* Observe that *ἀδικεῖν* is a favourite word with our author, but is not found in Fourth Gospel or Epp.

12. ὁ ἔχων τ. ῥομφαίαν τ. δίστομον τ. ὀξεῖαν. Cf. i. 16, xix. 15. *ῥομφαία* is found six times in the Apoc. and only once outside it in the N.T.

13. ὅπου without complementary *ἐκεῖ*. Cf. xi. 8, xx. 10.

15. οὕτως. Cf. iii. 5, 16, ix. 17, xi. 5, xvi. 18, xviii. 21.

16. ἔρχομαί σοι ταχύ. Cf. iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, 20; also ii. 5.

πολεμήσω μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. Cf. xii. 7^b, xiii. 4, xvii. 14. Also xii. 7^c, xix. 11, and Jas. iv. 2 without *μετά* and nowhere else in N.T.

τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου. Cf. i. 16, xix. 15.

17. ὄνομα . . . γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων. Cf. xix. 12, *ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός.*

18. τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρός. Cf. i. 14, xix. 12.

οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολίβανῳ. Cf. i. 14.

20. ἐμούς. Here only in Apoc. but 37 times in Gospel.

21. μετανοῆσαι ἐκ. This construction is nowhere else found in the N.T. nor yet in the LXX (where *ἐπί* or *ἀπό* follow), yet it recurs in our author in ii. 22, ix. 20, 21, xvi. 11.

23. ἐν θανάτῳ = "by pestilence," as in vi. 8.

κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν. Cf. xx. 13.

24. τοῖς λοιποῖς. Cf. iii. 2, ix. 20, xi. 13, xii. 17, xix. 21, xx. 5. Not in Gospel.

26. ὁ νικῶν . . . δώσω αὐτῷ: see note on ii. 26.

δώσω . . . ἐξουσίαν. On the meaning of this phrase see note on ii. 26 as distinguished from *δώσω . . . τὴν ἐξουσίαν.*

27. ποιμανεῖ = "will destroy" (see note, *in loc.*). Cf. xix. 15 (xii. 5).

ὡς κἀγώ. Cf. iii. 21 and vi. 11, *ὡς καὶ αὐτοί*, [xviii. 6]; Gospel uses *καθὼς ἐγώ* frequently.

εἴληφα. This perfect recurs in iii. 3, v. 7, viii. 5, xi. 17. Thus five times in all. In the rest of the N.T. only three times, Matt. xxv. 24 [John viii. 4 in the *περικοπή*]; 1 Cor. x. 13.

28. τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωινόν. Cf. xxii. 16.

III. 2. γίνου γρηγορῶν. For this combination of *γίγνεσθαι* with a participle, cf. xvi. 10, *ἐγένετο . . . ἐσκοτωμένη.* Gospel i. 6 only.

εὕρηκα . . . πεπληρωμένα. For combination of *εὑρίσκειν* with part. or adj., cf. ii. 2, v. 4, xxi. 15. For *πεπληρ.* alone, cf. vi. 11.

τοῦ θεοῦ μου. Cf. iii. 12, where this phrase occurs four times. iii. 12 was added when our author edited the book as a whole in the nineties.

2–4. For the indubitable connections between 2–4 and xvi. 15 see notes on both these passages. xvi. 15, however, appears to have belonged originally to this Letter where it probably followed on iii. 3^b.

4. ἀλλά. See note on ii. 4 above.

ὀνόματα = "persons." [Cf. xi. 13.] **ἐμόλυναν.** Cf. xiv. 4. **περιπατήσουσιν.** Cf. xxi. 24. **ἐν λευκοῖς.** Cf. vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, xix. 14. **ἄξιοί εἰσιν.** Cf. [xvi. 6], where the clause recurs.

5. περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς. Cf. iv. 4, vii. 9. **ἐξαλείψω.** Cf. vii. 17, xxi 4 (in a different connection). **τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς.** Cf. xxi. 15, xiii. 8, and **βιβλίον τ. ζ.** in xvii. 8 [xx. 12].

7. ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινός. Cf. vi. 10, where the same epithets are applied to God. Observe that *ἀληθινός* = "faithful," a meaning confined to the Apoc. within the N.T.

8. θύραν ἀνεῳγμένην. Cf. iv. 1.

μικρὰν . . . δύναμιν. Cf. xx. 3, μικρὸν χρόνον, for this order, and contrast vi. 11.

ἐτήρησας . . . τὸν λόγον. Cf. xxii. 7, 9—a frequent phrase in the Gospel.

μου τὸν λόγον καὶ . . . τὸ ὄνομά μου. Cf. x. 9 for the same remarkable yet intelligible order of the pronouns.

9. ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. Cf. xv. 4, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου: xxii. 8.

10. ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον. Cf. iii. 8, xxii. 7, 9; also i. 3, ii. 26, xii. 17, xiv. 12.

τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, *i.e.* "the endurance practised by Me." Cf. xiii. 10, xiv. 12, ἡ ὑπομονὴ τ. ἁγίων, "the endurance practised by the saints."

τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης. Cf. xii. 9, xvi. 14, where the nature of the trial is described as demonic in connection with this phrase.

τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Cf. vi. 10, viii. 13, xi. 10 (note). This phrase has throughout our author a technical sense.

11. ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Cf. ii. 16, xxii. 7, 12, 20.

12. ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτόν. See notes on ii. 7, 26.

ἐξέλθῃ: in later chapters 13 times.

γράψω ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα. Cf. xvii. 5, 8, xix. 16.

τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα κτλ. Cf. xxi. 2.

τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν. Cf. xix. 12, 16.

15. οὔτε . . . οὔτε. Cf. ix. 20, 21, xxi. 4. Our author uses οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ, v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 4; also οὐ . . . οὐδέ, vii. 16, xii. 8, xx. 4, xxi. 23; μή . . . μήτε, vii. 1, 3; even οὐδὲ μή . . . οὐδέ, vii. 16^{b}, ix. 4, but never μηδέ . . . μηδέ.

17. οὐδὲν χρείαν ἔχω. Cf. xxii. 5.

18. ἀγοράσαι (metaphorical sense). Cf. v. 9, xiv. 3, 4.

ἱμάτια λευκά. See on iii. 5 above.

20. εἰσελεύσομαι. Cf. [xi. 11], xv. 8, xxi. 27, xxii. 14.

21. καθίσαι. Cf. xx. 4 and note on iii. 21.

ὡς κἀγώ. See note on ii. 27 above.

μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. Cf. xxii. 3.

(*b*) *Idiom.*—Here we have idioms and solecisms which, though they may appear *abnormally* in other writings, are in our author a *normal* means of expressing his thoughts.

II. 2. τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. This resolution of the participle into a finite verb is characteristic of our author. See note on i. 5^{b}–6, p. 14 sq.

3. ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας . . . καὶ κεκοπίακες. For similar combinations of tenses cf. iii. 3, εἴληφας καὶ ἤκουσας: v. 7 sq., vii. 13 sq., viii. 5.

5. ἔρχομαι = ἐλεύσομαι. Our author frequently uses the present of this verb as a future: cf. i. 4, 7, 8, ii. 16, iii. 11, iv. 8, ix. 12, xi. 14, xvi. 15, xxii. 7, 12, 20, but never the future itself except in compounds *ἐξελεύσεται*, xx. 8: *εἰσελεύσομαι*, iii. 20.

7. τῷ νικῶντι . . . δώσω αὐτῷ. See notes on ii. 7, 26.

9. τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. See above on ii. 2 and note on i. 5^b–6.

10. βάλλειν ἐξ ὑμῶν = "some of you." Cf. iii. 9, *δίδωμι ἐκ τ. συναγωγῆς*: v. 9, *ἠγόρασας . . . ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς*: xi. 9, *βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν*: xxi. 6, *δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς*.

13. ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ. For this omission of the copula in relative or dependent clause, cf. v. 13, xx. 10.

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντίπας, ὁ μάρτυς μου. On this frequent solecism in our author, see p. 3 *ad fin.*

20. τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰ. ἡ λέγουσα. See preceding note.

λέγουσα καὶ διδάσκει. The frequently recurring idiom already found in ii. 2, 9 above: see note on i. 5^b–6.

22. βάλλειν αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην. A phrase unintelligible in Greek unless retranslated into Hebrew. See note on ii. 22.

23. ὑμῖν ἑκάστῳ: cf. vi. 11, *αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ*. Elsewhere only once in N.T., Acts ii. 8.

26. ὁ νικῶν . . . δώσω αὐτῷ. See note on ii. 7.

δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν. On the technical sense assigned to this phrase by our author, see note *in loc.* It is here rightly used.

Thus chap. ii. is connected by the same diction or idioms or both with portions of iv.–ix., xi.–xvii., xix.–xxii. We have already seen in the Introd. to chap. i. that i. and ii.–iii. and most of the remaining chapters are similarly bound together.

III. 3. ποίαν ὥραν. This acc. of a point of time only here in our author.

7. ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει. A Hebrew idiom. See note *in loc.*

8. δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἠνεῳγμένην, ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν. We have here two Hebrew idioms in these words:

נָתַתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ שַׁעַר פָּתוּחַ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יוּכַל אִישׁ לְסָגְרוֹ

For other instances of oblique forms of the personal pronoun added pleonastically to relatives (in reproduction of a Hebrew idiom), cf. vii. 2, *οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς*: 9, *ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτόν*: xii. 6, 14, xiii. 8, 12, xx. 8.

9. ἰδοὺ διδῶ ἐκ τ. συναγωγῆς. Most probably a Hebraism. הִנְנִי נֹתֵן מִכְּנֵסִית הַשָּׂטָן, "Behold I will make certain of the synagogue," etc. Here *διδῶ* anticipates *ποιήσω*.

τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς . . . καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. The same Hebrew idiom as in ii. 9.

ποιήσω . . . ἵνα ἥξουσιν . . . καὶ γνῶσιν. *ἵνα cum. ind.* occurs

9 times in the Apoc., here (iii. 9) and 8 times in the rest of the Book (see note on iii. 9, p. 88): only once in the rest of the Johannine writings, and only 10 times in all in the N.T. outside the Apocalypse. Again, *ἵνα μή cum. ind.* occurs twice in the Apoc. and only twice elsewhere in the N.T. Thus *ἵνα cum. ind.* is characteristic of our author. Next, *ἵνα cum. subj.* occurs 6 times in ii.–iii. and 17 times in the rest of the Book, and *ἵνα μή cum. subj.* once in ii.–iii. and 7 times in the rest of the Apoc.

ἵνα ἥξουσιν . . . καὶ γνῶσιν. Cf. xxii. 14 for the same combination of moods.

12. **ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτόν.** See notes on ii. 7, 26.

τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα. See Introd. to I. § 2 (*b*), p. 3 *ad fin.*

16. **μέλλω . . . ἐμέσαι.** Cf. iii. 2, xii. 4. Elsewhere in our author 10 times with the pres. inf., which is the all but universal usage in the N.T. Only 4 times outside our author is it followed by the aor. inf. (in Lucan and Pauline writings) and twice by fut. inf. in Lucan writing (*i.e.* Acts).

17. **οὐδὲν χρείαν ἔχω.** Cf. xxii. 5, *ἔχουσιν χρείαν . . . φῶς ἡλίου.*

20. **ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ . . . καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι.** This Hebraic *καί* introducing the apodosis recurs in x. 7, xiv. 10. It is found also in Luke ii. 21, vii. 12; Acts i. 10; 2 Cor. ii. 2; Jas. iv. 15.

21. **ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ.** On this Hebraism see note on ii. 7.

From the above evidence of diction and still more of idiom it is clear that ii.–iii. are from the hand of our author. Certain words and expressions occur in them which do not recur in the remaining chapters, but this is due to the nature of the subject (cf. *τάδε λέγει*) or to the fact that the Letters in some form were written by our author long before 95 A.D.—the date of the completed work: cf. *οὖν* (also in i. 19), *πλήν*, *ἐμός*. A comparison of the points of agreement in diction and in idiom shows that ii.–iii. are connected very closely, and in most cases essentially, with iv.–x., parts of xi., xii.–xvii., xix.–xxii.

§ 3. *Order of Words and omission of Copula in relative sentences.*

Though the diction and idioms of ii.–iii. are conclusive as to the authorship of the Seven Letters, it is remarkable that the order is less Semitic than in the rest of the chapters from the same hand. Thus excluding ii. 7, 11, 17, 26, iii. 5, 12, 21, where the same phrase *τῷ νικῶντι* or *ὁ νικῶν* recurs and regularly precedes the verb *for emphasis*, and is therefore perfectly justifiable in Hebrew on this ground, there are more than the average number of passages in ii.–iii. where the object precedes the verb: ii. 1, τάδε λέγει (and at the beginning of each Letter): 3, ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις: 4, τὴν ἀγάπην . . . ἀφῆκες: 5, τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα ποίησον: 6, τοῦτο ἔχεις: 23, τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ: 25, ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε: iii. 10, σε τηρήσω. The subject also precedes the verb more frequently than is usual in the remaining chapters, and yet the style is profoundly Hebraic and essentially one with the rest of the Book. These phenomena may be due to the fact that our author is here using a vigorous epistolary style, which, while comparable to or even transcending that of the finest passages of the rest of the N.T., stands in its freer play of thought, feeling and their expression in marked contrast to the unrivalled eloquence and sustained sublimity of the rest of the Book.

Turning from the order of the verb to that of the adjective, the adjective almost always follows its substantive with the repetition of the article. There are, however, some exceptions, which have their parallels in the rest of the Book. Thus we find ἄλλο prepositive in ii. 24 as always in our author and generally in the N.T. though it is post positive in Hebrew. In iii. 4, ὀλίγα ὀνόματα: cf. xii. 12, ὀλίγον καιρόν: in iii. 8, μικρὰν . . . δύναμιν: cf. xx. 3, μικρὸν χρόνον, and contrast χρόνον μικρόν, vi. 11.

In ii. 13 we have the omission of the copula in a relative sentence: cf. v. 13, xv. 4, xx. 10; but this omission is frequent in the N.T.

§ 4. *The Letters were written by our Author at an earlier date and re-edited by him for the present work with certain additions.*

Since an examination of the diction and idiom leads to the conclusion that the Letters are from the hand of our author, it is not necessary to consider the theories of some critics who ascribe them to a final reviser, or of others who assign them to an original apocalypse which was subsequently edited and enlarged by later writers.

But the question does arise: were these Letters written in the time of Domitian by our author when he edited the entire work, or were they written at an earlier date? And this question must be answered, since conflicting expectations of the end of the world find expression in them. First, there is the older expectation that the Churches will survive till Christ's last Advent: cf. ii. 25, ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε ἄχρι οὗ ἂν ἥξω, and iii. 3, ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης. The Second Advent is here referred to as in 1 Thess. v. 2, 4, where St. Paul himself expects to survive this event. In the meantime, however, the individual Churches will undergo persecution from time to time, and their members in certain cases be faithful unto death[1] as they have been in the past;[2] but of a universal martyrdom there is not the slightest hint, though this expectation is taught or implied in the rest of the Book (see xiii. 15); nor is there a single reference to a world-wide persecution save in iii. 10, though this is one of the chief themes of the Apocalypse.

Again, though this world-wide persecution was to arise in connection with the imperial cult of the Caesars as the rest of the Book clearly states, there is not a single reference to this cult in the Letters: at most there may be an allusion to it in iii. 10. Moreover, so far as this persecution was conceived as involving the martyrdom of all the faithful, as in iv.–xxii., this conception is in direct conflict with ii. 25, iii. 11, where the Churches are represented as witnessing more or less faithfully till the Advent. In short, the expectation that the Church would survive till the Second Advent cannot be held simultaneously with the expectation of a world-wide persecution in which all the faithful would suffer martyrdom. These two expectations are mutually exclusive; and since the first is obviously the original teaching of our text, it follows that iii. 10 is a subsequent addition.

Accordingly the present writer is of opinion that the discordant elements in the text can best be explained by the hypothesis that our author wrote these Letters at a much earlier date than the Book as a whole, before the fundamental antagonism of the Church and the State came to be realized, and Christians had to choose between the claims of Christ and Caesarism, of Christianity and the State. When he put together his visions in the reign of Domitian, he re-edited these Letters by the insertion of iii. 10 and the addition of new material at the close of each Letter, which in some degree brought them into harmony with the rest of the Book.

§ 5. *Amongst the additions to the original Letters are the endings and in part the beginnings of the Letters in their present form.*

We have already recognized that iii. 10 is a later addition made by our author. But we cannot stop here. The endings of the Letters are indeed from our author's hand,[1] but they would in many respects be incomprehensible but for the later chapters, to which in thought and diction they are most intimately related, and apart from which they would be all but inscrutable enigmas: cf. ii. 7–xxii. 2, 14 (*τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς*); ii. 11–xxi. 8 (where *ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος* is first explained); ii. 17–xix. 12 (*ὄνομα καινὸν . . . ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν κτλ.*); ii. 26–29, xii. 5, xix. 15 (*ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ κτλ.*); xxii. 16 (*ὁ ἀστὴρ . . . ὁ πρωινός*); iii. 5–vi. 11 (*ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ στολὴ λευκή*); xiii. 8, xxi. 27 (*τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς*); iii. 12–xxi. 22, which shows that the term *ναός* in iii. 12 is to be taken metaphorically); xxi. 2 (*τὴν πόλιν . . . Ἰερουσαλὴμ καινὴν . . . καταβαίνουσαν κτλ.*); xix. 12 (*ὄνομα ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν*: cf. *ὄνομα . . . καινόν* in iii. 12); iii. 21–xx. 4.

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[1] Special visitations are threatened (*ἔρχομαί σοι*, ii. 5, 16) unless the Churches of Ephesus and Pergamum forthwith repent, while to the Church of Smyrna "a tribulation of ten days," issuing in the martyrdom of certain of its members, is foretold, ii. 11; in iii. 19 chastisement but not martyrdom is foretold.

[2] The Churches have already suffered persecution in a limited degree. Thus the Church of Ephesus is praised for its faithfulness therein: cf. ii. 3, *καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου καὶ οὐ κεκοπίακες.* Likewise Thyatira: cf. ii. 19, and that of Philadelphia, iii. 8; while that of Pergamum has already its proto-martyr Antipas, ii. 13. In Smyrna and Philadelphia the Christians had suffered at the hands of the Jews, ii. 9, iii. 9.

But another characteristic of these Letters is that they all use the phrase *ὁ νικῶν*. That this expression designates one who has passed victoriously through the martyr's death to the life eternal, is clear from xii. 11, *αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου*: xv. 2, *εἶδον . . . τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου . . . ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ὑαλίνην*: xxi. 7. Now that *ὁ νικῶν* bears the same meaning at the close of the Letters is to be inferred from iii. 21, *ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ.* As Christ witnessed to the truth by His death, so should His servants. Now, if *ὁ νικῶν* is used in this sense at the close of all the Letters, as it appears to do, we have here an allusion to the world-embracing persecution (and martyrdom), which is definitely referred to in iii. 10, though such an expectation is quite foreign to the body of the Letters, which belong to an earlier date.

Another later addition of our author common to all the Letters is, *ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις*: ii. 7^{a}, 11^{a}, 17^{a}, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22. By this addition our author would teach that the Letters are not merely for their respective Churches, but for all the Churches. Thus they are adapted so far as the endings are concerned to their new context.

The later additions at the close of the Letters are accordingly: ii. 7, 11, 17, 26–29, iii. 5–6, 10, 12–13, 21–22.

But the divine titles of Christ at the beginnings of the Letters can hardly have stood in the original Letters as they now do. Such a conclusion is suggested by the facts that whereas they are all, with the exception of those prefacing the Letter to the Church of Laodicea, drawn verbally from i. 13–18 (see note p. 25 sq.), they have no organic connection, except in the case of the Letters to the Churches of Philadelphia and Thyatira, with the Letters which they respectively introduce, though in several instances an artificial connection can be discovered (see note just referred to). What the titles of Christ were in the original form of the Letters cannot now be determined. Some of the existing titles may be original, but it is hard to evade the conclusion that the original titles were recast by our author, when he incorporated the Letters into the complete edition of his visions, and were brought into close conformity with the divine titles of Christ in i. 13–18. Since they have but slight affinity with the contents of the Letters at the head of which they stand, their most natural explanation is to be found in i. 13–18.

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[1] The choice of these endings on the part of our author may in some cases be determined by the diction or thought of the respective letters of which they form the close. Thus in the Letter to Smyrna, *οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τ. δευτέρου*, ii. 11, declares the reward of him who is *πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου*, ii. 10; in the Letter to Pergamum, *δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα*, ii. 17, sets forth the true food in contrast to the *εἰδωλόθυτα*, ii. 14; and in the Letter to Sardis, *οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τ. ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τ. βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς*, iii. 5, may refer in the way of contrast to *ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῇς καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ*, iii. 1.

§ 6. *Were the Letters originally seven distinct Letters addressed and sent to the Seven Churches?*

On various grounds we have concluded that the Seven Letters were composed by our author before the time of Domitian: also that on their incorporation into the Apocalypse they were re-edited by him in order to adapt them to the impending crisis, by changes made in the beginnings to bring them into closer conformity with i. 14–18, and by additions such as iii. 10 and others at the close of the Letters, as ii. 7, 11, 17, 26–29, iii. 5–6, 10, 12–13, 21–22, in order to link them up with the theme of the Book as a whole—the conflict between Christ and Caesar, Christianity and the World Power, and the universal martyrdom of the faithful which the Seer apprehended as a result of this conflict.

Now, if the above conclusions are valid, it would not be unreasonable to conclude further that these Letters were actual letters sent separately to the various Churches, and are, notwithstanding their brevity, comparable in this respect to the Pauline Epp. In default of independent historical materials we are unable to test the accuracy of most of the details relating to the moral and religious life in the Seven Churches. But such materials are not wholly wanting. Thus we know that the Ignatian Epistles to Ephesus, Smyrna, and Philadelphia substantiate certain statements of our author bearing on the inner life of these Churches (see pp. 48, 50, 52, etc.). In the case of the Church of Laodicea the external evidence is fuller. Thus in iii. 17–18 the contrast drawn between the deplorable spiritual condition of Laodicea and its material and intellectual riches cannot be accidental, since we know from external authorities that Laodicea was pre-eminent in these latter respects. But the Letter to the Church in Laodicea shows that our author is familiar with some of the Christian literature circulating within it—such as St. Paul's Ep. to the Colossians (see note on p. 94 sq.), which, according to St. Paul's directions, was to be read in the Church of Laodicea.

My hypothesis, therefore, that the Seven Letters, which originally dealt with the spiritual conditions of these Churches, and knew nothing whatever of the impending world conflict between Christianity and the Imperial Cultus, were actually sent to their respective Churches, has much to recommend it.

II. 1–7. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN EPHESUS.

1. τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας. The city of Ephesus lay on the left bank of the Cayster. In many inscriptions it is designated, *ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας*. It was, according to Strabo, the greatest emporium in Asia (xiv. 24, *ἐμπόριον οὖσα μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντός τοῦ Ταύρου*). Ephesus was the centre of Roman administration in Asia. As the Province of Asia was senatorial the governor was called proconsul (Acts xix. 38, *ἀνθύπατοι*), and it was at Ephesus that he was bound to land and to enter on his office. As a free city it had a board of magistrates (*στρατηγοί*), a senate (*βουλή*), and a popular Assembly (*ἐκκλησία*).[1] Under the Empire the power of the popular Assembly, which in earlier days had really held the reins of power, had declined until its chief function was to approve of the Bills submitted by the Senate. It had its regular times of meeting, but no extraordinary meeting could be summoned except by the Roman officials. The business of the Assembly was apparently managed by the Town Clerk (*γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως* or *τ. δήμου*). The Senate, which in pre-Roman days had been elected annually by the citizens, came gradually, under the Roman sway, to be composed of a body of distinguished citizens chosen for life, which tended more and more to become a mere tool of the Imperial Government. Ephesus was the Western terminus of the great system of Roman roads—the great trade route from the Euphrates by way of Colossae and Laodicea, a second from Galatia *via* Sardis, while a third came up from the south from the Maeander valley. From its devotion to Artemis,

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[1] Swete (p. lix) states that there were three assemblies: a council (*βουλή*) elected from the six tribes into which the population was divided; a senate (*γερουσία*) charged with the finance of the city and probably of public worship as well as with the care of the public monuments; a popular assembly (*ἐκκλησία*). Each had its *γραμματεύς*.

Ephesus appropriated to itself the title Temple Warden (*νεωκόρος*, Acts xix. 35). But this word took on an additional meaning, and came most commonly to be applied to a city as a warden of a temple of the imperial cultus. The Ephesian Neocorate is first mentioned on coins of Nero. The first temple was probably erected to Claudius or Nero,[1] the second to Hadrian, and the third to Severus. A 2nd century inscription (Wood, *App. Inscr.* vi. 6, p. 50) speaks of Ephesus as being warden of two imperial temples as well as of that of Artemis (*δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*). Ephesus was also a hotbed of every kind of cult and superstition. Its works on magic (*Ἐφέσια γράμματα*) were notorious throughout the world. Now it was at this city that Paul founded a Christian Church (50–55), whence proceeded a movement that led to the evangelization of the province (Acts xix. 10). Though of very secondary importance for a couple of decades, it must after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. have quickly risen into a position of supreme importance and become the chief centre of the Christian Faith in the East. Hence it is rightly named first in i. 11, ii. 1. It was the home of St. John in the latter part of the century; and tradition states that not only were Timothy and John, but also the Virgin Mary, buried at Ephesus. Judaizing and Gnostic teachers early showed themselves active, as we may infer from 1 Tim. i. 7 (*θέλοντες εἶναι νομοδιδάσκαλοι*), iv. 1–3, etc., and Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* vii. 1, *εἰώθασιν γάρ τινες δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πράσσοντες ἀνάξια θεοῦ· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκκλίνειν· εἰσὶν γὰρ κύνες λυσσῶντες, λαθροδῆκται, οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς φυλάσσεσθαι ὄντας δυσθεραπεύτους.* The presence of such elements testified to the danger of schism. See the articles on Ephesus in Hastings' *D.B.*, and the *Encyc. Bib.* with the literature there quoted.

τάδε λέγει. This clause occurs eight times in the N.T., seven of these being in ii. and iii. of our Book. ὅδε occurs only twice elsewhere in the N.T. This sparing use has been observed also in the Κοινή.

ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ αὐτοῦ. This clause has no organic connection with the letter to the Church in Ephesus, and, moreover, it is repeated in iii. 1 in a slightly different form. The use of *κρατῶν*, which here means to hold fast, while in i. 16, iii. 1 we have *ἔχων*, is strange. In the case of the Son of Man *ἔχων* expresses all that is needed. His character is a guarantee that the *ἔχων* contains the *κρατῶν*. If it were a man that was in question here, the use of *κρατεῖν* (cf.

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[1] The temple dedicated to Augustus some time before 5 B.C. did not entitle the city to the Neocorate; for it was not an independent foundation, being built within the precincts of the temple of Artemis; and it was a dedication by the municipality merely, and not by the Synod of Asia (*κοινὸν Ἀσίας*).

ii. 13, vii. 1, "to lay hold of," xx. 2, and ii. 14, 15, 25, iii. 11 where both words occur) would be intelligible.

ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν μέσῳ τ. ἑπτὰ λυχνιῶν τ. χρυσῶν. Christ's vigilance is not localized but coextensive with the entire Church. The idea of the λυχνιῶν returns in ii. 5, which may have occasioned the choice of the above title. That the former of these two divine titles was added by our author when editing his visions as a whole, see p. 25 sq., 45 sq.

2–3. These two verses appear to consist of three couplets.

2. οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου
καὶ ὅτι οὐ δύνῃ βαστάσαι κακούς,
καὶ ἐπείρασας τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν,
καὶ εὗρες αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς.
3. καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου
καὶ οὐ κεκοπίακες.

Here the theme is *τὰ ἔργα σου*. These consist of *τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου*. These two subordinate themes are then rehandled, the *κόπον* in 2^{bcd} and the *ὑπομονήν* in 3^{ab}. There are two paronomasias which cannot be accidental: *τὸν κόπον* and *οὐ κεκοπίακες*, and *οὐ δύνῃ βαστάσαι* and *ἐβάστασας*.

2. The phrase *οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου* recurs, but with the pronoun preceding the noun, in ii. 19, iii. 1, 8, 15. Abbott (*Johannine Gram.*, pp. 414, 422, 601–607) calls the latter the vernacular or unemphatic possessive. In ii. 19 we have a combination of both. See note. *οἶδα*. Christ knows everything (John xxi. 17) —alike the good (2–3, 6) and the bad (4–5) qualities.

τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου. The single pronoun links together the two preceding nouns. These two are the works of the Church in Ephesus—its severe efforts in resisting and overcoming false teachers (2^{bcd}), and its steadfast endurance on behalf of the name of Christ (3^{ab}). We might compare 1 Thess. i. 3, *μνημονεύοντες ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος*, but here *κόπος* and *ὑπομονή* are coordinated with and not subordinated to *ἔργον*. *κόπος* with its cognate *κοπιᾶν* is closely associated with Christian work in the N.T. alike in our text (cf. also xiv. 13) and in the Pauline Epistles. *ὑπομονή*, as Trench (*Synon.* 191) points out, is used to express patience in respect of things, but *μακροθυμία* in respect of persons. But the patience is of a high ethical character. "In this noble word *ὑπομονή* there always appears (in the N.T.) a background of *ἀνδρεία* (cf. Plato, *Theaet.* 177*b*, where *ἀνδρικῶς ὑπομεῖναι* is opposed to *ἀνάνδρως φεύγειν*): it does not mark merely the endurance . . . but . . . the brave patience with which the Christian contends against the various hindrances, persecutions, and temptations that befall him in his conflict with the inward and outward world" (Ellicott on 1 Thess. i. 3, quoted by Trench, *op. cit.*, p. 190).

οὐ δύνῃ βαστάσαι. *δύνῃ* for *δύνασαι* occurs also in Mark ix. 22, 23; Luke xvi. 2. Though not found in Attic prose it is found in Attic poetry. The intolerance here commended is of evildoers who claimed to be apostles. Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* ii. 18) well defines *ὑπομονή* as the knowledge of what things are to be borne and what are not (*ἐπιστήμη ἐμμενετέων καὶ οὐκ ἐμμενετέων*). The need of testing the claims of itinerant teachers who claimed to be prophets and apostles was early felt: cf. 1 Thess. v. 20 sq.; 1 John iv. 1. They were not to be acknowledged unless they brought with them "commendatory letters" (2 Cor. iii. 1).

That the Church in Ephesus shunned such false teachers we learn from Ignatius, *Eph.* ix. 1, *ἔγνων δὲ παροδεύσαντάς τινας ἐκεῖθεν, ἔχοντας κακὴν διδαχήν· οὓς οὐκ εἰάσατε σπεῖραι εἰς ὑμᾶς, βύσαντες τὰ ὦτα εἰς τὸ μὴ παραδέξασθαι τὰ σπειρόμενα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν.* In the Didache xi. 8, 10, the ultimate test of such teachers was conformity of their lives with that of Christ. In Hermas, *Mand.* xi. 11-15, the two types of teachers are contrasted, and in xi. 16 the excellent advice is given: *δοκίμαζε οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι.*

καὶ ἐπείρασας. The verb points to some definite occasion. *πειράζειν* may be compared with *δοκιμάζειν* in 1 John iv. 1.

τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. The *οὐκ εἰσίν* is here a Hebraism for *οὐκ ὄντας*. (See note on i. 5^b–6, p. 14 sq.)

ἀποστόλους. These persons have been identified: (1) with the Judaizers sent from Jerusalem (so Spitta): cf. 2 Cor. xi. 13 sq.; (2) with the disciples of St. Paul or even St. Paul himself (Volkmar, Völter, Holtzmann^3 (with reservations)); (3) with the Nicolaitans in 6 (Bousset). According to this view, 6 resumes 2. This explanation appears to be the best of the three. It also rightly differentiates the *ἔργα* in 2 (*i.e.* the vigorous action against the false teacher and the endurance under affliction) from the *πρῶτα ἔργα* in 5, which are identical with the *ἀγάπην . . . τὴν πρώτην*, or brotherly love, in 4. The Church in Ephesus still hates, 6, the evil members, the false apostles which it had tried and rejected.

3. This verse returns to the positive element in the praise given in 2: it explains *τὴν ὑπομονήν σου*, and refers to *τὸν κόπον* in *οὐ κεκοπίακες*, "thou hast not grown weary." Here we have *ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας* just as in the preceding verse, *δύνῃ . . . καὶ επείρασας*. In both cases an ethical characteristic is brought forward which had manifested itself in some act of the immediate past.

4. But, though the Church in Ephesus has preserved its moral and doctrinal purity and maintained an unwavering loyalty in trial, it has lost the warm love which it had at the beginning. The love here referred to is brotherly love: cf. 19; Matt. xxiv. 12 (*διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν*), and 2 John 5–6. Some scholars see in our text a reminiscence of Jer. ii. 2, "the love of thine espousals," and interpret it of the love to God and Christ. The controversies which had raged in Ephesus had apparently led to censoriousness, factiousness, and divisions (cf. Acts xx. 29-30), and the Church had lost the enthusiastic love it had shown in the days of Paul (cf. Acts xx. 37).

ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ. Cf. 14, 20. Is this an echo of Matt. v. 23, Mark xi. 25?

ἀφῆκας. A common usage of this verb in John: cf. iv. 3, 28, 52, x. 12, etc.

5. The Church in Ephesus is bidden to recognize the spiritual declension that has taken place, to repent and do the works which characterized its first love. As Swete remarks, "*μνημόνευε, μετανόησον, ποίησον* answer to three stages in the history of conversion."

μνημόνευε οὖν. Cf. iii. 3.

εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι, καὶ κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς [ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς]. Since the *εἰ δὲ μή* here declares that if the Church does not fulfil the triple command given in *μνημόνευε . . . καὶ μετανόησον . . . καὶ . . . ποίησον*, judgment will ensue, it is manifest that the clause *ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς* is really a weaker repetition of *εἰ δὲ μή*. This is not in keeping with our author's style. After *εἰ δὲ μή* we must understand *μνημονεύεις . . . καὶ μετανοήσεις καὶ ποιήσεις*. Accordingly *εἰ δὲ μή* or *ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς* must be excised as an intrusion; and clearly it is the latter, as a comparison of ii. 5 and ii. 16 shows. The necessity for this excision becomes obvious if we compare 16 and 22 in this chapter, where we have *separately* the two constructions occurring in this verse. In the first case we have a good parallel to our text here; for the same sequence of ideas, *though less full*, recurs *μετανόησον οὖν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι ταχύ, καὶ πολεμήσω*. Here there is no otiose repetition of the idea conveyed in *εἰ δὲ μή*. After *εἰ δὲ μή* here we have only to supply *μετανοήσεις*. In ii. 22 we have the second possible construction, *ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην . . . ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν*.

When the interpolated gloss is removed we find that 5 consists of two couplets, the second of which is

εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι,
καὶ κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς.

ἔρχομαί σοι. Cf. ii. 16. The dative here may be the *dativus incommodi*, or an incorrect rendering of לָךְ, as in Matt. xxi. 5 (so Blass, *Gram.* 113). *ἔρχομαί σοι* refers here as in ii. 16 to a special visitation or coming, though reference to the final judgment is not excluded. *ἔρχεσθαι* is practically used as equivalent to *ἐλεύσεσθα* throughout the Apocalypse.

κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου, *i.e.* thy Church. That the Ephesian Church paid heed to this warning for the time being we learn from the Prologue to Ignatius' Epistle to Ephesus, where he calls it ἀξιομακάριστος: and in i. 1, where he declares, *μιμηταὶ ὄντες θεοῦ, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον . . . ἀπηρτίσατε.* Again in xi. 2 he expresses the wish that he "may be found in the company of those Christians of Ephesus who, moreover, were ever of one mind with the apostles in the power of Christ." That the threat in our text implies not degradation nor removal of the Church to another place, but destruction, seems obvious. Yet Ramsay (*Letters*, 243 sqq.) is of opinion that the threat is so expressed as to mean only a change in local position, and supports this interpretation by the statement that "Ephesus has always remained the titular head of the Asian Church, and the Bishop of Ephesus still bears that dignity, though he no longer resides at Ephesus but at Magnesia *ad Sipylum*." Nothing now remains on the site of Ephesus (*i.e.* Ayasaluk = ἅγιος θεολόγος) save a railway station and a few huts.

6. The Seer modifies the severe criticism in 4–5 by bringing forward the redeeming characteristic in the Ephesian Church, that they hated the deeds which Christ also hated.

τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν. These Nicolaitans have been identified from the time of Irenaeus (i. 26. 3, iii. 11. 1) and Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 36), who was dependent on Irenaeus, with the followers of Nicolaus the proselyte of Antioch (Acts vi. 5). Tertullian speaks apparently of a second sect (*Praesc. Haer.* 33, *Adv. Marc.* i. 29, *De Pudicitia*, 19), but Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxv.) deals with the Nicolaitans mentioned in our text. In Clem. Alex. (ii. 20. 118, iii. 4. 25), the *Constit. Apost.* (vi. 8, *οἱ νῦν ψευδώνυμοι Νικολαῖται*), and Victorinus an attempt was not unnaturally made to show that the derivation of this immoral sect from one of the seven Deacons was an error. According to Clement, Nicolaus taught *ὅτι παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ*, and according to Hippolytus (*Philos.* viii. 36), Νικόλαος . . . *ἐδίδασκεν ἀδιαφορίαν βίου τε καὶ βρώσεως.* A comparison of the text here with ii. 15–16 leads to an identification of the Nicolaitans and the Balaamites not only on the ground of our text, but also from the fact that they are roughly etymological equivalents, though Heumann (*Act. Erudit.*, 1712, p. 179) urged this as a ground for regarding the names as allegorical and not historical. That is, Balaam = בלע עם = "he hath consumed the people" (a derivation found in Sanh. 105^{a}, where בלה עם is an alternative reading), while Νικόλαος = *νικᾷ λαόν.* Such a play on the etymology of words is thoroughly Semitic. There is, it is true, no exact equivalent to *νικᾶν* in Hebrew. Hence the above can stand. Furthermore a comparison of ii. 14 and ii. 20, which shows that the Balaamites and the followers of Jezebel were guilty of exactly the same vices, makes it highly probable that the latter were a branch of the Nicolaitans.

The works of the Nicolaitans, then, are those given in ii. 14, 20. They transgress the chief commands issued by the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 29).

7. ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω κτλ. Cf. Matt. xi. 15, xiii. 9, 43; Mark iv. 9, 23, etc. This formula introduces the promise to him that overcomes in the first three messages and closes it on the last four. Here the speaker turns from the individual Church to the whole Christian community. Since the Book as a whole was written to be read in public worship, such a larger reference was conceivable in and for itself.

This clause, which occurs seven times,—once in each Letter,—seems to have been added by the Seer when he incorporated the Seven Letters in an edition of his visions. The seven eschatological promises, ii. 7^b, 11^b, 17^b, 26–27, iii. 5, 12, 21, appear to have been added at the same time. Such a phrase as *πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι* in ii. 23 is no evidence to the contrary.

τὸ πνεῦμα. Cf. the closing words of all the Letters; also xiv. 13, xix. 10, xxii. 17. The Spirit here is the Holy Spirit which inspires the prophets, but also the Spirit of Christ, since in ii. 1 Christ is the Speaker. The Spirit here has nothing to do with the seven spirits in iii. 1 [i. 4], iv. 5.

τῷ νικῶντι . . . τοῦ θεοῦ. Added probably by our author when he edited the visions as a whole (see p. 45).

τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ. We have here a well-known Hebraism. Cf. LXX of Josh. ix. 12, *οὗτοι οἱ ἄρτοι . . . ἐφωδιάσθημεν αὐτούς*. It is found sporadically in the Κοινή, but the Κοινή usage is wholly inadequate to explain the frequency and variety of the Hebraisms in our author. For the occurrence of this idiom elsewhere in the N.T., see John vi. 39, vii. 38, x. 35 sq., xv. 2–5, xvii. 2; 1 John ii. 24, 27: cf. Abbott, *Gram.* 32 sq., 309. In ii. 26, *ὁ νικῶν . . . δώσω αὐτῷ* is more Hebraistic than the expression in ii. 7. *νικᾶν* is a word characteristic of our author, and is used of the faithful Christian warrior in ii. 11, 17, 26, iii. 5, 12, 21^a, xii. 11, xv. 2, xxi. 8; of Christ Himself in iii. 21^b, v. 5, xvii. 14. In the remaining passages it is without this moral significance, vi. 2, xi. 7, xiii. 7. It is found once in the Fourth Gospel and six times in 1 John. Elsewhere in the N.T. only four times. Cf. 1 Enoch l. 2. The word *νικᾶν* implies that the Christian life is a warfare from which there is no discharge, but it is a warfare, our author teaches, in which even the feeblest saint can prove victorious. But the word *νικᾶν* is not used in our author of every Christian, but only of the martyr who, though apparently overcome in that he had to lay down his life, yet was in very truth the one who overcame, "as I also have overcome," saith Christ, iii. 21 (cf. John xvi. 33). The participle *τῷ νικῶντι* is here, as elsewhere in our author, influenced by the use of the Hebrew participle, which can have a perfect sense or imperfect as the context requires (see p. 202 n.). In our author *ὁ νικῶν* = *ὁ νενικηκώς*. This warfare which faithfulness entails may be illustrated from 4 Ezra vii. 127 sq., "And he answered me and said: This is the condition of the contest which every man who is born upon earth must wage, that if he be overcome he shall suffer as thou hast said; but, if he be victorious, he shall receive what I have said."

δώσω . . . φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς. *δώσω . . . φαγεῖν* is a frequent construction in our author, occurring in all eleven times. In the Fourth Gospel it is found four times, and in the rest of the N.T. twenty times. Personal victory over evil is the condition without which none can eat of the tree of life. With our text we may compare xxii. 14. Test. Levi xviii. 11, *καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἁγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς*: 1 Enoch xxiv. 4, *καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς δένδρον ὃ οὐδέποτε ὤσφρανμαι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος αὐτῶν εὐφράνθη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὅμοιον αὐτῷ. ὀσμὴν εἶχεν εὐωδεστέραν πάντων ἀρωμάτων, καὶ τὰ φύλλα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄνθος καὶ τὸ δένδρον οὐ φθίνει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*: xxv. 4, *καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δένδρον εὐωδίας, καὶ οὐδεμία σὰρξ ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἅψασθαι αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως . . . τότε δικαίοις καὶ ὁσίοις δοθήσεται*: 5, *ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς εἰς ζωὴν εἰς βοράν, καὶ μεταφυτευθήσεται ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ παρὰ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ.* Thus as early as the 2nd cent. B.C. it was held that the tree of life would be transferred to the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem—not apparently the Heavenly Jerusalem, but the earthly Jerusalem cleansed from all iniquity. That the earthly Jerusalem should give place to the Heavenly in this connection was inevitable. But the combination of the two ideas is of supreme importance as it prepares the way for the conception of our Seer, who places the tree of life in the street of the Heavenly Jerusalem (xxii. 2). That this *Heavenly* Jerusalem, to which belongs the tree of life (ii. 7, xxii. 2), is to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom on the present earth before the Final Judgment, and is not to be confounded with the *New* Jerusalem, which is to descend from the new heaven to the new earth after the Final Judgment and become the everlasting abode of the blessed, I have shown at some length in the Introd. to xx. 4–xxii.

τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς. Cf. xxii. 2, 14. The tree of life is the symbol for immortality in our author. None can eat of it save those who have proved victorious in the strife with sin and evil. The ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς is to be carefully distinguished from the ὕδωρ τῆς ζωῆς. The latter is a free gift (xxii. 17, xxi. 6), given without money and without price to every one that thirsteth for it. It symbolizes the divine graces of forgiveness and truth and light, etc. (cf. vii. 17). If a man is faithful to the obligations entailed by these graces he becomes a victor (νικῶν) in the battle of life, and thus wins the right to eat of the tree of life, that is, he enters finally on immortality. In the Fourth Gospel (iv. 10, 13, 14), on the other hand, only the one symbol is used—"the water of life," and this is given a significance that embraces the two symbols used by our author.

τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. In our author Paradise has become equivalent to the Heavenly Jerusalem, which is to descend from heaven before the Final Judgment to become the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. In Luke xxiii. 43 it is the abode of the blessed departed, and in 2 Cor. xii. 4 it is identified with the third heaven or with part of it. On some of the other meanings assigned to it and the localities identified with it, see my *Eschatology* ^{2}, 244, 291 sq., 316–318, 357, 473 sq.

8–11. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN SMYRNA.

8. ἐν Σμύρνῃ. The ancient city of Smyrna was destroyed early in the 6th cent. B.C. and refounded on a new site under the Diadochoi by Lysimachus (301–281 B.C.). It has continued from that date to the present one of the most prosperous cities of Asia Minor. Smyrna proved itself a faithful ally of Rome from the period that Rome began to intervene in Eastern affairs and before it had established its claim to world supremacy. It openly supported Rome against Mithridates, Carthage, and the Seleucid kings. As early as 195 B.C. (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 56) it dedicated a temple to the goddess of Rome. Lying at the end of one of the great roads leading across Lydia from Phrygia and the east, and forming the maritime outlet for the whole trade of the Hermus valley, it became wealthy and prosperous. It was an assize town, and one of the cities bearing the name μητρόπολις. With Ephesus and Pergamum it strove for the title πρώτη Ἀσίας —a strife which continued till it was settled by the Emperor Antoninus (Philostr. *Op.* 231. 24, ed. Kayser); and of all the Asiatic cities that in A.D. 26 contended for the right of erecting a temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate, it alone secured this privilege and could henceforth claim the Imperial Neocorate. A second Neocorate was accorded to it by Hadrian (see, however, Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 467) and a third by Severus. Of the power acquired by the Jews in Smyrna notice will be taken. As regards the origin of the Church in Smyrna the N.T. gives no information. According to *Vita Polycarpi*, 2, St. Paul visited Smyrna on his way to Ephesus. According to Acts xix. 10, "All they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of God." See the Bible Dictionaries on "Smyrna," and Ramsay, *Letters*, *in loc.*

ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. Repeated from i. 17.

ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν. These words also go back to i. 17 sq., *καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός, καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.* Compare the demonic caricature in the case of the Antichrist: xiii. 14, *ὃς ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρης καὶ ἔζησεν.* The word *ἔζησεν* refers to Christ's resurrection: cf. Rom. xiv. 9, *Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἔζησεν ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ.* This part of the title, *ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν*, points forward to 10^{d}, *γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου καὶ δώσω σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς.* The divine title, *ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος*, seems to have been added by our author when editing his visions as a whole. See p. 45 sq.

9–10. These two verses constitute three stanzas: the first verse constituting the first stanza of three lines and the second verse two stanzas of three lines and two respectively.

9. οἶδά σου τὴν θλίψιν . . . ἀλλὰ πλούσιος εἶ. The unemphatic or vernacular use of the pronoun here throws the emphasis on the context, "I know the *affliction and poverty* thou endurest, but thou art not poor but rich." With this we may contrast the words addressed to Laodicea, iii. 17, *λέγεις ὅτι Πλούσιός εἰμι, . . . καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ . . . πτωχός.* On the combination of material poverty and spiritual riches cf. 2 Cor. vi. 10, *ὡς πτωχοί, πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες*: Jas. ii. 5, *οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ πλουσίους ἐν πίστει*: also Luke xii. 21; 1 Tim. vi. 18. The poverty of the Christians in Smyrna appears to be due at all events in part to the despoiling of their goods by the Jewish and pagan mobs: cf. Heb. x. 34, *τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθε.*

τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτούς. Here *ἐκ* means "proceeding from." Hence John iii. 25 is not a true parallel. The bitter hostility of the Jews to the Christians at Smyrna is unmistakable from the context. The Jews were strong at Smyrna, and had maintained in practice their position as a distinct people apart from the rest of the citizens till the reign of Hadrian as an inscription (*CIG.* 3148, *οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι*) shows, though they had legally ceased to be so at 70 A.D. From other sources we know of their hostility to the Christians. Justin (*Dial.* xvi. 11, xlvii. 15, xcvi. 5, etc.) charges the Jews generally with cursing in their synagogues those that believed on Christ; and Tertullian with instigating the persecution of the

Christians (*Scorp.* 10, "Synagogas Judaeorum, fontes persecutionum"): cf. Euseb. *H.E.* v. 16. And this hostility was no doubt aggravated by the accession of converts from Judaism to Christianity, a fact which is attested in Ignatius (*Ad Smyrn.* i. 2, εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἴτε ἐν Ἰουδαίοις εἴτε ἐν ἔθνεσιν). In the martyrdom of Polycarp this enmity of the Jews was exhibited in an almost incredible degree; for they joined (xii. 2) with the pagans in accusing Polycarp of hostility to the *State religion*, crying out "with ungovernable wrath and with a loud shout: 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of our gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice nor to worship'" (ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν).

These Jews, moreover, joined with the pagans in demanding from the Asiarch and chief priest Philip the death of Polycarp, and were especially active (although it was the Sabbath day) in collecting timber and faggots with a view to burning Polycarp alive (μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ταῦτα ὑπουργούντων) (*op. cit.* xiii. 1). Later in the Decian persecution the Jews took a prominent part in the martyrdom of Pionius, which, too, took place on the Sabbath (*Act. Pion.* 3). In our text the Jews are charged with blaspheming Christ and His followers as they had done in the earliest days of Paul's preaching in Asia Minor (Acts xiii. 45, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι . . . ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λαλουμένοις βλασφημοῦντες). But the Christians are reminded that these Jews are Jews in name only—after the flesh and not after the spirit: cf. Rom. ii. 28, οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν . . . ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι: Gal. vi. 15 sq. The true Jews are those who have believed in Christ, and thereby won a legitimate claim to the name and spiritual privileges belonging to the Jews. The fact that our author attaches a spiritual significance of the highest character to the name Ἰουδαῖος shows that he is himself a Jewish Christian. In such a connection the Fourth Evangelist would have used the term Ἰσραηλίτης (cf. i. 47), whereas he represents the Ἰουδαῖοι as specifically and essentially the opponents of Christianity. See Westcott, *John*, p. ix sq.

καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. On this Hebraism for καὶ οὐκ ὄντων see note on i. 5–6.

συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Cf. iii. 9. The Jews were, as their actions showed, a Synagogue of Satan though they claimed to be a Synagogue of the Lord: Συναγωγὴ τοῦ Κυρίου (Num. xvi. 3 (קהל), xx. 4, xxvi. 9 (עדה), xxxi. 16. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 18, συναγωγὰς ὁσίων). The nobler word ἐκκλησία was chosen by the Church as a self-designation, συναγωγή being used only once in the N.T. of a Christian assembly (Jas. ii. 2). συναγωγή was gradually abandoned to the Jews, and thus we find such an expression as συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ in this Book, which was almost the latest in the Canon.

10. The persecution with which the Church is here threatened shows that the Jews are acting in concert with the heathen authorities. Spitta suggests that the term διάβολος (cf. xii. 10, ὁ κατήγωρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν) is here chosen in order to recall the calumnies of the Jews against the Christians. But in that case we should, as Düsterdieck observes, expect συναγωγὴ τοῦ διαβόλου in 9.

ἐξ ὑμῶν. For the partitive genitive used as an object, cf. Matt. xxiii. 34; 2 John 4. In Rev. xi. 9; John xvi. 17, we have it used as the subject.

εἰς φυλακὴν ἵνα πειρασθῆτε. This phrase defines the character of the trial awaiting the Church in Smyrna, and therefore the meaning to be attached to πειρασθῆτε. πειράζειν and πειρασμός in iii. 10 refer to the demonic attacks which are to befall all the unbelievers on the earth, but which cannot affect those who have been sealed: see vii. 2–4 (notes); for the sealing has secured them against such attacks. But in the present verse πειράζειν is used in the sense of testing by persecution. Against such πειρασμός Christ does not shield His own: rather they must face it and be faithful under it even unto death (10^d).

θλίψιν ἡμερῶν δέκα. The round number here points to a short period: cf. Dan. i. 12, 14. The number is used in this sense also in Gen. xxiv. 55; Num. xi. 19. See in Pirke Aboth, v. 1–9, on the various things connected with the number 10.

πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου. Here the supreme trial of martyrdom is referred to: cf. xii. 11, οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου: Heb. xii. 4, οὔπω μέχρις αἵματος ἀντικατέστητε: also Phil. ii. 8.

τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς. The figure appears to be borrowed from the wreath awarded to the victor in the games. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 25; Phil. iii. 14; 2 Tim. ii. 5; 1 Pet. v. 4 (τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον). Smyrna was, according to Pausanias (vi. 14. 3, cited by *Encyc. Bib.* 4662), famous for its games. In the Test. Benj. iv. 1 we have the oldest reference to such crowns in Jewish literature: cf. Jas. i. 12; Asc. Isa. vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10–13, etc.; Herm. *Sim.* viii. 2, 3; Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* i. 1; *Martyr. Polyc.* xvii. 1. But it is possible, as has been suggested by Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 41–45; Volz, 344; Gressmann, *Ursprung d. israel. jüd. Eschat.* 110, that these symbols are derived from heavenly beings. Thus in 2 Enoch xiv. 2 the sun is represented as adorned with a crown of glory; similarly in 3 Bar. vi. 1 with a crown of fire. Dieterich (*op. cit.*, p. 41) states that in works of art the Greek deities were very frequently represented with crowns of light or nimbuses from the time of Alexander the Great, and that the nimbuses in works of ancient Christian art were derived from this source. These crowns are naturally associated with the blessed when once these are conceived as clothed in light: cf. p. 183 sqq. The genitive *τῆς ζωῆς* is therefore, as Bousset suggests, probably to be taken not epexegetically as "the crown which consists in life," but as "the crown which belongs to the eternal life." As the tree of life (cf. ii. 7 note, xxii. 2, 14) is a symbol of the blessed immortality in Christ, so the crown of life appears to symbolize its full consummation.

11. ὁ ἔχων . . . ἐκκλησίαις. Cf. 7^a.

11^b. Like 7^b, 17^{bcd}, 26–28, iii. 5, 12, 21, this, too, is probably an editorial addition of our author. Here the addition is unhappy, for it comes in the form of an anti-climax after the great promise in 10^e.

ὁ νικῶν οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ. *οὐ μή* with the future or aorist constitutes "the most definite form of a negative assertion about the future" (Blass, *Gram.* 209). *οὐ μή* is always (15 times) followed by the aorist subjunctive in our author except in xviii. 14, which is not from his hand: in the rest of the N.T. it is followed by the indicative once out of every seven or eight times; in classical Greek the present subjunctive is also found. This construction is frequent in the N.T.—in all about 96 times, but rare in non-literary papyri. Moulton (*Prol.* 190 sqq.) tries to show, notwithstanding, that the N.T. and the papyri are here in harmony.

ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ. *ἀδικεῖν* is always used in the sense of "to hurt" in our author: see xxii. 11, note. The agent or instrument is expressed by *ἐκ* after a passive verb. Cf. iii. 18, ix. 2, 18, xviii. 1. In this promise there may be a reference to 10, *γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου.* He that is ready to submit to physical death for his faith will not be affected by the second death.

τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου. Cf. xx. 6 [14], xxi. 8, where this expression is explained. This is a Rabbinic expression. Thus, in the Jerus. Targum on Deut. xxxiii. 6 we have, "Let Reuben live in this age and not die the second death (במותנא תנינא) whereof the wicked die in the next world." Targ. on Jer. li. 39, 57, "Let them die the second death and not live in the next world"; on Isa. xxii. 14, "This sin shall not be forgiven you till ye die the second death"; also on Isa. lxv. 6, 15; Sota, 35^a (on Num. xiv. 37), "they died the second (?) death" (מיתה משונה). See Wetstein for further examples. The idea is found also in Philo, *De Praem. et Poen.* ii. 419, *θανάτου γὰρ διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸ τεθνάναι . . . τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν, ὃ δὴ κακὸν πάντως.* Though the expression is not found in 1 Enoch the idea probably is in xcix. 11, cviii. 3, where the spirits of the wicked are said to be slain in Sheol, though their annihilation is not implied thereby.

12–17. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN PERGAMUM.

12. τῆς ἐν Περγάμῳ. This city appears as ἡ Πέργαμος in Xenophon and Pausanias, but as Πέργαμον in Strabo, Polybius, Appian, and most other writers. The latter is the usual form also in the inscriptions. Pergamum was a Mysian city, about 15 miles from the sea. It commanded the valley of the Caicus, and lay between two streams which fell into the Caicus about 4 miles distant. The earliest city was built on a hill, 1000 feet high, which became the site of the Acropolis and many of the chief buildings of the later city. Though a city of some importance in the 5th cent. B.C. its greatness dates from the 3rd, when it was made the capital of the Attalids, the first of whom to assume the title of king was Attalus I. in 241 B.C. The last of this dynasty—Attalus III.—bequeathed his kingdom, with the exception of Phrygia Magna, to the Romans. At this date this kingdom embraced "all the land on this side the Taurus," and was constituted, with the above exception, as the Province of Asia by the Romans, with Pergamum as its official capital. Pergamum was famed for its great religious foundations in honour of Zeus Soter,[1] Athena Nikephoros, whose temple crowned the Acropolis, Dionysos Kathegemon, and Asklepios Soter.[2] Of these the cult of Asklepios was the most distinctive and celebrated. It was the Lourdes of the Province of Asia, and the seat of a famous school of medicine. Thus Galen (*De Compos. Med.* ix.) writes: εἰώθασιν πολλοί . . . ἐν τῷ βίῳ λέγειν· μὰ τὸν ἐν Περγάμῳ Ἀσκληπιόν, μὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ἄρτεμιν, μὰ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνα, and Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii*, iv. 34), ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀσία εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον, οὕτως εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ξυνεφοίτα ἡ Κρήτη (both passages quoted by Wetstein): Mart. ix. 17, "Pergameo . . . deo."

But from the standpoint of our author the most important cult was that of the Roman Emperors, which was established in Pergamum—as the chief city of the province—in 29 B.C., where a temple was dedicated to Augustus and Rome by the Provincial

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[1] Many scholars have sought to explain ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ by the gigantic altar erected on a huge platform 800 feet above the city to Zeus Soter in commemoration, it is believed, of the victory of Attalus over the Galatai.

[2] Other scholars have found in the phrase in the preceding note a reference to the worship of Asklepios, because the serpent (*i.e.* Satan; cf. xii. 9) was universally associated with him.

Synod (Κοινὸν Ἀσίας);[1] cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 37, where Tiberius refers to the founding of this temple to Augustus and Rome by Pergamum. No such foundation was officially recognized in Asia unless it was made by the Synod with the concurrence of the Roman Senate. Thus Pergamum won the honour of the Neocorate before Smyrna, which did not obtain it till 26 B.C., and Ephesus, which was not so honoured till the reign of Claudius or Nero. A second temple was built in Pergamum in honour of Trajan, and a third in honour of Severus. The imperial cult had thus its centre at Pergamum; and as the imperial cult was the keystone of the imperial policy, Pergamum summed up in itself the intolerable offence and horror that such a cult, the observance of which was synonymous with loyalty to Empire, provoked in the mind of our author. It is here and nowhere else that we are to find the explanation of the startling phrase, *ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ*, in 13. Behind the city in the 1st cent. A.D. arose a huge conical hill, 1000 feet high, covered with heathen temples and altars, which in contrast to "the mountain of God," referred to in Isa. xiv. 13; Ezek. xxviii. 14, 16, and called "the throne of God" in 1 Enoch xxv. 3, appeared to the Seer as the throne of Satan, since it was the home of many idolatrous cults, but above all of the imperial cult, which menaced with annihilation the very existence of the Church. For refusal to take part in this cult constituted high treason to the State. See Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, 281 sqq.

ὁ ἔχων τὴν ῥομφαίαν κτλ. Cf. i. 16. This title is connected with 16 that follows. See p. 26.

13. ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ. The reference in these words, as has been shown in the preceding verse, is to the primacy of Pergamum as the centre of the imperial cult, and as such the centre of Satan's kingdom in the East—in the West it was Rome itself: cf. xiii. 2, xvi. 10. Here stood the first temple erected to Augustus and Rome; and here dwelt the powerful priesthood devoted to the imperial cult; and from Pergamum it spread all over Asia Minor. The Asiarch or chief civil authority is, as we see from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, likewise the chief priest of this cult.

κρατεῖς τὸ ὄνομά μου. Notwithstanding all these difficulties thou "holdest fast My name."

οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὴν πίστιν μου κτλ. These words refer to some definite persecution of which nothing is at present known. In *πίστις μου* the *μου* is the objective genitive, *i.e.* "faith in Me": cf. xiv. 12. In ii. 19, xiii. 10, *πίστις* = "faithfulness."

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[1] That the temple was actually the seat of the imperial cult in the province is proved by an inscription from Mytilene: *ἐν < τῷ ναῷ τῷ κατα > σκευαζομένῳ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Περγάμῳ* (quoted by Bousset).

ν ταῖς ἡμέραις † Ἀντίπας †. If with the best MSS we accept Ἀντίπας, we must treat it as indeclinable. But it is perhaps best to follow Lachmann (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, p. 839), WH (ii. App. 137), Nestle, Swete, and Zahn in regarding ANTIΠA as the original reading, and the final C either as an accidental doubling of the following O (Lachmann), or a deliberate change of Ἀντίπα into the nom. Ἀντίπας owing to the nominative ὁ μάρτυς (Zahn). The former explanation is to be preferred. For early attempts to emend the text see critical notes *in loc.* Ἀντίπας is an abbreviated form of Ἀντίπατρος, as Κλεόπας for Κλεόπατρος. Cf. Hermas for Hermodorus, Lucas for Lucanus. Nothing is really known beyond this reference of the martyr Antipas. Later martyrs in Pergamum are known, as Carpus, Papylus and Agathonike (cf. Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 15).

ὁ μάρτυς μου. On this solecism, which is really a Hebraism, see note on i. 5. The R.V. is right essentially in xvii. 6 in rendering μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ by "martyrs of Jesus." The word should be similarly translated here. For, since the Seer expects all the faithful to seal their witness with their blood (xiii. 15), the word μάρτυς in our text is a witness faithful unto death, and therefore a martyr. But outside our author this use was not established till later, though the way was prepared for this use by Acts xxii. 20, Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου, and 1 Tim. vi. 13; Clem. *Cor.* 5. Though the technical distinction between μάρτυς and ὁμολογήτης ("martyr" and "confessor") was not absolutely fixed till the Decian persecution, yet, as Lightfoot (on Clem. *Cor.* 5) observes, "after the middle of the second century at all events μάρτυς, μαρτυρεῖν, were used absolutely to signify martyrdom; *Martyr. Polyc.* 19 sq.; Melito in Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 26; Dionys. Corinth. *ib.* ii. 25. . . . Still even at this late date they continued to be used simultaneously of other testimony to be borne to the Gospel, short of death: *e.g.* by Hegesippus, Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 20, 32."

ἀπεκτάνθη. The passive form of ἀποκτείνω, which occurs very rarely in the LXX and only once outside the Apocalypse in the N.T. (*i.e.* Mark viii. 31 = Matt. xvi. 21 = Luke ix. 22), is frequently used in this Book: cf. ii. 13, vi. 11, ix. 18, 20 [xi. 5, 13, xiii. 10, 15], xix. 21; whereas ἀποθνήσκω is only used strictly as a passive in viii. 11, xiv. 13. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, whereas the passive of ἀποκτείνειν does not occur, we find ἀποθνήσκειν used as its passive, xi. 16, 50, 51, xviii. 14, 32, xix. 7.

14. ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὀλίγα. Though this Church has withstood the dangers besetting it from the imperial cult, it has suffered teachers of false doctrine to arise and win a following amongst its members. In ὀλίγα only one thing is meant, though the writer speaks of that one thing generically: cf. WM 219.

ἐκεῖ = παρ᾽ ὑμῖν in the preceding verse.

ἔχεις ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ, ὃς ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλάκ κτλ. On the relation of this verse to the next see 15.

The reference is to Num. xxxi. 16 (cf. xxv. 1, 2). Balaam is here represented as the prototype of all corrupt teachers. In our text these early Gnostics by their false teaching, that as they were not under the law but under grace (Rom. vi. 15) and were therefore not bound by the law, tempted men to licentiousness, even as Balak corrupted Israel in accordance with the advice of Balaam. In Num. xxxi. 16 it is not expressly stated that Balaam counselled Balak to act so against Israel, but the statement in our text is a not unnatural inference—an inference already made in Philo, *Vita Moys.* i. 53–55; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 6. 6; Origen, *In Num. Hom.* xx. 1.

The construction *ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλάκ* is, according to WM, p. 279 (note ^{4}), found in some late writers. It is unjustifiable to explain it as a Hebraism, since this construction in the case of ירה and למד is exceptional in the O.T. In ii. 20 *διδάσκειν* takes the acc.

φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι. Here the order is against Num. xxv. 1–2 and ii. 20 (see note) of our text. It is doubtful whether the first phrase refers to the eating of food which had been bought in the open market and already been consecrated to an idol, or to participation in pagan feasts. Probably it refers to both. This problem had, as we know, arisen in Corinth many years earlier in an acute form: cf. 1 Cor. viii. 7–13, x. 20–30. From this letter we learn that, though St. Paul did not censure the conduct of the Corinthians who regarded the eating of *εἰδωλόθυτα* as a matter of moral indifference, because of the decree issued by the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem (cf. Acts xv. 29, *ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων*: cf. xv. 20, *ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων*), yet he condemned their action on the principle that it put a stumbling-block in the way of their weaker brethren, and tended to bring about their moral downfall; and that by sharing in the heathen feasts which were made in honour of gods, who though they were not indeed gods as the heathen conceived them (1 Cor. viii. 4), were nevertheless demons (x. 20), they made themselves spiritually unfit to take part in the Eucharist (x. 21).

15. This verse and the preceding are difficult, but their explanation does not call for the supposition of mixed constructions. The thought and connection of the verses are as follows: in 14 our author states that the Pergamene Church has certain corrupt teachers, belonging to the following of Balaam, who seduced Israel into sin. But since this statement only defines the affinities of these corrupt teachers *with the past*, we expect a further definition of their affinities with the present. This we find in 15, where we should render: "Thus in like manner thou too (*i.e.* as well as the Ephesian Church: cf. 6) hast some who hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans." *οὕτως* and *ὁμοίως* are not to be taken as referring to one and the same thing. *οὕτως* justifies the statement made in 14, whereas the *ὁμοίως* refers to the Ephesian Church. Thus the *καὶ σύ* and the *ὁμοίως* belong together: "Thou too (as well as the Ephesian Church) in like manner" (with the Ephesian Church). The *ἔχεις* in 15 resumes that in 14. This explanation does no violence to any part of the text, while it explains each member of it in a natural sense from the context. The right interpretation of *καὶ σύ* leads to the right interpretation of the whole. By failing to recognize this fact expositors have erred in the past. Thus Johannes Weiss is driven to mistranslate 15 as follows: "So hast du dort *auch* (?) solche, welche die Lehre der Nikolaiten halten gleicherweise." The *καί* beyond question belongs to the *σύ*. Bousset represents the meaning of 14–15 to be: "So wie Bileam durch Balak die Israeliten verführte, so haben die Pergamener die Nicolaiten als Verführer." But if any such comparison was intended, we should have had something like *ὥσπερ Βαλαὰμ ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλὰκ βαλεῖν . . . οὕτως κρατοῦντες τὴν διδαχὴν Νικολαϊτῶν βάλλουσι σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιόν σου.* But this interpretation fails, as it leaves wholly out of sight the definitive phrase *καὶ σύ*. Besides, if, as some scholars suppose, the construction is irregular and the *οὕτως* presupposes a preceding *ὥσπερ* in this context, then not *Βαλαάμ* but *οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ* would be the subject with which *καὶ σύ* would be compared: *ὥσπερ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ εἶχον κρατοῦνας τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ κτλ., οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντας κτλ.* This would in itself give an excellent sense. As the ancient Israel had corrupt teachers, so too now has the Pergamene Church. But then the present form of the text does not admit of this interpretation, and, moreover, the context is against it. The *καὶ σύ* recalls the fact that not only is the Pergamene but also the Ephesian Church troubled by corrupt teachers.

The grammatical study of the text having thus established the fact, that in 15 we have at once both an explanation of 14 and a comparison with ii. 6, serves further to settle the relation of the Balaamites and the Nicolaitans. The term Balaamites is simply a name given for the nonce by our author to the Nicolaitans. The assignment of this name rests on two grounds: the first is the identity of results as regards their teaching; the second is the identity in respect of meaning in the view of our author as well as of certain Jewish writers of Βαλαάμ and Νικόλαος (see note in ii. 16).

16. μετανόησον οὖν. The whole Church of Pergamum is called upon to repent and purge itself from these Nicolaitans, in the hope that they will ultimately come to a better mind and return to her (cf. 1 Cor. v. 4–5), else Christ will visit the Church (*ἔρχομαί σοι*) and deal drastically with these corrupt teachers (*μετ᾽ αὐτῶν*). The Seer requires the Church of Pergamum to expel them, as the Church of Ephesus had already done. It has not identified itself with them.

εἰ δὲ μή. Here equivalent to *εἰ δὲ μὴ μετανοήσεις* as in ii. 5^b, where see note. *εἰ δὲ μή* is always elliptical in our author.

πολεμήσω μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. This construction, which is frequent in the LXX, is confined to the Apocalypse (cf. xii. 7, xiii. 4, xvii. 14) in the N.T. The verb itself occurs outside the Apocalypse only in Jas. iv. 2. In our text it cannot be treated as other than a Hebraism, if we take into account the Hebraistic character of the text in general. The fact that it occurs sporadically (see Moulton, *Proleg.*^{2} 106)—twice or more—in the Papyri is no evidence to the contrary. See Abbott, *Gram.*, p. 267.

ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου. Cf. i. 16, ii. 12, xix. 15. The phrase suggests a forensic condemnation, but in xix. 15 this word is conceived as an actual instrument of war.

17. τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα. On *τῷ νικῶντι . . . αὐτῷ* see 7. *τοῦ μάννα* is the only instance in the N.T. of *δοῦναι* with the partitive genitive (see iii. 9). According to 2 Bar. xxix. 8 the treasury of manna was to descend from heaven during the Messianic Kingdom, and the blessed were to eat of it. This manna is referred to in Chag. 12^b (Tanchuma; Piqqudi, 6; Beresh. rab. 19; Bammid. rab. 13), where it is said that in the third heaven (שחקים) are the mills which grind manna for the righteous. This manna was called "bread from heaven," Ex. xvi. 4; "corn of heaven," Ps. lxxviii. 24, and likewise "bread of the mighty" (*i.e.* angels, cf. Ps. lxxviii. 25). It is to this heavenly manna, and not to the golden pot of manna which was preserved (Ex. xvi. 32–34) in remembrance of the food in the wilderness and which was in the ark (Heb. ix. 4), that our text appears to refer (cf. *Or. Sibyl.* vii. 148 f.:

> *κλήματα δ᾽ οὐκ ἔσται οὐδὲ στάχυς, ἀλλ᾽ ἅμα πάντες*
> *μάννην τὴν δροσερὴν λευκοῖσιν ὀδοῦσι φάγονται.*

It is quite true that there are several Rabbinic passages which speak of the restoration of the pot of manna on the advent of the Messiah: cf. Tanchuma, p. 83^b, and other passages cited by Wetstein *in loc.*

The idea of the manna in this connection was probably suggested to our author by the association of ideas evoked by 14–16. There he was thinking of Israel in the wilderness tempted by Balaam, just as the Pergamene Christians are tempted by his spiritual successors. As the ancient Israel was fed by a material manna, the true Israelites would in the future life be fed by a spiritual manna. Since the material manna could not avert death under the old Dispensation, John vi. 49 argues that it was not bread of life even in the very sphere to which it belonged.

As the context shows, as well as a comparison of the other six promises, the promise here refers to the future.[1] The manna that is now hidden will then be given to those who have fought the good fight and conquered. Part of this victory on the part of the Pergamene Church will consist in their abstinence from forbidden meats: contrast the gift of the manna here with the *εἰδωλόθυτα* eaten by the unfaithful, ii. 14. The "hidden manna" probably signifies the direct spiritual gifts that the Church triumphant will receive in transcendent measure from intimate communion with Christ. This "hidden manna" is practically equivalent in some degree to the water of life (see p. 54 sq.), but not to the tree of life.

ψῆφον λευκήν. Stones or pebbles were variously used by the ancients, and each usage has been applied to the interpretation of the present passage. 1. The white stone used by jurors to signify acquittal; cf. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 41:

> "Mos erat antiquis niveis atrisque lapillis,
> His damnare reos illis absolvere culpa."

2. The ψῆφος which entitled him that received it to free entertainment to royal assemblies. Cf. Xiphilin, *Epit. Dion.*, p. 228, where it is said of Titus: *σφαίρια γὰρ ξύλινα μικρὰ ἄνωθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐρρίπτει σύμβολον ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν ἐδωδίμου τινός . . . ἃ ἁρπάσαντάς τινας ἔδει πρὸς τοὺς δωτῆρας αὐτῶν ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον.* Hence here a ticket of admission to the heavenly feast. 3. The precious stones which according to Rabbinical tradition fell along with the manna (Joma, 8). 4. The precious stones on the breastplate of the high priest bearing the names of the Twelve Tribes. 5. The white stone was regarded as a mark of felicity: cf. Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 11. 3, "O diem laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo."

But each of these explanations is unsatisfactory; either the ψῆφος is not white or it has no inscription upon it. The true source of the ideas underlying the expressions in our text is most probably to be found in the sphere of popular superstition, which attached mysterious powers to the use of secret names (see Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 128–265). The new name in such a connection would naturally be not that of the person who received the ψῆφος, but of some supernatural being. The white stone was simply an amulet engraved with some magical formula or name, such as we find in Makk. 11ª (cf. Sukka, 53ª): "When David dug the cistern (at the south-west corner of the altar) the deep surged up and sought to overwhelm the world. Then he asked if he might inscribe the divine name on a potsherd and cast it into the deep to cause it to sink back into its place." The value of such an amulet was enhanced if the holder of it was assured that the name was new, and so known only to him; for should any one succeed in learning this name he too would enjoy the same powers as its possessor. We have now to ask if our author has taken over in their entirety these ideas. Even if this is so, we may be certain that they have become spiritually transformed. The new name can only be that of Christ or God inscribed on a *ψῆφος*. The man himself may be regarded as the *ψῆφος*; and since he is *λευκός*, as his victory in the final strife has proved, he is inscribed with the divine name,[1] which has a different meaning in character with the soul that receives it, and therefore a new meaning to every faithful soul, and which none but it knows (cf. Matt. xi. 27). This interpretation brings this passage somewhat into line with ii. 12, *ὁ νικῶν . . . γράψω ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου . . . καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν*. This inscription designates him as God's own possession, as the *σφραγίς* in vii. 2 sqq. (see note *in loc.* and parallels). But the *ψῆφος* with the divine name inscribed on it may be differently interpreted, and taken to be a symbol of the transcendent powers now placed in the hand of him that has been faithful unto death. Through such faithfulness the blessed are fitted to receive from their divine Master fresh graces (*i.e.* the hidden manna) and powers (the stone inscribed with the divine name) of a transcendent character.

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[1] Philo (*Quis rerum divin.* 39, *Leg. allegor.* iii. 59, 61), on the other hand, uses manna as signifying "the spiritual food of the soul" in the present life.

ὄνομα καινόν. See preceding notes.

ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων. As we have observed above, the knowledge that a faithful heart possesses of God is a thing incommunicable, known only to itself. Cf. xix. 12, *ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός*, where, however, the general meaning is different, and the clause is probably an interpolation.

18–29. THE MESSAGE TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH IN THYATIRA.

18. τῷ ἐν Θυατείροις. The longest letter is addressed to the least important of the Seven Cities. Thyatira lay about 40 miles to the S.E. of Pergamum—almost midway between the Caicus in the north and the Hermus in the south. It was a Lydian city on the confines of Mysia, to which it was sometimes said to belong (Strabo, 625, *Θυάτειρα . . . ἣν Μυσῶν ἐσχάτην τινὲς φασίν*). It was founded by the Seleucidae, its first settlers being for the most part old soldiers of Alexander the Great and their children. Hence it was called *κατοικία Μακεδόνων* by Strabo, 625. About 190 B.C. it fell under the sway of the Romans and formed part of the Province of Asia. Thyatira was notable for its extensive trading and the number of its guilds of craftsmen, and it is with the question, whether Christians were justified or not in sharing in the common meals of a sacrificial character, that this Letter to the Church in Thyatira is mainly concerned: see notes. But Thyatira was undistinguished in other respects in later times; for Pliny, *H.N.* v. 33, writes slightingly of this community: "Thyatireni aliaeque inhonorae civitates." An important road ran from Pergamum to Thyatira, thence to Sardis and through Philadelphia to Laodicea. Thus the Seven Churches were naturally linked together from a geographical point of view, starting with Ephesus and ending with Laodicea. Thyatira had temples dedicated to Apollo Tyrimnaios, Artemis, and a shrine of Sambathe (*τὸ Σαμβαθεῖον*), an Oriental Sibyl in the neighbourhood; but it had no temple founded in honour of the Emperors. The Christian Church at Thyatira ceased to exist towards the close of the 2nd cent. A.D., according to a statement of the Alogi. It early became a centre of Montanism (Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. 33). See Ramsay, *Letters*, and the Bible Dictionaries *in loc.*

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[1] Some scholars think that the new name given to the victor means a new character (cf. Gen. xxxii. 28; Matt. xvi. 17, 18). But the *ὁ νικῶν* has already shown by his faithfulness that he possesses this new character; he is already a *καινὴ κτίσις*.

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. This title may have been suggested to our author by Ps. ii. 7, seeing that later in this letter he quotes Ps. ii. 9 in its entirety and a phrase from ii. 8. But the title is presupposed in i. 6, ii. 27, iii. 5, 21, xiv. 1, where God is definitely spoken of as the Father of Christ. Nowhere in our author is God described as "Father" in relation to men save in xxi. 7: contrast John xx. 17, etc. This title was claimed by Christ (Matt. xi. 27; Luke x. 22), ascribed to Him by Peter (Matt. xvi. 16), and formed the ground for the indictment brought against Him before the Sanhedrin (Matt. xxvi. 63; John xix. 7).

ὁ ἔχων . . . χαλκολιβάνῳ. From i. 14 sq. The presence of the first clause, *ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρός*, appears to be explained by 23, *ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας κτλ.*, and *οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ* possibly by 27^{b}. Here the divine title seems to have been added by our author when editing his visions as a whole: see p. 45 sq.

19. οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα. Here as in x. 9 the vernacular possessive genitive introducing a group of nouns is followed by the ordinary possessive, καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην . . . καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου. Here Abbott, *Gram.*, p. 606, remarks: "(1) The writer could not well have said καί σου, and (2) the twofold repetition . . . shows that emphasis is intended—the patience *that you shew* and the deeds *that you do*." For a similar case cf. x. 9. "The two passages show that the unemphatic σου is not likely to be used after an unemphatic word."

καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην κτλ. The καί here introduces an explanatory description of the ἔργα. On ἀγάπην cf. ii. 4, and on ὑπομονήν cf. ii. 2. Further, the Seer states that in the fulfilment of such works the Church in Thyatira has steadily advanced, whereas Ephesus has gone backward (ii. 4). πλείων seems here to be used as meaning greater in quality, better: cf. Matt. vi. 25, xii. 41, 42; Heb. iii. 3, xi. 4, etc. As Swete remarks, "in these addresses praise is more liberally given, if it can be given with justice, when blame is to follow; more is said of the good deeds of the Ephesians and Thyatirians than of those of the Smyrnaeans and Philadelphians, with whom no fault is found." In τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν we have the two dynamic Christian forces which issue in the two Christian activities that follow τὴν **διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν.**

20–23ª. The dangers which threatened Thyatira were internal rather than external. It was not the cult of the Emperor nor the cults of the pagan deities, the condition of membership in which was confessedly willingness to take part in the worship prescribed in each case, but the trade guilds that formed the problem in Thyatira. In the former case there could be no doubt as to the wrongness of participation in such cults, but in the case of the latter the evidence seemed to the more intellectual class less conclusive. To the morally sound amongst this class there could be no divergence of opinion as to the wrongness of fornication, but different views were honestly maintained as to the legitimacy of eating food sacrificed to idols, seeing that in the eyes of the enlightened an idol was nothing. Now, since membership in trade guilds (ἐργασίαι, συμβιώσεις, συνεργασίαι) did not *essentially* involve anything beyond joining in the common meal, which was dedicated no doubt to some pagan deity but was exactly in this respect meaningless for the enlightened Christian, to avail oneself of such membership was held in certain latitudinarian circles to be quite justifiable. And this was particularly the case in Thyatira, which, owing to the fact that it was above all things a city of commerce, abounded in business guilds, to one or other of which every citizen all but necessarily belonged: otherwise he could hardly maintain his business or enjoy the social advantages natural to his position. Thus it was these trade guilds in Thyatira that made the

Nicolaitan doctrine so acceptable to the Church in this city, and that though the common meals of such guilds too often ended in unbridled licentiousness. Against the principles and conduct of the Nicolaitans the Church in Ephesus had openly declared itself (ii. 6); but no such declaration had as yet emanated from the Church in Thyatira. Owing to the business and social interests of its members it was too ready to accept any principle that would justify their membership in the city guilds. Hence it withheld its testimony against an influential woman who had long (21) and notoriously (23) advocated the principles of the Nicolaitans and yet enjoyed the membership of the Church.

However this person might cloak her activities under the noble name of prophetess, or advance her teaching as a more enlightened (Gnostic?) Christianity, they were, the Seer declares, simply sheer licentiousness and the negation of the laws laid down by the Apostolic Council. She was a modern Jezebel, and the Church of Thyatira in tolerating her presence in the Church was no better than a modern Ahab.

20. ἀφεῖς. Cf. John xii. 7 for this use of *ἀφιέναι*. On the form see Blass, *Gram.* 51; Robertson, *Gram.* 315.

τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ. Jezebel is here used symbolically of some influential woman in the Church in Thyatira, and chosen in reference to the wife of Ahab, who was guilty of whoredom and witchcraft (1 Kings xvi. 31; 2 Kings ix. 22), and sought to displace the worship of the God of Israel by idolatrous cults introduced from other lands. There is no question here of the Chaldaean Sibyl at Thyatira with whom Schürer (*Theol. Abhandl. Weizsäcker gewidmet*, p. 39 sq., 1892) sought to identify her. Such a personage could not have been admitted to membership of the Church in Thyatira, whereas the Jezebel in our text stands admittedly within the jurisdiction of the Church. Zahn (see Bousset, 1906, p. 217 sq.) accepts the reading *τὴν γυναῖκά σου* and takes her to be the wife of the bishop of the Church, while Selwyn (p. 123) identifies her with the wife of the Asiarch.

ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν. On this Hebraism see note on i. 5. We might compare Zeph. i. 12, *ἐκδικήσω ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς καταφρονοῦντας . . . οἱ λέγοντες* (הָאֹמְרִים). This construction is found in Mark xii. 38–40 (contrast Luke xx. 46), where it is to be explained as due to the Semitic background. But a still more pronounced Hebraism follows: see next note.

καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ. Here we have, as we have already pointed out in i. 5–6 (note), a resolution of the participle into a finite verb. Thus our text is a literal rendering of the Hebrew idiom: הָאֹמֶרֶת כִּי־הִיא נְבִיאָה וַתְּלַמֵּד.

πορνεῦσαι καὶ φαγεῖν. Our author appears here to emphasize the fact that, when the Church in Thyatira tolerated this Nicolaitan teaching because it justified their membership in the city guilds and their sharing in the common meals, it was in reality tolerating fornication. See, however, note on ii. 14. It will be observed that the order of the words here differs from that in ii. 14. Here it is probably intended to mean that the primary object of the prophetess was sexual immorality.

21. This verse implies that a definite warning had been addressed to this self-styled prophetess, and that this warning had been given sufficiently far back in the past to allow of a full reformation of the evil. The warning may have come from the Seer himself. But its source cannot be determined.

ἵνα μετανοήσῃ. The *ἵνα* here has its final force: in ix. 20 a consecutive.

μετανοῆσαι ἐκ. Always so with the noun in our author: cf. ii. 22, ix. 20, 21, xvi. 11; probably a reflection of שׁוּב מִן; for in Symmachus (though only occasionally in the LXX) *μετανοεῖν* is a more frequent rendering of the Hebrew phrase: cf. Job xxxvi. 10; Isa. xxxi. 6, lv. 7; Jer. xviii. 8; Ezek. xxxiii. 12.

22. ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην.

καὶ τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ᾽ αὐτῆς εἰς θλίψιν μεγάλην. We have here a clear instance of Hebrew parallelism, and likewise of Hebrew idiom, though, so far as I am aware, not hitherto recognized by any scholar. While some scholars have quite wrongly taken *κλίνη* here to denote a banqueting couch, most others have rightly recognized it to be a bed of illness or suffering, but have not explained how this interpretation can be justified. Now, if we retranslate it literally into Hebrew, we discover that we have here a Hebrew idiom, *i.e.* נפל למשׁכב = "to take to one's bed," "to become ill" (Ex. xxi. 18): hence "to cast upon a bed" means "to cast upon a bed of illness." This idiom is found in 1 Macc. i. 5, *ἔπεσε ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην*, and Jud. viii. 3, *ἔπεσε ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην*, which books are translated from the Hebrew. Thus we should render:

"Behold I cast her on a bed of suffering,
And those who commit adultery with her into great
tribulation";

i.e. הנני מפיל אֹתָהּ למשׁכב
ואת המנאפים אִתָּהּ בצרה גדלה

Furthermore, it is to be observed that in *ἰδοὺ βάλλω* (late MSS PQ *βαλῶ*) the *βάλλω* represents a participle in the Hebrew which can refer to the future, the present, or the past, according to the context. Since it is parallel here with *ἀποκτενῶ* (23^a), it refers, of course, to the future. This idiomatic reference to the future in a present verb is to be found also in i. 7 (*ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται*), ii. 10, iii. 9 (where our author has both *ἰδοὺ διδῶ* and *ἰδοὺ ποιήσω* referring to one and the same thing), ix. 12, xvi. 15, etc.

22^{b}–23. τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ᾽ αὐτῆς . . . 23. καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς. The text (*μοιχεύοντας . . . τέκνα*) suggests that we have here the actual paramours of this woman and her children. Further, the children may be her legitimate children. Hence the punishment is a severe one. There may be also a reference to the fate that befell the sons of Ahab (2 Kings x. 7). But the punishments are wholly disproportionate to the guilt on this interpretation. Moreover, this interpretation, even if it is right, is too narrow, and must not be regarded as excluding the possibility of finding a spiritual reference in the text. The entire Church in Thyatira, owing to its special circumstances, is endangered by the Nicolaitan doctrine. Hence the *μοιχεύοντας* appear to be all those who, owing to the teaching of this woman, thought they could combine faithfulness to Christ with the concessions to the pagan spirit that their membership of the business guilds involved; and the *τέκνα* to be those who have absolutely embraced this woman's teaching even to its fullest issues. For the former there is still hope: they are striving to reconcile the claims of Christ on the one hand and the claims of their business life on the other. Therein they have been guilty as idolatrous Israel of old: cf. Hos. ii. 2, 4, where there is a similar reference to mother and children. But they may yet come to see that they cannot serve two masters: hence for them the door of repentance is still open (22^{c}). But as regards the *τέκνα*, the case is different. They have embraced the Nicolaitan teaching unreservedly and unconditionally. They are one with their spiritual mother in aim and character. For them, therefore, there is nothing but the doom of destruction (23^{a}). In this interpretation the difference in the dooms threatened is wholly natural.

ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανατῷ. Cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 27, *θανάτῳ ἀποκτενῶ*, where *θάνατος* = דֶּבֶר, "pestilence," as here and in vi. 8 (note).

γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι κτλ. The doom of the offenders was to be known as widely as the scandal had been. The *γνώσονται ὅτι* is an O.T. form of expression: *i.e.* know by reason of experience, as in the case of the Egyptians, etc. Cf. Ex. vii. 5, xvi. 12, xxix. 46, etc.

ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας. This phrase is from the O.T., but it is an independent rendering of Jer. xi. 20, בֹּחֵן כְּלָיוֹת וָלֵב where the LXX has *δοκιμάζων νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας*. The LXX does not use *ἐραυνᾶν* at all as a rendering of בחן, nor apparently does any other Jewish version save Aquila in one instance

(Ezek. xxi. 18). The same phrase, though the order of the words is different, is found in Ps. vii. 10. Cf. other variations in Jer. xvii. 10, xx. 12. St. Paul uses the phrase *θεῷ τῷ δοκιμάζοντι τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν* (1 Thess. ii. 4) and *ὁ ἐραυνῶν τὰς καρδίας* in Rom. viii. 27. *νεφρός* is not found elsewhere in the N.T. Cf. Wisd. i. 6, where a free rendering is given of the entire phrase. The kidneys were regarded by the Hebrews as the seat of the emotions and affections (Jer. xii. 2), and the heart of the thoughts. *ἐραυνᾶν* is, according to Blass (*Gr.* 21), an Alexandrian form.

δώσω ὑμῖν ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν. This phrase recurs in xxii. 12. Cf. Matt. xvi. 27, *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ.*

24. οὐκ ἔχουσιν. This may mean "are free from" in contrast to those who "hold fast" *κρατοῦσιν*, but a comparison of i. 16 and ii. 1 is not in favour of this view, if text of ii. 1 is right.

οἵτινες is here generic; indicates a class. Its use is therefore classical, as in i. 7, ix. 4, xx. 4. Elsewhere our author uses *ὅστις* as practically the equivalent of *ὅς*: cf. i. 12, xi. 8, xii. 13, xvii. 12, xix. 2. See note on xi. 8.

οἵτινες . . . τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Two interpretations are here possible, and both are forcible. (1) Since the persons referred to in *ὡς λέγουσιν* are the libertine section in the Church of Thyatira, the above words, *οἵτινες . . . Σατανᾶ*, are an indignant retort on the part of our author, in which he declares that, whereas they claim to "know the deep things of God" (cf. Iren. *Haer.* ii. 22. 3) even as St. Paul (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10, *τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐραυνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ*: Rom. xi. 33; Eph. iii. 18), it is not the deep things of God but of Satan that they have sought after. The later Gnostics, we know, professed alone to know *τὰ βάθη*: cf. Iren. *Adv. Haer.* ii. 22. 1, "qui profunda Bythi adinvenisse se dicunt"; 22. 3, "*profunda Dei* adinvenisse se dicentes"; Hippol. *Philos.* v. 6, ἐπεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς γνωστικούς, φάσκοντες μόνοι τὰ βάθη γινώσκειν: Tertull. *Adv. Valent.* 1, "Eleusinia Valentiniani fecerunt lenocinia, sancta silentio magno, sola taciturnitate caelestia. Si bona fide quaeras, concreto vultu, suspenso supercilio, *Altum est*, aiunt." This phrase (*τὰ βάθεα*) was a natural one on the part of men who laid claim to an esoteric knowledge—a knowledge that in the case of the Cainites, Naasenes, Carpocratians, and Ophites was held to emancipate its possessors from the claims of morality. This last fact leads naturally to the second interpretation. (2) According to this second interpretation the words represent the actual claim of this Gnostic element in the Church of Thyatira, as Wieseler, Spitta, Zahn, Völter (*Offenb.* iv. 166), Bousset assume. These false teachers held that the spiritual man should know the deep things of Satan, that he should take part in the heathen life of the community, two of the most prominent characteristics of which were its sacrificial feasts and immoral practices. Though he outwardly shared in this heathen life, nevertheless as a spiritual man (*i.e.* the Gnostic of later times) he remained inwardly unaffected by it and so asserted his superiority over it.

The insistence on the knowledge of *intellectual* mysteries, either as an indispensable addition to or as a substitute for simple obedience to the claims of the Christian life, has always been a weakness of the Church.

οὐ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος. In themselves these words could refer either to burdens of suffering or of the law. But the context declares clearly for the latter; for the term *κρατῆσαι* in the following verse can only refer to the obligations of the moral law, and these obligations in particular related to fornication and the eating of meat offered to idols. Now these were the two chief enactments of the Apostolic decree in Acts xv. 28, *ἔδοξεν . . . μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν τούτων τῶν ἐπάναγκες, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων . . . καὶ πορνείας.* Only these two prohibitions are declared to be obligatory on the members of the Church in Thyatira, which were entangled in the libertinism of the Nicolaitans. The other two—*ἀπέχεσθαι . . . αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν*—are not re-enacted. But this is not all. The use of the word *ἄλλο* in itself points to the exclusion of the two latter. Thus our author had clearly the Apostolic decree in his mind.

25. Once and for all take a firm hold (*κρατήσατε*) on these duties incumbent on you, and shun absolutely the sacrificial feasts of the heathen and the moral evils that attend on them.

ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε. Cf. iii. 11, *κράτει ὃ ἔχεις.* *ἥξω* is to be taken as a subjunctive of the aorist *ἥξω* since *ἄχρι* in our author elsewhere is followed by the subjunctive: cf. vii. 3, xv. 8, xx. 3, 5. In xvii. 17 it is followed by the indicative; but our author is here using a source.

26. ὁ νικῶν καὶ ὁ τηρῶν κτλ. The victory is to him that keeps Christ's works unto the end; in the present instance the special works required from the Church of Thyatira. But the repetition of the article equates the two phrases. Hence we might translate: "he that overcometh—even he that keepeth." The victor is he that keeps Christ's works: he that keeps Christ's works is the victor.

ὁ νικῶν . . . δώσω αὐτῷ, the nominative resumed in a subsequent pronoun in the dative.

To this *nominativus pendens* or accusative we have an exact parallel in iii. 12, 21. A more normal construction occurs in ii. 7, 17, and the normal in vi. 4, xxi. 6.

δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν. A free rendering of Ps.

ii. 8, אֶתְּנָה גוֹיִם נַחֲלָתֶךָ; LXX, *δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου.* The thought of these words as well as the diction of what follows are drawn from Ps. ii. 8–9. This Psalm was interpreted Messianically as early as the 1st cent. B.C. in the Pss. Solomon (see note on xix. 15). The nature of the power conferred is described in the next verse.

Our author appears to distinguish carefully the use of *ἐξουσία* with the article and without it. In the Fourth Gospel the article is not used at all. With the article full authority in the circumstances defined in the context is implied: cf. ix. 19, xiii. 4, 12, xvi. 9, xvii. 13. When a limited authority is implied, *ἐξουσία* stands without the article: cf. ii. 26, vi. 8, ix. 3, xiii. 2, 5, 7, xiv. 18, xvii. 12, xviii. 1, xx. 6. There are three cases which do not come under this rule, *i.e.* in ix. 10, xi. 6, and xxii. 14. In xi. 6 our author is using a source: hence we have here no exception. But ix. 10 and xxii. 14 are abnormal, since *ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν* in these passages appear to be equal simply to *ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν.*

27. 27^{ab} imply the actual destruction of the heathen nations as in xix. 15, and apparently in their destruction the triumphant martyrs (cf. ii. 26, xvii. 14) are to be active agents as members of the heavenly hosts which should follow the word of God, xix. 13–14. At this moment that I am writing we can witness at least a partial fulfilment of this dread forecast, in which England and her allies are engaged in mortal strife with the powers of godless force and materialism. As Swete aptly writes: "The new order must be preceded by the breaking up of the old (*συντρίβεται*), but the purpose of the Potter is to reconstruct; out of the fragments of the old life there will rise under the hand of Christ and of the Church, new and better types of social and national organisation." To this we might add: the present heathen system of international relations will sooner or later be destroyed and replaced by international relations of a Christian character.

καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ
ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται.

From Ps. ii. 9. Our author here agrees partly with the LXX:

ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ
ὡς σκεύος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς.

Instead of *ποιμανεῖς* Symmachus renders *συντρίψεις* (s. *συνθλάσεις*), and instead of *συντρίψεις* Aquila renders *προσρήξεις.* Two important questions arise here. 1. Has our author simply borrowed his rendering *ποιμανεῖ* from the LXX? 2. What meaning does our author attach to *ποιμανεῖ*? Now as to 1, since it is our author's usage elsewhere to translate the Hebrew text independently, there is no reason to infer that he is here simply borrowing from the LXX. The LXX was no doubt familiar to him and provided him with a vocabulary. But he was in no sense dependent upon it. But it has been urged, and no doubt rightly, that the LXX here derived תרעם from רעה and so vocalized it תִּרְעֵם and rendered it *ποιμανεῖς*, whereas they ought to have derived it from רעע and vocalized it תְּרֹעֵם, "thou shalt break" (as Symmachus). We have now to deal with 2—what meaning did our author attach to *ποιμανεῖ*? A comparison of xix. 15, where *ποιμανεῖ* is parallel to *πατάξῃ*, and of the present text, ii. 27, where it is parallel with *συντρίβεται* (cf. also xii. 5), is strong evidence that our author attached two distinct meanings to *ποιμαίνειν*.[1] The ordinary meaning is found in vii. 17 (*ποιμανεῖ* = "will pasture"), the other and unusual meaning "will devastate, lay waste," in ii. 27, xii. 5, xix. 15. Now, since this sense is so far as I am aware not found outside our author and the LXX (if indeed it is found in the latter), it is incumbent on us to explain how our author came to attach this meaning to the Greek verb. The explanation is apparently to be found in the fact that *ποιμαίνειν* is the ordinary translation of רעה. But whereas רעה generally means "to shepherd," it means sometimes "to devastate," "destroy," as in Mic. v. 5; Jer. vi. 3, ii. 16 (where the R.V. renders "break"), xxii. 22; Ps. lxxx. 14 (see *Oxford Hebrew Lex.*, p. 945). Now in the first two passages the LXX renders רעה by *ποιμαίνειν*. Hence *ποιμαίνειν* should here mean "to lay waste" or "to destroy." But, even if the LXX failed to grasp the right rendering of רעה in these passages and rendered it according to its ordinary sense, it does not follow that our author does so also. As clearly as language can indicate, *ποιμαίνειν* and *πατάσσειν* in xix. 15 are parallels, just as *ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα* and *ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ* in the same clauses are likewise parallels. It is noteworthy that in Latin *pasco* developed this secondary meaning also.

Hence it is highly probable that our author assigned to *ποιμαίνειν* a secondary sense that attaches to רעה (as he does to other words: cf. *πόδες*, x. 1 n.), and that we should render here:

"He shall destroy them with an iron rod,
As the vessels of the potter shall they be dashed to pieces."

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[1] That our author did attach two meanings to *ποιμαίνειν* is the view universally adopted by ancient and modern versions. Thus the Vulgate and Syriac versions and the A.V. and R.V., etc., render this verb by "rule" in ii. 27, xix. 15. This is, of course, a possible meaning and it is also an ancient one, but in our author the parallelism and the context are against it. The object with which authority is given to them over the apostate nations is not that they may "rule" them, but *may utterly destroy them*.

ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται. Here we have a free rendering of Ps. ii. 9^b: cf. also Isa. xxx. 14; Jer. xix. 11. It is best to regard *συντρίβεται* as = יְנַפְּצוּ in the mind of our author, and hence take it as a Hebraism and equivalent to *a future.* Later MSS saw, in fact, that a future was required here and read *συντριβήσεται.* We should not here, with the R.V., take the words as follows: "as the vessels of the potter are broken to shivers." Such a thought is weak: there is no point in such a statement. The writer means to say that the righteous will "dash to pieces" the strong and the mighty among the heathen as easily as one dashes to pieces a potter's vessels. Primasius supports this view: "sicut vas figuli confringentur": also Ticonius: "ut vas figuli comminuentur." Besides, the parallelism requires *συντρίβεται*[1] to be taken as a principal verb, as it is in Ps. ii. 9. Even Isa. xxx. 14, Jer. xix. 11 support this view.

ὡς κἀγὼ εἴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου. These words recall, of course, Ps. ii. 7, *Κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς μέ Υἱός μου εἶ σύ.* Cf. Acts ii. 33, *τήν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος . . . λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός*, for the phraseology.

28. In this letter to Thyatira only do we find a double promise—here and in 27^{ab}. On this and other grounds Selwyn, Wellhausen, and others would omit 27^{ab} as an intrusion.

No satisfactory explanation has as yet been discovered of these words. But in the meantime the best interpretation seems to be that of Beatus (quoted by Swete): "id est, Dominum Jesum Christum quem numquam suscepit vesper, sed lux sempiterna est, et ipse super in luce est," and of Bede: "Christus est stella matutina qui nocte saeculi transacta lucem vitae sanctis promittit et pandet aeternam." In xxii. 16 Christ describes Himself as *ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός.* Hence the words combined with 27 mean simply: "when thou hast won through the strife I will be thine."

III. 1–6. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN SARDIS.

1. *ἐν Σάρδεσιν.* Sardis (see the Bible Dictionaries *in loc.*: also Ramsay, *Letters*, 375–382) was situated about 30 miles S.E.S. of Thyatira. In Ionic its form was *Σάρδιες*, in Attic *Σάρδεις*, while in later Greek it was written *Σάρδις*. Sardis was built on the northern confines of Mt. Tmolus, and its acropolis on a spur of this mountain. It dominated the rich Hermus valley, and was the capital of the ancient Lydian kingdom. It reached the height of its prosperity under Croesus (*circ.* 560 B.C.). On its conquest by Cyrus it became the seat of a Persian Satrapy, and its history for the next three centuries is buried in obscurity. Under Roman rule it recovered some of its ancient importance, and became the centre of a *conventus juridicus*; but, notwithstanding, no city in Asia presented a more deplorable contrast of past splendour and present unresting decline. In 17 A.D. it was overthrown by a severe earthquake, but through the generosity of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47), who remitted all its taxes for five years and contributed 10,000,000 sesterces towards its rebuilding, it rose so rapidly from its ruins that in 26 A.D. it was called a *πόλις μεγάλη* by Strabo (625), and it contended, though unsuccessfully, with Smyrna for the privilege of raising a temple to Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 55). Its chief cult was that of Cybele, while its staple industries were connected with woollen goods, and it claimed to have been the first community which discovered the art of dyeing wool. To these industries there is possibly a reference in iii. 4, 5^a. Its inhabitants had long been notorious for luxury and licentiousness (Herod. i. 55; Aesch. *Pers.* 45), and the Christian Church had manifestly a hard task in resisting the evil atmosphere that environed it. Like the city itself, the Church had belied its early promise. Its religious history, like its civil, belonged to the past. And yet, despite its moral and spiritual declension, it still possessed a nucleus of faithful members: it had "a few names which had not defiled their garments." It was not apparently troubled by persecution from without, or by intellectual error from within, and yet it and the Church of Laodicea were the most blameworthy of the seven.

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[1] A neuter plural has the verb oftener in the plural in our author. But *συντρίβεται* here must agree either with *τὰ σκεύη* or, as I take it, with *τὰ ἔθνη* supplied from 26^b. For other instances of the sing. verb and plural noun cf. i. 19, *ἃ μέλλει*, viii. 3, xiii. 14, xiv. 13, xix. 14, xx. 3, 5, xxi. 12.

ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας. This clause is (see p. 26), as the corresponding divine titles of Christ in the other six Letters, to be regarded as a redactional addition of our Seer when he edited his visions as a whole. The phrase *τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα* has already occurred in i. 4, but there it is a manifest interpolation. Hence it really occurs here for the first time. On its probable meaning see i. 4, note.

οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα. On this vernacular genitive (contrast ii. 2) see notes on ii. 9, 19; Abbott, *Gram.*, pp. 605, 607; also 414–25, 601. Here as in iii. 8, 15 the emphasis is laid on the *ἔργα*—"the works thou hast wrought are known to me"—they give thee a semblance of life, but in reality thou art dead. This vernacular genitive recurs at the close of this verse: cf. also x. 9, xviii. 4–5, xxi. 3 (A).

ὅτι ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῇς καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ. For the construction cf. Herod. vii. 138, *οὔνομα εἶχε, ὡς ἐπ᾽ Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς* *πᾶσαν τ. Ἑλλάδα.* Contrast 2 Cor. vi. 9, *ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες, καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν*, and cf. Jas. ii. 17, *ἡ πίστις, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ ἔργα, νεκρά ἐστι καθ᾽ ἑαυτήν*, and 2 Tim. iii. 5, *ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἠρνημένοι.* The condemnation of the Church of Sardis is more severe than that of the other six Churches. And yet it, too, has a nucleus of faithful members.

2. γίνου γρηγορῶν. For this construction cf. xvi. 10, *ἐγένετο . . . ἐσκοτωμένη.* *γρηγορεῖν* is a word of our Seer's (cf. xvi. 15), and, though found in the three Synoptic Gospels, is not used in the Fourth. Our text recalls Matt. xxiv. 42 (Mark xiii. 33), *γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται.* There are very close affinities in diction between 2–4 here and xvi. 15, which show indubitably our author's hand. With *γίνου γρηγορῶν . . .* 3, *καὶ τήρει καὶ μετανόησον· ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς, ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης. . . .* 4, *ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ περιπατήσουσιν . . . ἐν λευκοῖς*, cf. xvi. 15, *ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης. μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ.* But on the high probability that xvi. 15 originally stood between 3^b and 3^c, see note on this verse and also on xvi. 15.

Ramsay (*Letters*, 376 sqq.) is of opinion that this admonition to be watchful was suggested by two incidents in the past history of Sardis, when the acropolis fell into the hands of the enemy through the lack of vigilance on the part of its defenders—first in the time of Croesus in 549 B.C., and next in 218 B.C. when Antiochus the Great captured the city, a Cretan mercenary having led the way, "climbing up the hill and stealing unobserved within the fortifications."

τὰ λοιπά. This word is found eight times in our author, but not in the other N.T. Johannine writings. As Swete points out, *τὰ λοιπά* means not merely persons, but "whatever remained at Sardis out of the wreck of Christian life, whether persons or institutions." The entire community needs to be reconstructed on a sound foundation.

ἃ ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖν. We have here the epistolary imperfect. In the plural verb (contrast i. 19) we have a *constructio ad sensum.* The idea recalls Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 16. Blass (*Gram.* 197) seems right in maintaining that the aorist is correctly employed here and in iii. 16, xii. 4, after *μέλλειν*. *μέλλειν* is seldom followed by the aorist in the N.T.: it is generally followed by the present, as also in our author: cf. i. 19, ii. 10, iii. 10, vi. 11, viii. 13, x. 4, 7, xii. 5, xvii. 8. In classical Greek *μέλλειν* is followed most frequently by the future inf., but in vulgar Greek this was displaced by the present.

σου τὰ (<AC) **ἔργα.** Here as at the beginning of the verse we have the vernacular possessive. The emphasis is thrown

strongly on the noun: "The works wrought by thee I have found wanting before my God." Cf. Dan. v. 27. Here the *σου* refers to the community as a whole. As a centre of spiritual and moral power it has failed, though it contains a few that have been faithful (4). Hence we read *τὰ ἔργα* against AC. *οὔ—σου ἔργα* = "no works of thine," cannot be maintained in the face of 4.

πληρωμένα. Only found once again in our author in vi. 11. It is a favourite Johannine word in the Fourth Gospel, occurring 13 times (cf. especially xvi. 24, xvii. 13), and twice in 1 and 2 John. Cf. also Col. ii. 10, *ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι.*

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου. The community has a name before the Christian world for its works, but not before God; for the faithfulness of the few (4) cannot redress the balance against the Church as a whole. It is a dying Church. On *τοῦ θεοῦ μου* cf. iii. 12; Rom. xv. 6, *τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*: also Mark xv. 34; John xx. 17.

3. μνημόνευε οὖν (cf. ii. 5, the advice to the Church of Ephesus) **πῶς εἴληφας καὶ ἤκουσας.** The change of tenses is here significant. *ἤκουσας* points to the time when they heard the Gospel: cf. 1 Thess. i. 5, 6, ii. 13. *εἴληφας* concedes that they still possess this gift of God.

τήρει καὶ μετανόησον. The Church is to keep fast hold of what it has received and heard, and, repenting forthwith, recover its former spiritual attitude (aor.).

ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς. As a host of critics have pointed out, xvi. 15 (see note) undoubtedly breaks up the context in which it occurs. Könnecke (followed by Moffatt) would restore it before the above words, while Beza transferred it before iii. 18. The first suggestion is probably to be preferred. It might, of course, be objected that the repetition after *ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης* of *ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης* would be jejune. But the latter seems more definite. And yet in ii. 5, 16, *εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαι*, the present *ἔρχομαι* appears to be used under exactly the same conditions as *ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης* here. But it is probable that in the clause *ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης* we have a general description of the nature of Christ's Advent. It is to be unexpected, whereas in the clause *ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης* there is a definite menace, in which it is implied that the Church of Sardis will be caught off their guard by the suddenness of Christ's Advent. Hence, though with some hesitation, I have restored xvi. 15 before iii. 3^c.

XVI. 15. ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης.
μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ,
ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ,
καὶ βλέπωσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ.

III. 3^{c}. ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς,
ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης,
καὶ οὐ μὴ γνῷς
ποίαν ὥραν ἥξω ἐπὶ σέ.

ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης κτλ. An obvious echo of Matt. xxiv. 43 sq. (= Luke xii. 39 sq., cf. Mark xiii. 35). *εἰ ᾔδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποίᾳ φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται ἐγρηγόρησεν ἄν . . . γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι, ὅτι ᾗ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρᾳ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.* The Second Advent is referred to in our text: it will come as a thief in the night, because they are not on the watch; cf. 1 Thess. v. 2, 4.

οὐ μὴ γνῷς. The subjunctive follows *οὐ μή* without exception in our author, and all but universally in the rest of the N.T. In WH text *οὐ μή* occurs 96 times, according to Moulton (*Gram.* 190). Of these examples 71 are with the aor. subj. and 8 with the fut. ind. The rest are ambiguous.

ποίαν ὥραν. For *ὥραν* in the acc. when apparently referring not to the duration but to a point of time, cf. Moulton, *Gram.*^{2}, p. 63. Blass, *Gram.* 94 sq., points out that this usage began in classical times where *ὥραν* = *εἰς ὥραν*; cf. Robertson, *Gram.* 470 sq. Acts xx. 16, John iv. 52 are generally cited as parallel usages to that in our text. See, however, Abbott, *Gram.*, p. 75.

4. The case of Sardis is critical, but there is still room for hope; for there is a faithful nucleus that has escaped the general corruption.

ὀνόματα. Cf xi. 13; Acts i. 15. Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, 196 sq) has proved that in the 2nd cent. A.D. *ὄνομα* was used in the sense of "person." Hence it is probable that in our author we have the same usage. It is, however, to be remembered that *ὀνόματα* is used in Num. i. 2, 20, iii. 40, 43, as a rendering of שֵׁמוֹת where this word means "persons" reckoned by name.

ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν. See note on 18. The moral stains here referred to especially include *πορνεία* (cf. xiv. 4). "The language reflects that of the votive inscriptions in Asia Minor, where soiled clothes disqualified the worshipper and dishonoured the god. Moral purity qualifies for spiritual communion" (Moffatt *in loc.*).

περιπατήσουσιν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς. We have here the first eschatological promise, which is not preceded by the words *ὁ νικῶν*. The raiment here spoken of is the heavenly raiment or the spiritual bodies awaiting the faithful in the next life. See note on next verse.

ἄξιοί εἰσιν. Contrast the use of this phrase in xvi. 6.

5. See note on ii. 11^{b}.

περιβαλεῖται ἐν. περιβάλλεσθαι takes two constructions in our author. It is followed either by ἐν with the dat. as here and in iv. 4, or by the acc. in the remaining passages.

ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς. These garments[1] are the spiritual bodies in which the faithful are to be clothed in the resurrection life. This thought is clearly expressed in 2 Cor. v. 1, 4, "If the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens. . . . For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon." But this idea recurs elsewhere in the N.T., though it is not so definitely expressed as here: cf. Matt. xiii. 43, τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, that is, they shall have a body of light (cf. Ps. civ. 2, "who coverest thyself with light as with a garment"), 1 Cor. xv. 43, 49, 54, Phil. iii. 21, where it is promised that the body of our humiliation will be conformed to the body of His glory (τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ). We shall find later that "body of light" and "body of glory" are used interchangeably. But returning again to Phil. iii. 21 we see that the connection between the earthly body and the heavenly—though they are different in essence—is of the closest, and that the character of the heavenly body is conditioned by that of the earthly body (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 18). In the Asc. Isa. iv. 16 (*circ.* 88–100 A.D.) we find further references to these garments or spiritual bodies: "But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, *whose spirits are clothed* . . . and be present in the world." Cf. vii. 22, viii. 14, "when from the body by the will of God thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment which thou seest": also viii. 26, ix. 9, "And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him stript of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were like angels, standing there in great glory"; ix. 17, "And then many of the righteous will ascend with Him, whose spirits do not receive their garments till the Lord Christ ascend"; also ix. 24–26, xi. 40. In the Apoc. of Peter 3 (*circ.* 110–125 A.D.) the raiment of the blessed is said to be light, and 5, all the dwellers in Paradise to be "clad in the raiment of angels of light" (ἐνδεδυμένοι ἦσαν ἔνδυμα ἀγγέλων φωτινῶν). Next, in Hermas, *Sim.* viii. 2. 3, the faithful are rewarded with white garments: ἱμάτισμον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν πάντες εἶχον λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιόνα οἱ πορευόμενοι εἰς τὸν πύργον Again, in the Odes of Solomon we have three references to these heavenly bodies: xi. 10, "And the Lord renewed me in His raiment (cf. Ps. civ. 2) and possessed (? 'formed,' *i.e.* ἐκτήσατο, corrupt for ἐκτίσατο) . . . 14, And He carried me to His Paradise"; xxi. 2, "And I put off darkness and clothed myself with light. 3, And my soul acquired a body free from sorrow or affliction or pains"; xxv. 8, "And I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit, and Thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin." See also Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 215; Moulton, *Journal of Theol. Stud.* iii. 514–527. In its present form 4 Ezra i.–ii. is Christian, but it is not improbably based on Jewish sources. However this may be, we have, as in the Asc. Isa., references to this heavenly body of light. Cf. ii. 39, "Qui se de umbra saeculi transtulerunt splendidas tunicas a domino acceperunt." The nature of these heavenly garments is clear from ii. 45, "Hi sunt qui mortalem tunicam deposuerunt et immortalem sumpserunt."

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[1] The idea is not a hard and fixed one in Jewish and Christian literature. While generally the garments are symbols of the heavenly bodies of the faithful, at times they seem to denote only a sort of heavenly vesture distinct from the faithful themselves.

We have now shown that the resurrection body was clearly conceived in the first and second centuries A.D. in Christian circles as a "body of light." But this conception was also pre-Christian. Thus in 1 Enoch lxii. 16, where the risen righteous are described:

> "And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,
> And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of
> Spirits";

cviii. 12, "And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name." See also 2 Enoch xxii. 8, "And the Lord said unto Michael: Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments . . . and put him into the garments of My glory." For interesting though only partial parallels in Judaism and Zoroastrianism, see Lueken, *Michael*, 122 sq.; Böklen, *Verwandschaft d. jüdisch-christlichen mit d. Parsischen Eschatologie*, 61–65.

To return now to our author, it is clear that the white garments represent the resurrection or heavenly bodies of the faithful in iii. 4^c, 5^a, vi. 11 (see note), vii. 9, 13, 14, xix. 8^a (where 8^b is a gloss). In iii. 4^b (note), 18 (note), xvi. 15, the ἱμάτια are used as a symbol of the spiritual life as manifested in righteous character, which forms the heavenly vesture of the redeemed.

The idea may go back to Ps. civ. 2 where God is said to clothe Himself with light as with a garment. The garments of the angels are white: Mark ix. 3 = Luke ix. 29; Mark xvi. 5 = Matt. xxviii. 3; Acts i. 10. The very bodies of the angels are white, composed of light; cf. 2 Enoch i. 5. This is the older idea, and it is preserved in our author. Later these garments came to signify heavenly vestures of an accessory nature.

ἐξαλείψω . . . ἐκ. Cf. vii. 17, xxi. 4. The Sardians had a *name* to live and yet were dead (iii. 1); if they awake (iii. 2) to righteousness and show themselves victors, then their *name* will be preserved in the book of life. *τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς.* Cf. xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, 15, xxi. 27.

"The idea underlying this phrase can be traced to the O.T. There the book of life (or its equivalents, Ex. xxxii. 32 sq., 'God's book'; Ps. lxix. 28, 'book of the living') was a register of the citizens of the Theocratic community of Israel. To have one's name written in the book of life implied the privilege of participating in the *temporal* blessings of the Theocracy, Isa. iv. 3, while to be blotted out of this book, Ex. xxxii. 32, Ps. lxix. 28, meant exclusion therefrom." He whose name was written in this book remained in life but he whose name was not, must die. "In the O.T. this expression was originally confined to *temporal* blessings only, save in Dan. xii. 1, where it is transformed through the influence of the new conception of the kingdom, and distinctly refers to an immortality of blessedness. It has the same meaning in 1 Enoch xlvii. 3. A further reference to it is to be found in 1 Enoch civ. 1, cviii. 7. The phrase again appears in the Book of Jubilees xxx. 20 sqq. in contrast with the book of those that shall be destroyed, but in the O.T. sense. . . . In the N.T. the phrase is of frequent occurrence, Phil. iv. 3; Rev. (see above list); and the idea in Luke x. 20, Heb. xii. 23, 'written in heaven,' is its practical equivalent." The above is quoted with a few changes from my note on 1 Enoch xlvii. 3. In the same note kindred expressions are dealt with at some length—such as the books of remembrance of good and evil deeds—the good in Ps. lvi. 8; Mal. iii. 16; Neh. xiii. 14; Jub. xxx. 22; the evil in Isa. lxv. 6; 1 Enoch lxxxi. 4, lxxxix. 61–64, 68, 70, 71, etc.; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1; both the good and the evil in Dan. vii. 10; 2 Enoch lii. 15, liii. 2; Rev. xx. 12; Asc. Isa. ix. 22. See Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} 242, 282 sqq.; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. 171; *K.A.T.*^{3} ii. 405; Bousset, *Rel. d. Judenthums*, 247.

καὶ ὁμολογήσω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κτλ. We have a clear reminiscence of our Lord's words in Matt. x. 32 (Luke xii. 8), *πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* (*τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ*, Luke xii. 8).

7–13. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.

7. τῆς ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ. This city (see Bible Dictionaries *in loc.*) lies some 28 miles south-east of Sardis. From the words of our author it is clear that its Christianity was of a high character, standing in point of merit second only to Smyrna among the seven Churches. In the time of Ignatius (*Ad Phil.* 3, 5, 10) it enjoyed the same high reputation. Philadelphia was founded on the southern side of the valley of the Cogamis—a tributary of the Hermus—by Attalus II. Philadelphus, and named after its founder (159–138 B.C.). Under Caracalla it received the title of Neocoros or Temple Warden, and thenceforward the Κοινόν of Asia met there from time to time to celebrate certain state festivals. Like other cities of Asia Minor it too suffered from the great earthquake in 17 A.D., and was assisted to rebuild by a donation from the imperial purse.

The chief pagan cult was that of Dionysus, but its main difficulties arose from Jewish rather than from pagan opponents (iii. 9), as was the case with Smyrna (ii. 9). These Judaizers were still a source of trouble in the time of Ignatius (*Ad Phil.* 6).

In later times Philadelphia was notable for the heroism with which it resisted the growing power of the Turks. "It displayed all the noble qualities of endurance, truth and steadfastness which are attributed to it in the letter of St. John, amid the ever threatening danger of Turkish attack; and its story rouses even Gibbon to admiration" (Ramsay, *Letters*, 400). It was not until 1379–90, when jealousy divided the Christian powers, that it fell before the attack of the united forces of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II. and the Turkish Sultan Bayezid I. Since that time it has been known as Ala-Sheher,—the reddish city,—a designation due to the red hills in its rear.

ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινός. "The Holy, the True." This asyndetic use of two divine designations is to be found in 1 Enoch i. 3, xiv. 1 (cf. also x. 1, xxv. 3, lxxxiv. 1), ὁ ἅγιος ὁ μέγας. ὁ ἅγιος was familiar to the Jews as a title of God; cf. Hab. iii. 3; Isa. xl. 25; 1 Enoch i. 2, xxxvii. 2, xciii. 11, etc.; Acts iii. 14. The two words ἅγιος and ἀληθινός, which are combined as epithets of God in vi. 10, are in our text applied to Christ: cf. iii. 14, ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός: xix. 11, πιστὸς [καλούμενος] καὶ ἀληθινός. As regards the meaning of ἀληθινός, Hort has rightly urged that "it is misleading to think (here) only of the classical sense, true as *genuine*. . . . "Not only vi. 10, but iii. 14, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός (cf. xix. 11), and what is said of His 'ways' or 'judgments' (xv. 3, xvi. 7, xix. 2), ἀληθινός coupled with δίκαιος, show that the Apocalypse retains the O.T. conception of truth, expressed, *e.g.* in cxlvi. 6, 'which keepeth truth for ever,' *i.e.* constancy to a plighted word or purpose, the opposite of caprice." Cf. also Isa. xlix. 7, "because of the Lord that is faithful, the Holy One of Israel." In the LXX ἀληθής is never used of God, but ἀληθινός is used a few times;

cf. Ex. xxxiv. 6; Isa. lxv. 16; Ps. lxxxvi. 15, where the Hebrew is either אֱמֶת or אָמֵן. Hence *ἀληθινός* implies that God or Christ, as true, will fulfil His word. The thoroughly Hebraic character of the Apocalypse confirms this view. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, *ἀληθινός* = "genuine" as opposed to unreal rather than to untruthful. Hence in our author Trench's (*N.T. Synonyms*, 29) admirable differentiation of the words *ἀληθής* (not used in our author, but 14 times in the Fourth Gospel) and *ἀληθινός* does not hold: "We may affirm of the *ἀληθής*, that he fulfils the promise of his lips, but the *ἀληθινός*, the wider promise of his name. Whatever that name imports, taken in its highest, deepest, widest sense, whatever according to that he ought to be, that he is to the full." This distinction is true of the Fourth Gospel, where both words occur.

ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν Δαυείδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει κτλ. The passage points back to i. 18, but it is based on Isa. xxii. 22, where QΓ with the Mass. read, with reference to Eliakim, *δώσω τὴν κλεῖδα οἴκου Δαυεὶδ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνοίξει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀποκλείων καὶ κλείσει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀνοίγων.* Since both B and A read differently, our author is apparently not using the LXX here. In any case, while the LXX reproduces the Mass., which here consists of parallel clauses, it is clear that our author deals independently with the text. The Hebrew is familiar to him, and what appears in Isa. xxii. 22 in the form of direct statements and finite verbs is cast by our author into a series of dependent clauses, which are introduced by participles that are subsequently resolved into finite verbs, *i.e. ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει.* This is not Greek, but a Hebrew idiom often used by our author, הפתח ואין סגר והסגר ואין פתח.

The expression *τὴν κλεῖν Δαυείδ* has apparently a Messianic significance. Cf. v. 5, xxii. 16, *ῥίζα Δαυείδ.* The words teach that to Christ belongs complete authority in respect to admission to or exclusion from the city of David, the New Jerusalem. The admission referred to may primarily have to do with the Gentiles and the exclusion with the unbelieving Jews (see 9). But their scope is universal.

As Eliakim carried the keys of the house of David in the court of Hezekiah, so does Christ in the kingdom of God: cf. Eph. i. 22. He has the same authority in regard to Hades, i. 18, and supreme authority in heaven and earth, Matt. xxviii. 18, and is "as a son over his own house," Heb. iii. 6.

8. Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα. This clause has by some scholars been rejected on the ground that it breaks the connection and is harmonistic. But it is better with WH to take the words that follow, *ἰδοὺ δέδωκα . . . αὐτήν*, as a parenthesis, and connect *οἶδα . . . ἔργα* directly with *ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις κτλ.* *οἶδα* is followed by *ὅτι* in iii. 1, 15.

ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἀνεῳγμένην. *δέδωκα* apparently is used Hebraistically here, "I have set." In *θύρ. ἀνεῳγμένην* we have a Pauline metaphor: cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 9, *θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνέῳγεν μεγάλη καὶ ἐνεργής*: 2 Cor. ii. 12, *θύρας μοι ἀνεῳγμένης ἐν κυρίῳ*: Col. iv. 3, *ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου* (*i.e.* an opportunity for preaching the word). Here the "open door" means that a good opportunity is being given for missionary effort, and in our text and in the above Pauline passages the door stands for the privilege accorded to the Christian teachers; in Acts xiv. 27, *ἤνοιξεν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν θύραν πίστεως*, the metaphor is applied conversely, where the door is opened not to the Christian teacher, but to the converts to the Christian Church. A different explanation has been advanced by Moffatt, who in view of a passage written by Ignatius to this same Church of Philadelphia (*Ad Philad.* ix. 1, *αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρός, δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ισαὰκ κτλ.*) connects the phrase with Christ and compares John x. 7, 9, where Christ describes Himself as *ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων.* But it would be strange for the speaker—Christ—to say, "Behold I have set before you a door opened," and to imply thereby that He Himself was this door. The direct form of statement in John x. 7, 9 does not support this view. Bousset propounds a third explanation, *i.e.* that the open door is for the entrance of the community into the Messianic glory.

ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν. On this Hebraism cf. vii. 2, 9, xiii. 8, 12, xx. 8: cf. xii. 6, 14, xvii. 9; also ii. 7, 17.

ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις δύναμιν. This clause, as pointed out above, depends directly on *οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα*, the intervening clause being a parenthesis. The Church had little weight in Philadelphia so far as concerned its external circumstances.

καὶ ἐτήρησάς μου τὸν λόγον. The *καί* has here an adversative force (= "and yet"), as frequently in the Fourth Gospel (Abbott, *Gram.* 135 sqq.), i. 5, iii. 13, 19, iv. 20, vi. 70, ix. 34, etc. The usage is Hebraic in character. Cf. also Matt. vi. 26; Jer. xxiii. 21 (Robertson, *Gram.* 1183). On *ἐτήρησας . . . λόγον* see note on xiv. 12. *καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω.* Cf. ii. 13. These clauses point to some period of faithfulness under trial in the past.

μου τὸν λόγον . . . τὸ ὄνομά μου. With the position of the pronoun here cf. x. 9, *πικρανεῖ σου τὴν κοιλίαν ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ἔσται γλυκύ.* The first unemphatic (or vernacular possessive) *μου* throws the emphasis on *ἐτήρησας* and *τὸν λόγον*: "And yet the word I gave you thou didst keep, and didst not deny My name."

9. The conversion of the Jewish element in Thyatira promised.

ἰδοὺ διδῶ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ. In διδῶ (for the earlier *δίδωμι*—see Robertson, *Gram.* 311 sq.) we have a transition from *-μι* to *-ω* forms. Cf. xvii. 13 (*διδόασιν*). As regards διδῶ two interpretations are possible. First, it may be rendered literally: "I give men of the synagogue . . . as thy converts." Otherwise διδῶ is to be taken Hebraically, "I make (*i.e.* I will make) men of the synagogue . . . behold I will make" (*ποιήσω*). This latter use is frequent in the LXX. It is to be found also in Acts x. 40, xiv. 3 (ii. 27, in a quotation from the LXX). The combination ἰδοὺ διδῶ is decidedly in favour of the latter view; for it is a pure Hebraism, הִנְנִי נֹתֵן, with a future sense. With the construction διδῶ *ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς* compare ii. 17, *δώσω . . . τοῦ μάννα.*

τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ. In the LXX קהל יהוה is rendered *ἡ συναγωγὴ τοῦ κυρίου* (Num. xvi. 3, xx. 4: cf. also xxvi. 9, xxvii. 3, where a different Hebrew word is used). Not a Synagogue of the Lord, but a Synagogue of Satan, does the Seer pronounce these Jews to be. Some twenty years later the Church of Philadelphia had greater dangers to encounter from the Judaizers than from the Jews, both of whom were active: cf. Ignat. *Ad Philad.* vi. 1, *ἐὰν δέ τις ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἑρμηνεύῃ ὑμῖν, μὴ ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ· ἄμεινον γάρ ἐστιν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς περιτομὴν ἔχοντος χριστιανισμὸν ἀκούειν ἢ παρὰ ἀκροβύστου ἰουδαϊσμόν.*

τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι. The *τῶν λεγόντων* is in apposition to *τῆς συναγωγῆς*. On the whole clause cf. ii. 9. In classical Greek the usual construction would be *τῶν λεγόντων* (*αὐτῶν*) *Ἰουδαίων εἶναι.* But even in classical Greek the acc. with inf. is found where the nom. would have been usual. In the *κοινή* Moulton (*Gram.* 212 sq.) shows the same usage active. In fact, as Robertson writes (*Gram.* 1039), "the acc. with the inf. was normal when the substantive with the inf. was different from the subject of the principal verb." Our author claims that the Christians alone had the right to the name "Jew." "Faith in Christ, not mere nationality, constituted true Judaism. The succession had passed to Christianity" (Moffatt *in loc.*): cf. Rom. ix. 6–9, ii. 28, 29, "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly . . . but he is a Jew which is one inwardly." Herein our author differs from the Fourth Evangelist, with whom Ἰουδαῖοι is by no means an honourable designation.

τῶν λεγόντων . . . καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. An unmistakable Hebraism. Cf. ii. 9 and i. 5–6, note.

ποιήσω ἵνα *cum fut.* or *subj.* Cf. xiii. 12 (fut.), 16 (subj.?); John xi. 37 (subj.); Col. iv. 16 (subj.). The *ἵνα* clause is one of consequence; cf. ix. 20, xiii. 13. The fut. ind. after *ἵνα* is frequent in our author: see Introd. to ii.–iii. § 2 (*b*), p. 41 sq.

ἵνα ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. Cf. xv. 4, xxii. 8. The language is based on Isa. lx. 14, where the Gentiles are described as submitting to the Jews: *πορεύσονται πρός σε δεδοικότες υἱοὶ ταπεινωσάντων σε*: xlv. 14, *διαβήσονται πρός σε καὶ προσκυνήσουσίν σοι.* It will be observed that our author's diction is not dependent on the LXX. Moreover, our text more nearly renders the Mass. of Isa. lx. 14 than the LXX, for *καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν σου* is found only in Q^{mg} and not in the LXX. The homage that the Jews expected from the Gentiles, they were themselves to render to the Christians. They should play the rôle of the heathen and acknowledge the Christians to be the true Israel.

ἐγὼ ἠγάπησά σε. From Isa. xliii. 4.

προσκυνήσουσιν . . . καὶ γνῶσιν. Cf. xxii. 14, *ἵνα ἔσται . . . καὶ . . . εἰσέλθωσιν.*

10. This verse is a redactional addition on the part of our Seer when he was editing his visions. Its meaning is only explicable from a right understanding of vii., where the 144,000 are sealed. There the faithful are sealed with a view to their preservation from the assaults of demons, but are not thereby secured against physical death. This persecution is not to be a merely local one (cf. ii. 10): it is to embrace the entire world. Elsewhere throughout the original Letters to the Seven Churches there is not even an apprehension of a world-wide persecution (see § 5, p. 44 sq.). The continued existence of two of the Churches is presupposed till the Second Advent: cf. ii. 25, iii. 3 (?), 11. It will be observed that the demonic trial spoken of, while world-wide, was to affect only "those that dwell upon the earth," *i.e.* the non-Christians.

ὅτι ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον . . . κἀγώ σε τηρήσω. Cf. John xvii. 6, 11, 12, *τὸν λόγον σου τετήρηκαν . . . πάτερ ἅγιε, τήρησον αὐτούς . . . ὅτε ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτούς.* As they have kept Christ's word, so He will keep them safe from the demonic assaults which will affect all who are not His.

τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, *i.e.* "the word of my endurance." The phrase *ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων* (xiii. 10, xiv. 12), *i.e.* "the endurance practised by the saints," requires a like interpretation here. Hence "the word of my endurance" is "the Gospel of the endurance practised by Christ." This is to be, as Hort writes, 'at once as an example and as a power." Cf. 2 Thess. iii. 5, *τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ*: Ignat. *Ad Rom.* x. 3, *ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

τηρήσω ἐκ. Only found elsewhere in the N.T. in John xvii. 15 (cf. Jas. i. 27, *τηρεῖν ἀπό*), where the thought is quite in keeping with that of our Seer: *οὐκ ἐρωτῶ ἵνα ἄρῃς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ.* Here *τοῦ πονηροῦ* is the Evil One, or Satan. Hence our Lord's prayer is that His disciples may be delivered from the evil sway of Satan, not that they may be saved from the physical evils (including death) which are inevitably incident to this life. This gives exactly the object of the sealing in vii. The sealing provides the spiritual help needed against the coming manifestation of Satanic wickedness linked with seemingly supreme power. See III. c. in the Introd. to vii., § 5, p. 194 sqq. Unreserved loyalty to Christ carries with it immunity from spiritual anguish and mental trouble.

τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ. This tribulation is to affect only the faithless and the heathen; for, as the note on xi. 10 shows, the phrase "those that dwell upon the earth" denotes the world of unbelievers as distinguished from that of the faithful. Hence whilst the word *πειρασμός* (cf. *πειράζειν* later) may in some degree retain the sense of "trial," since some of the faithless might thereby be brought to repent, yet its prevailing sense in this passage is affliction and temptation—the fitting functions of the demons (ix. 1–21). *πειράζειν* in ii. 10 means "to afflict," but the affliction is limited to "ten days." On *πειράζειν* as meaning to inflict evils upon one in order to test his character, cf. 1 Cor. x. 13; Heb. ii. 18, iv. 15.

τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. These are the heathens or non-Christians. See note on xi. 10 and § 4 of the Introd. to xiii. Thus the coming *πειρασμός*, which is to be world-wide, is to afflict only those who have not the seal of God on their forehead (ix. 4). See note on vii. 3.

11. ἔρχομαι ταχύ. This refers to the Second Advent and presupposes the continuance of the community till that event, as in ii. 25, iii. 3. But the main presupposition of the later chapters, which represent our author's final view, is that in the final persecution all the faithful will suffer martyrdom: cf. xiii. 15, xviii. 4 (note), 20, and § 1 of the Introd. to xv., and § 1 of the Introd. to xvi.

κράτει ὃ ἔχεις. Each Church is to preserve its own inheritance. Cf. ii. 25. See note on ii. 1 on *κρατεῖν*.

ἵνα μηδεὶς λάβῃ τὸν στέφανόν σου The promise of the crown is parallel to that made to the Church of Smyrna, ii. 10 (see note). Cf. Col. ii. 18; 2 Tit. ii. 5.

12. See note on ii. 11^b.

ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτόν A Hebraism. Cf. ii. 7, 17, 26, iii. 21.

στύλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου. With *θεοῦ μου* cf. iii. 2, 5. Here the phrase occurs four times. The expression *στύλος* is used metaphorically as elsewhere in the N.T. and in Judaism. Cf. 1 Tim. iii. 15, *ἐκκλησία . . . στύλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀλη-*

θείας: also Gal. ii. 9. In Clem. Rom. v. 2, Peter and Paul are called οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιότατοι στύλοι. In Judaism, R. Jöhanan ben Sakkai was called עמוד הימיני, "the right pillar," with reference to 1 Kings vii. 21 (Ber. 28^b), and Abraham the pillar of the world in Exod. rab. 2 (see Levy's *Neuhebräishes Wörterbuch*, iii. 660; also Schoettgen, *Hor.* i. 728 sq.). The metaphor is current in most languages: cf. Pind. *Ol.* ii. 146; Eur. *Iph.* I. 57, στύλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες: Aesch. *Agam.* 897; Hor. *Od.* i. 35. 13. Since στύλος is thus used metaphorically, it follows that ναός has also a metaphorical sense here. Hence the text is not inconsistent with xxi. 22, where it is said that there is no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 10–xxii. 2, which descended from God to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. In the more spiritual and New Jerusalem, xxi. 2–4, xxii. 3–5, which was to descend after the first judgment, there could, of course, be no temple. The local heavenly sanctuary existing in heaven (see notes on vii. 15, iv. 2) was ultimately to disappear, and God Himself to be the temple.

ἔξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἔτι. The subject is ὁ νικῶν. Fixity of character is at last achieved. Since God is the temple, and the faithful have become pillars in this temple, they have become one with Him, and therefore can never be separated from Him. Cf. John xvii. 21^a, ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσιν: 22, ἵνα ὦσιν ἓν καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἕν: 21^b, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ὦσιν. Isa. xxii. 25, which speaks of the removal of "the nail fastened in a sure place" (*i.e.* Eliakim), may have been in the mind of our author, inasmuch as in iii. 7 he has quoted Isa. xxii. 22. The nail can be removed, but not the pillar.

οὐ (or **μή**) . . . **ἔτι**, frequent in our author but not in Fourth Gospel.

καὶ γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα κτλ. So far as the Greek goes the words ἐπ' αὐτόν could refer to (1) στύλον, or (2) to ὁ νικῶν. 1. In favour of the first it has been urged that inscriptions on pillars were not infrequent in Oriental architecture. In order to worship a god it was necessary to know his name. Thus in the magical prayer of Astrampsychus, quoted by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 20 (see Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, i. 116), we find: Οἶδά σε, Ἑρμῆ . . . οἶδά σου καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομά σου τὸ ἐγγραμμένον τῇ ἱερᾷ στήλῃ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ ἐν Ἑρμουπόλει. But there is a nearer parallel, as Bousset points out (referring to Hirschfeld, 860); for it was customary for the provincial priest of the imperial cultus at the close of his year of office to erect his statue in the confines of the temple, inscribing on it his own name and his father's, his place of birth and year of office. Possibly the foregoing figure was chosen with reference to this custom in order to set forth the dignity of the faithful as priests of God in the next world. Ignatius, *Ad Philad.* vi. 1, has been thought to refer to the present text when he writes in reference to those who do not acknowledge Jesus Christ, *οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στῆλαί εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπών.* But there is really no idea in common. Ignatius is comparing false teachers to sepulchres, whereas our text declares that the victors shall be upholders of the spiritual temple of God, with the name of their God blazoned on their brows. Some think that the idea in our text is a development of Isa. lvi. 5, "Unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a memorial (lit. 'hand') and a name better than of sons and daughters," to which there are parallels in the Phoenician and Punic stones, which served as memorials within the heathen temples. But, as we have already presupposed, the other interpretation is decidedly to be preferred. 2. The victor receives the name on his forehead, as in xiv. 1, xxii. 4 (cf. vii. 3, note, xvii. 5). See also ii. 17, note.

τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου. See note on iii. 2. The name of God impressed on the forehead of the victors shows that they are God's own possession: see vii. 3, note.

τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου. These words denote that to the victor God will give the right of citizenship in the New Jerusalem: cf. Gal. iv. 26; Phil. iii. 20; Heb. xi. 10, xii. 22, xiii. 14.

τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ. Cf. xxi. 2. The New Jerusalem is the Jerusalem that descends from God after the final judgment and the creation of the new heaven and the new earth. It is to be distinguished from the heavenly Jerusalem which descends from heaven before the final judgment to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. See 5 in the Introd. to xx. 4–xxii., vol. ii. p. 150. Our author uses the form *Ἰερουσαλήμ*, but the Fourth Gospel *Ἱεροσόλυμα.*

ἡ καταβαίνουσα κτλ. Cf. xxi. 2, 10. On this Hebraism see note on i. 5.

τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν. Cf. xix. 12, 16. But the new name more probably is one to be revealed at His Second Advent. And as Christ was to bear a new name at this Advent, so should also His faithful servants, ii. 17. Gressmann (*Urspr. d. Israel. jüd. Eschat.* 281) has aptly remarked that "as in the beginning of the present world all things received their definite names, so will they also be named anew in the future world."

A partial parallel to the whole verse is to be found in the Baba Bathra, 75^b, "Rabbi Samuel the son of Nachmani said in the name of Rabbi Johanan that three are named after the name of the Holy One—blessed be He—the righteous (Isa. xliii. 7), the Messiah (Jer. xxiii. 6), and Jerusalem (Ezek. xlviii. 35).

14–22. MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN LAODICEA.

As there were at least six cities, bearing the name Laodicea, founded or restored during the later Hellenic period, the Laodicea in our text was called Λαοδίκεια ἡ πρὸς (or ἐπὶ) τῷ Λύκῳ (Strabo, 578). In the N.T. it was written Λαοδικία, but in inscriptions and literature Λαοδίκεια. It was founded on the south bank of the Lycus, 6 m. south of Hierapolis and 10 west of Colossae, by Antiochus II. (261–246 B.C.), and named in honour of his wife Laodice. Laodicea was most favourably situated as regards the imperial road-system. It formed the point on the great eastern highway where three roads converged and met: the first from the S.E. from Attaleia and Perga; the second from the N.W. from Sardis and Philadelphia (about 40 miles distant); and the third from the N.E. from Dorylaeum and northern Phrygia. Its situation thus fitted it to become a great commercial and administrative city. Besides being a seat of the Cibyratic *conventus*, it was (1) a banking centre (thus Cicero proposes to cash there his treasury bills of exchange—*Ad Fam.* iii. 5, *Ad Att.* v. 15), and very opulent; for when it was overthrown by the great earthquakes of 60–61 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) it was not obliged to apply for an imperial subsidy, as was usual in the case of other cities of Asia Minor: cf. iii. 17, πλούσιός εἰμι . . . καὶ οὐδὲν χρείαν ἔχω: it was also (2) a large manufacturer of clothing and carpets of the native black wool, and it was likewise (3) the seat of a flourishing medical school, amongst its teachers having been Zeuxis and Alexander Philalethes. Now it can hardly be an accident that in iii. 17 of our text there are three epithets which refer to these commercial and intellectual activities,—πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός,—but in the way of total disparagement. And that this is so is still clearer from iii. 18, where, in contrast to their material wealth, their successful woollen factories and their famous medical specifics, the Laodiceans are bidden to buy from Christ the true riches, the white garments and the eye salve for their purblind vision. The Church of Laodicea was probably founded by Epaphras of Colossae, Col. i. 7, iv. 12 sq. The Lycus valley had not been visited by St. Paul down to the time of his first imprisonment in Rome, Col. ii. 1. That he wrote a letter to Laodicea is to be inferred from Col. iv. 16; but this letter is lost, unless it is to be identified with that to the Ephesians (see *Ency. Bib.* i. 866 sq.). The Latin Epistle to the Laodiceans is entirely apocryphal (see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 279–298). Our author appears to have been acquainted with St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. See note on 14. On this letter cf. Ramsay, *Letters*, 413 sqq., and the articles on Laodicea in Hastings' *D.B.* and the *Ency. Bib.*—especially in the latter.

14. ὁ Ἀμήν. The explanation of this phrase is uncertain, but it may possibly be found in Isa. lxv. 16, אֱלֹהֵי אָמֵן = "the God of Amen." But, as modern scholars recognize, the LXX (*τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν*) implies אֱלֹהֵי אֹמֶן = "the God of truth," instead of אֱלֹהֵי אָמֵן, "the God of Amen." The idea is thus "the True One," "the One who keepeth covenant." Hence the words that follow are in part a repetition and in part an expansion of the phrase that follows. Symmachus renders *τῷ θεῷ, ἀμήν*, and Aquila (*τῷ θεῷ*) *πεπιστωμένως*. In any case our author, as Symmachus, found אָמֵן in Isa. lxv. 16.

ὁ μάρτυς πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός. For the first three words cf. i. 5, and for the meaning our author attaches to *ἀληθινός*, see note on iii. 7.

ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, *i.e.* "the origin (or 'primary source') of the creation of God." It is remarkable that in St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians we have several phrases which can hardly be regarded as other than the prototypes of certain expressions in our author. Now we know (Col. iv. 16) that St. Paul wrote about the same time to the Churches of Colossae and Laodicea, and gave directions that the Epistle to the Colossians was to be read in the Church of Laodicea and the Epistle to the Laodiceans to be read in the Church of Colossae. Now it is possible that like phrases to those in the Epistle to the Colossians occurred in that to the Laodiceans; but even presupposing that this was not the case, we know at all events that St. Paul's original Epistle to the Colossians was read in the Church of Laodicea and that probably copies of it were current there. Since, therefore, there are, as we shall show, several points in common between our author and the Colossian Epistle, it is highly probable that our author was acquainted with it. See Lightfoot, ***Colossians***, 41 sqq.

1. First of all, with *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ* we should compare Col. i. 18, *ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή* (where *ἀρχή*—the active principle in creation = *αἰτία*, cause—has the same meaning as in our text), and i. 15, *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* (= "sovereign Lord over all creation by virtue of primogeniture"—Lightfoot). It is to be observed that *πρωτότοκος* bears the same meaning in our author in i. 5, *πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν* = "sovereign Lord of the dead" (*i.e.* the secondary meaning of *πρωτότοκος*). In Col. i. 18, *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν* is not quite parallel owing to the presence of the *ἐκ*, which brings out the primary meaning of *πρωτότοκος*, *i.e.* priority in time.

2. With iii. 21, *δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὡς*

κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ, compare Col. iii. 1, *εἰ οὖν συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χ., τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε, οὗ ὁ Χ. ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενος*. (Cf. Eph. ii. 6, *συνήγειρεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*.) In our text the victors are to be seated on Christ's throne as He is seated on God's throne. In Col. iii. 1, Christ is seated at the right hand of God, and the faithful are to sit with Him in heavenly places (Eph. ii. 6).

3. In iii. 17–19 the self-complacency and self-satisfaction of the Laodiceans, arising in part, no doubt, from their great material wealth and prosperity as well as their intellectual advancement, are denounced, and they are exhorted to seek the true riches and the true wisdom which comes from a vision purged by the Great Physician. Cf. Col. i. 27, where the apostle emphasizes in contrast to their proud but baseless knowledge (ii. 8, 18, 23), "the riches of the glory of this mystery which is Christ in you," and ii. 2, 3, where he declares that he strives for the Colossians and also for the *Laodiceans* that they may be brought unto "all riches of the full assurance of understanding," even "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden" in Christ.

It is not unreasonable to conclude from the above evidence that our author was acquainted directly or indirectly with St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. Possibly he was acquainted with St. Paul's lost Epistle to the Laodiceans, and was thereby influenced in his diction and thought. There are no resemblances between the diction and thought of the other six Letters and the Pauline Epistles—a matter worthy of consideration.

15. While the Churches of Ephesus, Pergamum, Thyatira, and Sardis were guilty of manifest evils, no such evil is laid to the charge of the Church of Laodicea. But the evil, if not manifest, was still more perilous. The Laodiceans professed Christianity and were self-complacent and self-satisfied. They were unconscious that they were wholly, or all but wholly, out of communion with Christ (iii. 20), at all events they felt no need of repentance. Hence the startling declaration that the absolute rejection of religion (iii. 15) were preferable to the Laodicean profession of it. As a Church and as individuals they dwelt with complacency on what they had achieved (17^{a}), whilst they were serenely unconscious of what they had left undone.

ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς. *ὄφελον* is used with the past ind. in late Greek to introduce an impracticable wish, and with the fut. ind. (Gal. v. 12) to express a practicable wish. But here as in 2 Cor. xi. 1 we have *ὄφελον* with the past ind. to express a possibility though in the present still unrealized. Moulton defines these as instances of the "unreal" indicative. See Blass, *Gram.* 206 sq., 220; Moulton, *Gram.* i. 200.

ζεστός. Here only in the LXX or the N.T. Enthusiasm is required in the faithful, they were to be "hot to the boiling point," fervent in spirit (*τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες*, Rom. xii. 11).

16. χλίαρος, *i.e.* "lukewarm"—here only in Biblical Greek.

μέλλω . . . ἐμέσαι. Our author as a rule uses the pres. inf. after *μέλλειν*: see note on iii. 2. *ἐμέσαι.* This verb is not used elsewhere in the N.T. and only once in the LXX. The rejection of the Laodicean Church is not announced as final here, and the possibility of repentance is admitted in 18–20. The language is very forcible though homely. The Laodiceans are not only denounced, but denounced with the utmost abhorrence. Such a denunciation is without parallel in the other Epistles. An immediate and special judgment is not here held in view, but the final judgment.

17. This verse forms the protasis of the sentence; the apodosis follows in 18. See note on 14–22 above. There it is pointed out that in 17–18 we have references to the material and intellectual wealth of Laodicea. On the other hand it is urged that the language is metaphorical, and states that the Church of Laodicea is rich in spiritual possessions and has need of nothing (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 7–8). This, no doubt, is true, but the allusion to the material conditions of the city cannot be ignored.

πλούσιός εἰμι καὶ πεπλούτηκα, "I am rich, and have gotten riches." Our text here is a free and direct rendering of Hos. xii. 9, עשרתי מצאתי און לי. The LXX renders און under the influence of the kindred Arabic root, *πεπλούτηκα, εὕρηκα ἀναψυχὴν* (*ἀνωφελὲς*, Aquila) *ἐμαυτῷ*, but our author's rendering is more correct. Laodicea not only declares that she is rich, but maintains that her wealth, material and spiritual, is the result of her own exertions. But, as has already been suggested in ii. 9, the Church that is rich in spiritual and moral achievements is the most conscious of its own spiritual and moral poverty.

In *οὐδὲν χρείαν ἔχω* the *οὐδέν* is an acc. of limitation or reference. Blass (*Gram.* 91, note) thinks it cannot be right. But it recurs in xxii. 5 (note). Our author uses *χρείαν ἔχειν* either with the gen. (xxi. 23, xxii. 5) or with the acc. (iii. 17, xxii. 5). As Swete points out, there is a parallel expression and construction in *Petr. Ev.* 5, *ὡς μηδὲν πόνον ἔχων.* But our author does not always keep to the same construction. Thus *γέμω* has a gen. in iv. 6, 8, v. 8, xv. 7, xvii. 4, xxi. 9, but an acc. in xvii. 3, 4.

καὶ οὐκ οἶδας. Contrast this with *οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα* in iii. 15.

σὺ εἶ ὁ ταλαίπωρος κτλ. The *σύ* is emphatic: it is thou who art self-satisfied and boastful that art the wretched one *par excellence.* With the emphatic use of the art. before the predicate cf. Luke xviii. 13; Matt. v. 13, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς, *i.e.* the only salt that deserves the name (cf. Blass, *Gram.* 157). ταλαίπωρος occurs only here and in Rom. vii. 24, where it is used respectively of the extremes of unconscious and conscious wretchedness. ἐλεεινός, "pitiable," as in Dan. ix. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 19.

πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός. In these three terms we have most probably allusions to local subjects of self-complacency in Laodicea and its Church; see note on 14–22, p. 93. On the spiritual significance of πτωχός see note on ii. 9.

18. Here at the close of the subordinate clauses comes the chief sentence. This sentence is an admonition dealing with the spiritual condition of the Laodiceans as set forth in the closing words of the preceding verse—πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός. Since the Laodiceans are all but spiritually destitute (πτωχός), they are exhorted to buy for themselves a new and disciplined spirit (χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός). This spirit constitutes the true riches, and since it cannot remain fruitless or inoperative, it manifests itself in a righteous character. Now this righteous character as it advances towards perfectionment weaves a garment for the spirit—the spiritual body—the white raiment of the blessed in the heavenly world. The Christian character (or its derivative the spiritual body) may be regarded from two standpoints. From the human standpoint such character is a personal acquisition of the faithful, and, therefore, so far always imperfect: hence it can be soiled by unfaithfulness (iii. 4^b), or cleansed and made white in the blood of the Lamb (vii. 14). On the other hand, from the divine standpoint the Christian character is a gift of God. Its derivative, the spiritual body, is not bestowed till the faithful have attained their perfectionment. Since the martyrs were regarded as having already reached this stage, they were clothed in heavenly bodies (vi. 11), whereas from the rest of the faithful this gift was withheld till the end of the world, as they were still in a state of imperfection, even though redeemed.

συμβουλεύω σοι. This construction here and in John xviii. 14 only in N.T. Occasionally in the LXX.

ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ χρυσίον. Cf. Isa. lv. 1, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye . . . buy (ἀγοράσατε) wine and milk without money and without price." For the metaphorical use of this verb cf. v. 9, xiv. 3, 4; Matt. xxv. 9, 10.

The words παρ' ἐμοῦ are emphatic. Cf. Matt. vi. 19, 20 for the thought. As regards the construction ἀγοράσαι παρά, cf. 2 Esdr. xx. 31. In v. 9 of our author this verb is followed by ἐκ, and in xiv. 3, 4 by ἀπό; but the sense is different. On the symbolic meaning of *χρυσίον* here see note at beginning of verse.

πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός. Cf. 1 Pet. i. 7, *τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσίου . . . διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου.* Other parallels may be found in Ps. xviii. 31, Prov. xxx. 5, where the word of the Lord is said to be "tried" (צרופה, in the LXX *πεπυρωμένοι*), or in Pss. Sol. xvii. 47, *πεπυρωμένα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον.* See also Ps. lxvi. 10. From these parallels it is clear that the meaning of *πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός* is that *this* gold has been tested and is to be trusted. Further, since in the present passage this gold is not a material but a spiritual thing, the idea of the text is that Christ gives to the true seeker a spiritual gift, which constitutes the only true riches (Col. i. 27). This spiritual gift, consisting as it does in a new heart or spirit, becomes in fellowship with Christ the *fons et origo* of the Christian character, and this in turn the source and artificer of the spiritual body. Another function of this new spirit in man is that it endows him with spiritual vision (iii. 18^{c}). Interpreted thus, the *ἱμάτια λευκά* and the *κολλούριον* are not separate and independent gifts, but gifts that are subsidiary to or rather springing out of the chief gift—the *χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός*—*i.e.* the new heart.

ἱμάτια λευκά. See the preceding note; also the note at beginning of verse, and on iii. 5.

μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητός σου. See xvi. 15, note. For the diction, cf. Ezek. xvi. 36, *ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ἡ αἰσχύνη σου* (תגלה ערותך): also xxiii. 29; Ex. xx. 26. The soul of the faithless will appear naked in the next world. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 2, 3, *τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες, εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθησόμεθα.* According to xx. 11–13, the dead (the righteous, excluding the martyrs, and the wicked) are raised disembodied: see note on xx. 13. The righteous then receive their spiritual bodies, but the wicked remain disembodied souls and are cast into the lake of fire. This is also the teaching of St. Paul, as 2 Cor. v. 2, 3 proves.

κολλούριον ἐγχρῖσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς κτλ. The *κολλούριον* was shaped like a *κολλύρα* (of which it is a diminutive). It was prepared from various ingredients, and was used as an eye salve. In our text it is the famous Phrygian powder used by the medical school at Laodicea. It appears in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shabb. i. 3^{d}, vii. 10^{b}, viii. 11^{b}) (see Levy's *Neuhebräishes Wörterbuch*, iv. 293) as קִילוּרִית and קִילוּרִין in the general sense of an eye salve, and in Latin as Collyrium: cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 30, "nigra . . . collyria": Juv. vi. 579. Celsus, vi. 7, speaks of many collyria of every kind: "Ex frequentissimis collyriis": vii. 7. 4. See Wetstein for further references, from which may be quoted the following: Wajikra R. 156^{a}: "Verba legis corona sunt capitis, torques collo, collyrium oculis." ἐγχρῖσαι. Here only in the N.T. and only four times in the LXX.

The application of the eye salve in our text results in spiritual vision. Thereby the Laodiceans can get rid of their self-deception, and so gain true self-knowledge, and therewith a knowledge of "the riches of the glory of this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" (Col. i. 27), "in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden" (Col. ii. 3). In the note on πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός above I have taken the spiritual gift symbolized by κολλούριον as a gift springing out of the chief gift symbolized by χρυσίον πεπυρ. ἐκ πυρός, and not as a separate and independent gift. On the other hand, the κολλούριον in our text has been taken by some interpreters to mean the word of God (or of prophecy as opposed to the Law), or enlightening power or ἐλεγμός (John xvi. 8 sqq.) of the Holy Spirit (so Düsterdieck and Swete).

19–20. The severity of the rebuke just administered is a sign of Christ's love which summons to repentance and abiding earnestness first the Church as a whole (19) and next the individual members of it, and promises that if they will open their hearts He will enter into the closest communion with them for ever.

19. ἐγὼ ὅσους ἐὰν φιλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω. Cf. Pss. Sol. x. 2, xiv. 1; Heb. xii. 6. The text is remarkable here. It is drawn from Prov. iii. 12, כִּי אֶת אֲשֶׁר־יֶאֱהַב יי״ יוֹכִיחַ, which the LXX renders, ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος ἐλέγχει, (B; παιδεύει, ℵA). Here first of all we observe that our author uses φιλεῖν and not ἀγαπᾶν as in the LXX. This is further remarkable, since in i. 5, iii. 9, ἀγαπᾶν and not φιλεῖν is used of Christ's love for man. φιλεῖν is not used in the LXX or the N.T. (except in John xvi. 27) of God's love for man, but ἀγαπᾶν. Moreover, men are bidden ἀγαπᾶν τὸν θεόν but never φιλεῖν τὸν θεόν save in Prov. viii. 17. This last passage is instructive; for here the LXX renders אהב which is twice used by the two words: ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλοῦντας ἀγαπῶ. The two Greek words differ in that ἀγαπᾶν "expresses a more reasoning attachment, . . . while the second . . . is more of the feelings or natural affections, implies more passion" (Trench, *Synonyms of the N.T.*^{8}). See, however, M. & M.'s *Voc. of Gk. T.*, p. 2. In John xi. 3, 36, xx. 2, φιλεῖν is used of Christ's love for Lazarus and John, but elsewhere in the Gospel ἀγαπᾶν is universally employed in this connection. Hence there is no perfect parallel in the N.T. to the use of φιλεῖν here. The exceptional use of the emotional word (contrast iii. 9) here can only be deliberate. It is a touching and unexpected manifestation of love to those who deserve it least among the Seven Churches.

Next, ἐλέγχω and παιδεύω call for attention. Here Swete observes that these two words may be duplicate renderings of יוֹכִיחַ, or that παιδεύω may have been suggested by the preceding verse in Prov. iii. 11, μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας κυρίου. The latter view is to be preferred, since παιδεύειν never appears in the LXX as a rendering of יכח except in Prov. iii. 12 (in אA, etc.), but is a normal rendering of יסר, whereas the stock translation of יכח is ἐλέγχειν.

Reproof and chastisement are evidence not of Christ's rejection of the Laodiceans, but of His love (φιλῶ) for them. Love is never cruel, but it can be severe. There has hitherto been no hint of any persecution of the Laodicean Church. Even here the mention of it carries with it not even the faintest allusion to the great persecution which was expected by the Seer in 95 A.D. and to which there is a definite reference in 21.

ζήλευε οὖν καὶ μετανόησον. Here zeal is enjoined as a permanent element in the Christian character—hence ζήλευε and not ζήλευσον, while repentance is required as a definite change once and for all from their present condition—hence **μετανόησον.** They are to begin by one decisive act, the life of Christian enthusiasm as opposed to their former life of lukewarmness and indifference.

20. The deep note of affection in the preceding verse pervades this also. As a friend He admonishes the Laodicean Church to repent in 19; as a friend in this verse He does more: He comes to each individual and seeks an entrance into his heart. Here the words (ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου) have a personal and individual character not applicable to the Church of Laodicea as a whole. If 20 were addressed to the Church we should expect ἐὰν σὺ ἀκούσῃς τ. φ. μου. Cf. ζήλευε καὶ μετανόησον in 19. Hence with De Wette, Alford, Weiss, and others this verse is to be interpreted as referring to repentance in the present.

But many scholars—Düsterdieck, Bousset, Swete, Holtzmann and Moffatt—interpret this verse in conjunction with 21 eschatologically, and adduce as parallels such unmistakable eschatological passages as Mark xiii. 29 (=Matt. xxiv. 33), γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις: Luke xii. 36, ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον . . . ἵνα ἐλθόντος καὶ κρούσαντος εὐθέως ἀνοίξωσιν αὐτῷ: Jas. v. 9, ἰδοὺ ὁ κριτὴς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἕστηκεν. It is shown further that in Luke xxii. 29 sq., κἀγὼ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν, καθὼς διέθετό μοι ὁ πατήρ μου βασιλείαν, ἵνα ἔσθητε καὶ πίνητε ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, καὶ καθῆσθε ἐπὶ θρόνων τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς κρίνοντες τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, we have a combination of the metaphors eating and drinking with those of thrones and judging, just as we have a combination of the metaphors of eating and sitting on thrones in 20–21 in our text. But though the parallels in diction are indisputable, the thought differs. For whereas in Mark xiii. 29 (= Matt. xxiv. 33) and Jas. v. 9 we have the final advent of Christ as *Judge*, in 20 of our text He comes as a Preacher of repentance—an office incompatible with that of Judge. Also in Luke xii. 36 the reference to the last coming and the giving of an account is manifest: He comes there to reward the faithful, not to call the careless and indifferent to repentance. Hence the eschatological interpretation is to be rejected. As usual our Seer takes his own line with tradition, even when the tradition is concerned with our Lord's own words; for iii. 20–21 shows, as Bousset recognizes, that he was familiar with Luke xxii. 29 sq.

The diction recalls Cant. v. 2, where the LXX reads *φωνὴ ἀδελφιδοῦ μου, κρούει ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν· ἄνοιξόν μοι ἀδελφή μου.* Since in 4 Ezra v. 23–26 there is contemporary evidence of the allegorical use of Canticles (see Box's ed., p. 52 sq., notes), it is more than probable that our author has here come under its influence. See also Bacher's *Agada der Tannaiten*^{2}, i. 94, 186, 229 sq., 310 sqq., 338, ii. (1st ed.) 47 sq. etc.

ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου . . . καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι. I have with some hesitation followed ℵQ, a considerable body of cursives, s^{1} and Prim. in retaining the *καί* before the apodosis.

ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου. Cf. John x. 3, *τὰ πρόβατα φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούει*: xviii. 37, *πᾶς ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκούει μου τῆς φωνῆς.* Obedience to Christ leads to fellowship with Him.

καὶ ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δειπνήσω μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ. Cf. John xiv. 23, *πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ποιησόμεθα.* For *εἰσέρχεσθαι πρός τινα* of entering into a man's house, cf. Mark xv. 43.

Participation in the common meal was for the Oriental a proof of confidence and affection. The intimate fellowship of the faithful with God and the Messiah in the Coming Age was frequently symbolized by such a metaphor. Cf. 1 Enoch lxii. 14, "And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, And with that Son of Man shall they eat, And lie down and rise up for ever and ever." Cf. Shabbath, 153^{a}. That this language is metaphorical always in the N.T. and generally in Jewish writings is shown by such statements as 1 Cor. vi. 13^{a} and Ber 17^{a}, "In the world to come there is neither eating nor drinking . . . but the righteous . . . find their delight (נהנים) in the glory of the Shechina."

21. This verse is wholly eschatological. Christ promises to the martyrs—to those who shall be victors by being faithful unto death—that they shall sit on His throne even as He had been victorious through being faithful unto death and had sat down on His Father's throne. The fulfilment of this promise is seen by the Seer in his vision in xx. 4, where the martyrs sit on thrones and reign with Christ for 1000 years.

Like ii. 7, 11^b, 17^b, 26–27, iii. 5, 12, this verse is a later addition of our author when he edited his visions as a whole.

ὁ νικῶν . . . αὐτῷ. See note on this Hebraism on ii. 7; also on *διδόναι* followed by the inf.

δώσω . . . καθίσαι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐν τ. θρόνῳ μου. The Seer witnesses in a vision the fulfilment of this promise in xx. 4, *εἶδον θρόνους καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς . . . καὶ ἔζησαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χίλια ἔτη.* The promise relates to the Millennial Kingdom. To the same period should probably be referred Luke xxii. 30, *κἀγὼ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καθὼς διέθετό μοι ὁ πατήρ μου βασιλείαν ἵνα . . . καθῆσθε ἐπὶ θρόνων τ. δώδεκα φυλὰς κρίνοντες τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* (cf. Matt. xix. 28), and likewise 2 Tim. ii. 11–12, *εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συνζήσομεν. εἰ ὑπομένομεν, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν,* where the thought is certainly akin to that in our text. Cf. Mark x. 40. Yet the reign of the saints is not limited to the Millennial Kingdom: it will enter at last into the fulness of its potentialities in the everlasting kingdom of God, when "they shall reign for ever and ever," xxii. 5.

ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα. Cf. John xvi. 33, *θαρσεῖτε, ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον.*

καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τ. θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. Cf. xxi. 2, xxii. 3, notes, and Col. iii. 1, *οὗ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ.* Our author appears to use *καθίζειν* in the finite tenses (cf. xx. 4) and the infinitive, but never the participle *καθίζων*, in place of which he uses *καθήμενος*. Finite tenses of *καθῆσθαι* are found in sources used by our author (xvii. 9, 15, xviii. 7).

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. *The Contents and Authorship of this Chapter.*

With chap. iv. there is an entire change of scene and subject. The dramatic contrast could not be greater. Hitherto the scene of the Seer's visions had been earth: now it is heaven. On the one hand, in ii.–iii. we have had a vivid description of the Christian Churches of Asia Minor,—which is to be taken as typical of the Church at large,—the ideals they cherished, their faulty achievements and not infrequent disloyalties, and their outlook darkened in every instance with the apprehension of universal persecution and martyrdom. But the moment we leave the restlessness, the troubles, the imperfectness, and apprehensions pervading ii.–iii., we pass at once in iv. into an atmosphere of perfect assurance and peace. Not even the faintest echo is heard here of the alarms and fears of the faithful, nor do the unmeasured claims and wrongdoings of the supreme and imperial power on earth wake even a moment's misgiving in the trust and adoration of the heavenly hosts. An infinite harmony of righteousness and power prevails, while the greatest angelic orders proclaim before the throne the holiness of Him who sits thereon, who is Almighty and from everlasting to everlasting, and to whose sovereign will the world and all that is therein owes and has owed its being.

Such is the general import of this chapter. As regards its source, there can be no doubt. It comes wholly from the hand of our author (see § 2), but it was most probably not written all at the same time. Our author appears here to have incorporated one of his earlier visions, consisting of four stanzas of four lines each, 2^b–3, 5^a, 6–8. In this vision the Seer beheld (as in Isa. vi.) a throne in heaven and Him that sat thereon, and the four Cherubim that stood round about the throne, who sang unceasingly:

"Holy, holy, holy is the Lord Almighty,
Which was and which is and which is to come."

In the notes on iv. 4 a variety of reasons are given for regarding this verse as not originally belonging to this vision; but, as inserted by our author when he edited his work as a whole, to serve as an introduction iv. 9–11 (see also § 3). iv. 1, 2^a (in prose) was at the same time prefixed to link up the preceding visions on earth with the visions that follow in heaven in iv.–ix.

§ 2. *This entire Chapter is indisputably from our Author's hand, as the diction and idioms testify.*

(*a*) *Diction.*

1. μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδού. See note *in loc.* ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. So always in the sing. in our author except in xii. 12. δείξω: cf. i. 1, xvii. 1, xxi. 9, 10, xxii. 1, 6, 8. ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι. Cf. i. 1, xxii. 6.

2. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. Cf. i. 10.

4. περιβεβλημένους ἱματίοις λευκοῖς. Cf. iii. 5. In vii. 9, 13, x. 1, xix. 8, 13, the noun follows in the acc. instead of in the dat.

5. ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. Cf. xi. 19, xvi. 18, but in viii. 5 in a different order.

6. ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνη. Cf. xv. 2 (*bis*). ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ: cf. xxii. 1, *ποταμὸν . . . ζωῆς . . . ὡς κρύσταλλον.*

8. ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν κτλ. recurs in xiv. 11. κύριος ὁ θεός.

This divine title occurs 10 times elsewhere in our author (cf. i. 8, iv. 11, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, etc.), and only twice in the rest of the N.T. (*i.e.* in St. Luke) except in passages quoted from the O.T. κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. i. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, xix. 6, xxi. 22. ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Cf. i. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5.

9. δώσουσιν . . . δόξαν. Cf. xiv. 7, xvi. 9, xix 7 (xi. 13). Cf. 4th Gospel ix. 24, xvii. 22. τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων: cf. 10, i. 18, x. 6, xv. 7 (cf. vii. 2).

11. λαβεῖν . . . τὴν δύναμιν. Cf. v. 12, xi. 17.

(*b*) *Idiom.*

1. ἡ φωνὴ . . . σάλπιγγος λαλούσης . . . λέγων. See note *in loc.* on this Hebraism, and cf. xvii. 1, xxi. 9.

2. ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος. On the three definite yet peculiar forms of this phrase in our author see note on iv. 2; it recurs in 4, 9, 10 in exact harmony with our author's peculiar use.

7. ἔχων = εἶχε: cf. 8, xii. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12, 14.

8. τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα . . . λέγοντες. A frequent construction in our author.

9. ὅταν *cum fut. ind.*: cf. viii. 1, where ὅταν is followed by *aor. ind.*, though elsewhere in our author by the *subj.* For ὅταν with the *fut. ind.* see Robertson, *Gram.* 972.

10. προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ ζῶντι. On the technical sense attached by our author to this construction see note on vii. 11.

§ 3. *One part of this Chapter appears to have been written at an earlier date and incorporated subsequently when our author edited the complete work.*

2^b–3, 5, 6–8^{acde} appear to have been written by our author as an independent vision. The grounds for this conclusion are given in the notes *in loc.*, some of which may be stated here. First of all, iv. 1, 2^a is a prose introduction to the chapter, which serves to connect the preceding visions on earth with those that follow in heaven, iv. 2^a–ix. The rest of 2^b–8 is in verse. But iv. 4, according to our author's usage elsewhere, cannot have stood here originally. The grammar is against it: we should have nominatives and not accusatives (*θρόνοι* not *θρόνους*, etc.). Again the functions of the Cherubim are conceived somewhat differently in iv. 8 and in iv. 9 (see note). Next, since the description proceeds from the throne outwards, the Living Creatures ought to have been mentioned before the Elders, since they stand nearest to the throne. For the observance of this order elsewhere in our author see note on iv. 4. When the description begins from without, we naturally find the reverse order—angels, Elders, Living Creatures, as in vii. 11, xix. 1–4.

How then are we to explain iv. 4? Two explanations are possible. 1. Our author has here used one of his earlier visions, but in order to adapt it to his present purposes has prefixed to it an introduction, iv. 1, 2^a, and next, in order to prepare the way for iv. 9–11, has inserted iv. 4—possibly in the margin of his MS. By an oversight the nouns "thrones . . . elders" were put in the acc., owing not improbably to *εἶδον* in iv. 1. Since, according to the present writer's theory, our author had not the opportunity of revising his work, this grammatical error was not removed. In such a revision the next great objection to iv. 4 could have been removed by transposing it after iv. 8^b. Thus we should have had a description of the throne and of Him that sat thereon (2^b–3), next of the Living Creatures (6–8), and finally of the Elders (4). In that case 8^c would have read *καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν κτλ.* 2. Our author wrote the entire chapter at the same time, but forgot to mention and describe the Elders, which omission he forthwith repaired by an insertion on the margin of his MS, since some account of these was rendered indispensable by iv. 9–11. The former explanation seems preferable. I add here what I take to be the original form of the vision in 1–8. The poem consists of four stanzas of four lines each, the first beginning with the words *καὶ ἰδού*:

IV. 1. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον
2. καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος,
3. καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ὅμοιος ὁράσει λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι και σαρδίῳ,
καὶ ἶρις κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου ὅμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῳ.

II.

5. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί,
καὶ ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου,
6. καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ,
καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῷα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν.[1]

III.

7. καὶ τὸ ζῷον τὸ πρῶτον ὅμοιον λέοντι,
καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ζῷον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ,

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[1] If 5^b is a later addition, as it may be, then 6^b would form lines 3 and 4 of the stanza.

καὶ τὸ τρίτον ζῷον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ζῷον ὅμοιον ἀετῷ πετομένῳ.

IV.

8. καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα ἓν καθ᾽ ἓν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἕξ,
καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγοντες,
ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

1. μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδού. The clause with or without the *καὶ ἰδού always introduces a new and important vision* in our Apocalypse.[1] Compare vii. 1 (*μετὰ τοῦτο*), 9, xv. 5, xviii. 1, xix. 1 (*μετὰ ταῦτα ἤκουσα*). Sometimes the same note of emphasis and unexpectedness is conveyed by the clause *καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδού*: cf. vi. 2, 5, 8, xiv. 1, 14, or by *καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα*, viii. 13. Generally *similar and closely related* sections, paragraphs, and clauses are introduced by *καὶ εἶδον*, as in v. 1, 2, 6, 11, vi. 1, 2, 12, etc., and in fact in all the subsequent chapters except xi. and xxii. These formulae are characteristic of apocalyptic literature, and imply an ecstatic condition. They are not, however, so carefully distinguished in other authors as in our Apocalypse.

Thus *μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον*, or its linguistic equivalent, is found in 1 Enoch lxxxv. 1, lxxxix. 19, 30, 54, 72, xc. 2; T. Joseph xix. 5; 2 Bar. xxxvii. 1, liii. 8, 11.

καὶ εἶδον, or its equivalent in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Ethiopic is found in Dan. vii. 4, 9, 11, 21, viii. 2, 4, 7; 1 Enoch xvii. 3, 6, 7, 8, xviii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, xix. 3, xxi. 2, lxxxv. 7, lxxxix. 47, 70, xc. 1, 4, 5, 9, etc.; T. Levi viii. 1; T. Joseph xix. 1, 3, 7, 8. We find frequently with the same connotation the clause, "And again I saw," in 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 1, 3, lxxxvii. 1, lxxxix. 3, 7, 51.

But the fuller form in our text frequently appears in this literature, *μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδού.* See vii. 9, or its linguistic equivalent, Dan. vii. 6, 7 (באתר דנה חזה הוית וארו); 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 2; T. Joseph xix. 5; 4 Ezra xi. 22, 33, xiii. 5 ("vidi post haec et ecce"), 8, and the somewhat shorter form וָאֵרֶה וְהִנֵּה (or the like) in Ezek. i. 4, ii. 9, viii. 2, 7, 10, x. 1, 9, xliv. 4; Zech. i. 8, vi. 1; Dan. iv. 10, vii. 2, 13, viii. 3, x. 5; 1 Enoch xiv. 14–15; 2 Bar. xxxvi. 1–2, 7, liii. 1; 4 Ezra xi. 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, xx. 9, etc.

In all the above passages in Ezekiel, Zechariah, Daniel,

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[1] The occurrence of this clause in xv. 5 shows that a new vision is being introduced: hence xv. 1, which deals with the same vision, is an interpolation.

1 Enoch, Testaments XII Patriarchs, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, the ecstatic condition is designed by the expressions just enumerated. It is important to note this fact, owing to the presence of the clause *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* in the next verse. If the Seer is already in a spiritual trance, what is to be made of the words *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* in 2?

καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἠνεῳγμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. As we shall see later, *καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα . . . ἐν πνεύματι* is an addition of our author whereby he connects the preceding visions on earth, i. 10–iii., with those that follow in iv.–v., which are in heaven. The phraseology is apocalyptic. Cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 15, *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄλλην θύραν ἀνεῳγμένην*. It is possible to explain this expression in two ways. 1. The Seer may be conceived as being already in heaven. In that case the door here mentioned would lead to a holier part of the heaven than that in which the Seer had hitherto been. This is the view underlying 1 Enoch xiv. There Enoch is translated into heaven, xiv. 8. When Enoch had once entered, he saw a great wall built of crystal, and tongues of fire which encircled a great house (xiv. 9). Into this house he entered, quaking and trembling, and then beheld *ἄλλην θύραν ἀνεῳγμένην* over against him leading to a still greater house in which God manifested His presence. The idea here would be practically the same as that of different divisions of the Temple differing in degrees of holiness. 2. The Seer may be conceived as not yet in heaven, but as entering by this door.[1] This is the view underlying T. Levi v. 1, *ἤνοιξέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.* These gates admit Levi from the second to the third heaven. Since, however, there is no reason to believe that our Apocalypse teaches of more than one heaven (see later), the door referred to in the text admits the Seer from earth to heaven. Cf. 3 Macc. vi. 18, *τότε ὁ μεγαλόδοξος θεὸς . . . ἠνέῳξεν τὰς οὐρανίους πύλας, ἐξ ὧν δεδοξασμένοι δύο φοβεροειδεῖς ἄγγελοι κατέβησαν.* This seems to be the right explanation. That the door, moreover, is not on a level with the Seer, as in 1 Enoch xiv., is clear from the words that follow *ἀνάβα ὧδε*.

With the expression "a door opened in heaven" for the admission of the single Seer, we might contrast the words in xix. 11, "I saw the heaven opened," where the whole heaven is opened, as it were, that the armies of heaven might go forth in the train of the Son of God. Yet in T. Levi ii. 6 the heavens open to admit Levi.

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[1] Compare in this sense Gen. xxviii. 17; Ps. lxxviii. 23; 3 Bar. ii. 2, iii. 2; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 11 sqq.

On the ideas of doors in heaven through which the sun, moon, planets, and winds pass, see 1 Enoch xxxiii.–xxxvi., lxxii. sqq. See also Schrader^3, *K.A.T.* 619, for the occurrence of such ideas in Babylonian writings..

ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Throughout the entire Apocalypse οὐρανός occurs in the singular except in xii. 12, which is derived from an independent Semitic source (see xii., Introd. § 7). This fact in itself would not suffice to prove that our Seer believed in only one heaven; for in the Test. XII Patriarchs, where the doctrine of a plurality of the heavens is distinctly enforced, we find sometimes οὐρανός, T. Reub. i. 6, v. 7, vi. 9; T. Levi xiv. 3 (β), xviii. 3, 4; T. Jud. xxi. 4 (β), etc.; sometimes οὐρανοί, T. Levi ii. 6, iii. 1 (α), 9 (β), v. 4 (β), xiii. 5; T. Jud. xxi. 3, etc.

Notwithstanding, the entire outlook of our book favours the conception of a single heaven.

On the impossibility of getting a consistent view of the scenes portrayed in heaven by our book see note on θρόνος . . . ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ in 2.

But the passage, καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα . . . ἡ φωνὴ . . . ἐν πνεύματι, is, as we shall see presently, an addition inserted by the writer with a view to linking together this vision with that which precedes: καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλούσης μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, λέγων. Render, "and the former voice." ἡ φωνή depends on ἰδού. This voice appears to be that referred to in i. 10, ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης. Christ, therefore, seems to be the speaker. But, as it has been observed by Vischer, 77, and Bousset, 243, it is strange that the Being who later in the vision is recognized as the Lamb (v. 6), and the object of the vision, should here appear as the speaker and guide, the *angelus interpres*, as it were. If we have in iv. 1–8 and in v. two visions which the Seer had experienced on different occasions and under different circumstances, and in which no mention was made of the agent through whom these visions were given, then we shall have no difficulty in recognizing the phrase ἡ φωνὴ . . . λέγων as an addition on the Seer's part, when editing his work as a whole, since this addition represents Christ as the revealing subject of iv.–v. as He is of i.–iii. In this first edition of his visions the above inconsistency escaped him. If, however, we could, with some scholars, take the voice in i. 10 to be that of an unknown angel, there would be no such inconsistency.

ἡ φωνή . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλούσης μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ λέγων. Here ἡ φωνή is dependent on ἰδού no less than ἡ θύρα. There are two explanations possible of λέγων. Either λέγων is to be construed κατὰ σύνεσιν with φωνή and hence to be taken as = λέγουσα,—for similar constructions cf. xi. 15, xix. 14. Cf. Gen. (LXX) xv. 1,—or the phrase λαλούσης μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ λέγων is to be taken as a Hebraism (מְדַבֵּר אִתִּי לֵאמֹר), as in xvii. 1, xxi. 9. Cf. x. 8.

ἀνάβα (= ἀνάβηθι: cf. μετάβα, Matt. xvii. 20. See Robertson, *Gram.* 328).

ὧδε (= "hither": cf. John vi. 25, x. 27. See Blass, *Gram.* p. 58). Cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 24.

In the preceding visions, i. 10 sqq., the Seer was on earth. In this verse he is spiritually translated to heaven, and remains in heaven till the close of ix. This translation is implied in the words, "Come up hither, and I will show thee the things which must come to pass hereafter." His continued presence in heaven is attested by v. 4, 5, vi. 9, vii. 13, 14, viii. 1. From heaven he can behold what takes place on earth: cf. vi. 12, 15 sqq., vii. 1, 2. Thence onwards there is a frequent shifting of the scene of the Seer's visions. In x. he has again returned to earth: cf. x. 4, 8, and remains on earth till the close of xi. 13; but in xi. 15–19 the scene of his vision is again in heaven. In xii. the scene seems to be again on earth; for xii. 14–16 imply it, and the birth of the Messiah is on earth, xii. 5; for He is thence rapt to heaven. Yet there are difficulties as regards the various sections of xii. In xiii.–xiv. 13 the scene of his visions is still on the earth, but xiv. 14, 18–20 imply his presence in heaven, as well as xv. 2, 5 sqq., xvi. 1. Hence xv. 1 (see note *in loc.*) is an interpolation. In xvii.–xviii. the scene is again changed, and the Seer is on earth again: cf. xvii. 3, xviii. 1, 4, 21. In xix. 1–10 the Seer is again in heaven. From xix. 11 to the close of the description of the heavenly Jerusalem he is again on earth. At the advent of the final judgment the former heaven and earth flee away.

Some of these changes of scene may be explained by the use of sources on the part of the writer: others by his incorporation into his text of earlier visions of his own, some of which presuppose heaven, others earth, as the scene of their reception.

δείξω. This verb has already occurred in the same connection on i. 1, where the Hierophant is Christ.

Here also, in this editorial addition to the original vision, Christ is similarly represented, though a certain inconsistency is thereby introduced. See note above (p. 108). The word *δείξω* recurs in xvii. 1, xxi. 9, 10, xxii. 1, 6, 8, where the guide is an angel of the vision of the Bowls.

δείξω σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. As in i.–iii. the present (*ἃ εἰσίν*, i. 19) has been dealt with, in the chapters that follow the future destinies of the Church and the world are to be manifested to the Seer. This was promised in i. 1, 19. The phrase *ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι* (already in i. 1) is found in the LXX and Theodotion of Dan. ii. 28, 29, while in ii. 29, 45 the entire clause, *ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα*, occurs in Theodotion's rendering of מה די להוא אחרי דנה.

2. εὐθέως ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. These words create a great difficulty in the text. According to i. 10, where the expression has already occurred, the Seer is in a state of spiritual trance. That the Seer is still in the ecstatic state is shown by the introductory words of iv. 1 (see note). Many scholars (De Wette, Ebrard, Düsterdieck, Hilgenfeld, B. Weiss, Swete) assert that a higher degree of spiritual exaltation is here necessary. It has been urged by De Wette and others that the same difficulty lies in Ezek. xi. 1, 5. But the parallel does not hold. For, whereas in Ezek. xi. 1 one office of the Spirit is mentioned when Ezekiel is carried off to witness certain evils in Jerusalem ("the Spirit lifted me up"), another is mentioned in xi. 5, where the Spirit of the Lord is said "to fall on Ezekiel" in order to enable him to prophesy against these evils. Now there is no such distinction of phrase in i. 10 and iv. 2 in our text. The expression is identical in both. Moreover, the power conferred by the state therein described embraces at once the power of spiritual vision and of utterance or expression. Cf. i. 11. J. Weiss (p. 54 n.) has therefore rightly urged that there is an inconsistency between iv. 1 and iv. 2, but he goes needlessly far in maintaining that whoever introduced the expression in iv. 2 no longer felt that *εἶδον* in iv. 1 described the visionary state. The Seer is already in the ecstatic state. It was not till he was in this state that Christ addressed him in i. 10. That he is still in this state in iv. 1 is proved both by the diction (*εἶδον*) and the fact that he hears the heavenly voice which addresses him anew. In i. 10 the Seer is not addressed by Christ till he has fallen into a trance, that is, the words *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* precede the address of Christ to the Seer, whereas in iv. 2 they follow the address of the heavenly voice. The text, therefore, is peculiar. But the difficulty can, I think, be adequately explained by the hypothesis that the Seer is here combining visions received on different occasions. The poetical structure of iv. 1–8 is broken up by the insertion of certain prose additions in iv. 1, 2, 4, 5, as we shall see later (see Introd. to Chapter iv. § 3), and this fact points to iv. 1–8 as recording an independent vision of the Seer, which he connects with an earlier vision i.–iii., by four clauses, iv. 1^{bcd}, 2^{a}, three of which, 1^{cd}, iv. 2^{a}, have already occurred in i.–iii. Some such insertion was necessary; for whereas i.–iii. imply that the Seer was on earth, iv.–ix. imply that he is in heaven. Hence the two clauses, iv. 1^{b}, *καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἠνεῳγμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, and iv. 1^{d}, *ἀνάβα ὧδε*, are indispensable, the former clause that the voice may issue from heaven (cf. Matt. iii. 17; Acts x. 11) and the Seer be spiritually translated into heaven through this open door, and the latter as giving him the command to ascend to heaven. We therefore regard the words *καὶ ἰδοὺ . . . ἐν πνεύματι* as added here by the Seer in order to connect i.–iii. and iv.–ix. It must be confessed that the expression *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* is not what we expect here, since it expresses nothing more than what is already definitely implied in *μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον*, *i.e.* that the Seer was in the ecstatic state: cf. i. 10. Since, as in xvii. 3, xxi. 10, there is here an actual translation of the spirit of the Seer, we should here expect *ἀπηνέχθην ἐν πνεύματι*, or *ἀπήνεγκέ με ἐν πνεύματι* (or *ἀνέλαβέν με κτλ.*, or *ἐξῆρεν με κτλ.*). Cf. xvii. 3, *ἀπήνεγκέν με . . . ἐν πνεύματι* and xxi. 10, and Ezek. iii. 12 (ותשאני רוח), 14 (רוח נשאתני ותקחני), viii. 3, xi. 1, 24, xliii. 5. In 1 Kings xviii. 12, 2 Kings ii. 16, the same Hebrew verb is used of an actual bodily translation, and *ἁρπάζειν* in Acts viii. 39. For other instances[1] of bodily translation see Hebrew Gospel (Orig. *In Joan*, tom. ii. 6; Hermas, *Vis.* i. 1. 3, ii. 1. 1; *Sim.* ix. 1. 4). For the same idea of a translation of the spirit see 1 Enoch xiv. 8, 9, lxxi. 1, 5–6. Whether a bodily or only a spiritual translation took place in his case St. Paul knew not: 2 Cor. xii. 2–4.

καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος ἔκειτο κτλ. Here the original vision of the Seer really begins.

θρόνος. The throne of God in heaven is frequently referred to in the O.T. and later Jewish literature: cf. 1 Kings xxii. 19; Isa. vi. 1; Ezek. i. 26; Ps. xlvii. 8; Dan. vii. 9; 1 Enoch xiv. 18, 19, (xl.); T. Levi v. 1; Ass. Moses iv. 2; 2 Enoch xxii. 2 (A). See also Weber^2, *Jüd. Theol.* 164 sq. A throne of God on earth is described or mentioned in 1 Enoch xviii. 8, xxiv. 3, xxv. 3, xc. 20.

In every chapter in our Apocalypse the throne of God is referred to except in ii., ix.–x., where there is no occasion for its mention, and in xv. 5–8, where the vision is that of the Temple in heaven. The phrase *ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου*, which is added asyndetically in xvi. 17 after *ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ*, has been interpreted as an attempt to harmonize the vision of the throne of God and that of the Temple. But the two ideas are already combined in the T. Levi v. 1, xviii. 6, and possibly also in the O.T.[2]

References to the Temple occur, of course, elsewhere in the Apocalypse. In iii. 12 there is a reference to the Temple, but in a spiritual sense. The ideas of the throne and the Temple are combined in vii. 15, where the worship of the martyrs[3] before the final judgment is mentioned. After the final judgment there is to be no Temple in heaven, xxi. 22. The heavenly Temple is again referred to in xi. 19. Together with the heavenly Temple there is mentioned the altar, *τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*, vi. 9 (see note), under which are the souls of the martyrs. This has been taken to be the heavenly altar of burnt-offering by all commentators, who have, as a rule, also found references to the altar of burnt-offering and the altar of incense in viii. 3. But in the note on that verse I have sought to prove that both according to Jewish and early Christian ideas there was only one altar in heaven combining the characteristics of the earthly altar of incense and partly those of the altar of burnt-offering. Furthermore, this altar is within the heavenly Temple, vii. 15; and as the altar is before the throne, viii. 3, it follows that the throne surrounded by the four Living Creatures is also within the Temple. The heavenly throne, therefore, was probably conceived as being in the Holy of Holies, where also was the ark of the covenant, xi. 19. Independently of this natural conclusion, the throne when conceived as the special scene of God's manifestation would naturally be held to be within the Holy of Holies.

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[1] *Evang. sec. Hebr.*, *ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου, καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα θαβώρ.* Cf. Bel 36.

[2] Some scholars would discover this combination already in Ps. xi. 4, "Yahweh is in His holy palace (or temple, היכל); Yahweh, His throne is in heaven." But the holy palace is here according to the parallel simply heaven itself. Others trace its existence already in Isa. vi. 1 sqq., but elsewhere the earthly temple is the scene and subject of prophetic visions: cf. Amos ix. 1; Ezek. viii. 3, x. 4 sq.; Acts xxii. 17. The heavenly palace or temple is God's abode and referred to in Ps. xviii. 6; Mic. i. 2; Hab. ii. 20.

[3] vii. 9–17 was *in its original form* a description of the worship of the blessed faithful after the final judgment. See pp. 200–1.

But when, with the above representation of the Temple with its Holy place and its Holy of Holies, the throne, and the altar, we try to combine the conception of the 24 Elders, we are at once landed in difficulties. Are these Elders with their 24 thrones also within the Holy of Holies? This element, which is probably an addition of our author to the current apocalyptic conceptions of the heavenly Temple, cannot be really harmonized with them.

But the difficulties do not end here; for the ideas at the base of iv.–vii. presuppose a conception of the throne of God which cannot easily be conceived as standing within the heavenly Temple. On the other hand, the ideas behind viii.–xi. presuppose the throne within this Temple—an idea as old as Isa. vi. But our author may have been quite unconscious of these inconsistent elements.

ἔκειτο = "stood." Cf. John xix. 29, ii. 6 (xxi. 9); Jer. xxiv. 1. See Blass, *Gram.* 51.

ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος. He that sitteth on the throne is distinguished in vi. 16, vii. 10, from the Lamb. In xix. 12 we have *τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τ. θρόνου*. In vii. 10, xix. 4, we have the full expression *τῷ θεῷ τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ*. The variations of case following on *καθῆσθαι ἐπί* are noteworthy. Alford was, so far as I am aware, the first to attempt an explanation in connection with the present verse. He gives a complete enumeration of the passages where this phrase is followed by the gen. the dat. and the acc., and concludes that "the only rule that seems to be at all observed was that always at the *first mention* of the fact of the sitting, the acc. seems to be used, iv. 2, 4, vi. 2, 4, 5, xiv. 14, xvii. 3, xix. 11, xxiv. 4 (xx. 11 seems hardly a case in point), thus bearing a trace of its proper import, that of the *motion towards*, of which the *first mention* partakes." But xi. 16 does not come under this rule, and no rule he admits "seems to prevail as regards the gen. and dat." Bousset^2, 165 sq., does not try to explain the variations, but brings them together. From him I draw the following classification slightly remodelled.

Thus **τοῦ καθημένου ἐπί** is followed by the *gen.*, iv. 10, v. 1, 7, vi. 16, xvii. 1, xix. 18 (PQ min fere omn.: acc. A 61. 69: dat. א), xix. 19, 21.

τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπί with *dat.* iv. 9 (אA), v. 13 (AQ), vii. 10 (אACP), xix. 4 (אACQ). Exception: with acc. vi. 4, *ἐπὶ αὐτόν*. In xiv. 15 with gen. *ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης*, but xiv. 15–17 is not from the hand of our author.

ὁ καθήμενος ἐπί and **τὸν καθήμενον ἐπί**, with *acc.* *ὁ καθήμενος*, c. acc. in iv. 2 (P An with gen.), vi. 2, 5, xi. 16 (AP), xix. 11. Exceptions—with gen. vii. 15 (dat. Q min pl.), xiv. 16 (Aא but not from our author's hand), with dat. xxi. 5 (but this is due to editor). *τὸν* (*τοὺς*) *καθ.* with acc. in iv. 4, xiv. 14, xvii. 3. Exceptions with gen. ix. 17, *ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν* (but due probably to interpolation of ix. 17^{ab}), xiv. 6 (where, however, see note), xx. 11, but this is due to editor. Thus, in short, the participle in the nom. and acc. is followed by *ἐπί* and the acc., and the participle in the gen. and dat. by the gen. and dat. respectively.

3. καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ὅμοιος ὁράσει λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ. As Swete remarks, the writer avoids anthropomorphic details. No form is visible: only lights of various hues flashing through the cloud that encircles the throne. These hues the Seer seeks to adumbrate by comparing them to lights reflected by the jasper and sardius passing through a nimbus of emerald green.

With the idea and diction we may compare Ezek. i. 26, which appears to have been in the mind of the Seer: *ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁμοιώματος τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοίωμα ὡς εἶδος ἀνθρώπου* (כמראה אדם). In apocalyptic visions, when a being is described as being "like a man," we are to infer that it is a supernatural being that the Seer is describing. In Dan. vii. 9 we have *παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν* (= "an ancient of days") *ἐκάθητο*, where I cannot help believing that עתיק יומין (*i.e. παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν*) is a primitive error for כעתיק יומין, *i.e. ὁμοίωμα παλαιοῦ ἡμερῶν*. עתיק יומין means simply "an old man." It is hardly possible to conceive a reverent Jew describing God in such terms. In the 1st cent. B.C. this title appears in a slightly different form as "the Head of Days" or "the Sum of Days," *i.e.* the Everlasting, in 1 Enoch xlvi. 1, 2, xlvii. 3, xlviii. 2, etc., and thereby the anthropomorphism is avoided.

ὅμοιος ὁράσει λίθῳ κτλ. Cf. Ezek. i. 4, 27, viii. 2, where it is amber to which the glory of God is compared in colour—*ὡς ὅρασις ἠλέκτρου, ὡς ὄψιν ἠλέκτρου.* In i. 28, Ezekiel concludes the vision with the words, "This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of God."

ὅμοιος . . . ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ. It is difficult to determine with certainty what stone is represented by the jasper here (ἴασπις = ישפה). There were several varieties of the ἴασπις: (1) a dull opaque stone—which is thought by some scholars to be referred to here, since it is combined with the sardius: (2) a green stone (= ישפה) partially translucent—possibly that referred to here and in xxi. 11, *λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι κρυσταλλίζοντι*: (3) a red stone (= כדכד, Isa. liv. 12, a yellow stone, and an opalescent stone). See *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4806, whence these facts are derived. Of the above varieties the green was very rare and most prized in ancient times. This may explain the epithet *τιμιώτατος* attached to it in xxi. 11. But owing to this epithet Ebrard thinks that the diamond is meant here. The sardius (= אדם, Ex. xxviii. 17, xxxix. 10; Ezek. xxviii. 13) is a red stone as the name signifies, the opaque blood-red jasper well known in Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. Cf. Epiphan. *De Gemmis*, *πυρωπὸς τῷ εἴδει καὶ αἱματοειδής* (quoted by Vitringa). "The material (translucent quartz stained with iron) is quite common, and merges in the clearer and lighter-tinted carnelian and red agate" (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4803). See also Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 620 sq.

καὶ ἶρις κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου ὅμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῳ. This idea of a rainbow round about the throne is derived from Ezek. i. 28, *ὡς ὅρασις τόξου, ὅταν ᾖ ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ ἐν ἡμέραις ὑετοῦ—οὕτως ἡ στάσις* (corrupt? for *φάσις*) *τοῦ φέγγους κυκλόθεν.* The rainbow is said to be like a smaragdus. *σμαράγδινος* is apparently a *ἅπ. λεγ.*

The smaragdus (= ברקת) has been identified with the rock crystal, the beryl, and finally with the emerald. Petrie (Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 620) writes: "A colourless stone is the only one that can show a rainbow of prismatic colours; and the hexagonal prism of rock crystal, if one face is not developed (as is often the case), gives a prism of 60°, suitable to show a spectrum. The confusion with emerald seems to have arisen from both stones crystallizing in hexagonal prisms; and as the emerald varies through the aquamarine to a colourless state, there is no obvious separation between it and quartz crystal."

Both Petrie here and Myres in the *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4809 attach the meaning of rock crystal to *σμάραγδος* in our text. But it is difficult to translate the line if this meaning is attached to *σμαραγδίνῳ*. Perhaps it might be rendered: "And there was a rainbow round about the throne like the appearance of rock crystal."

But another view is generally taken of the text. The ἶρις is interpreted as meaning merely a halo or nimbus shaped like a rainbow, and *of one colour*, an emerald green. In that case the writer breaks away from his source, Ezek. i. 28, and ὁράσει is to be taken as a *dat. modi.* The conception of a nimbus encircling supernatural beings or deified men was familiar to the ancient world. It was current among the Greeks and Romans—see Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 41–43, who quotes largely from the Stephanus' monograph on the subject, *Nimbus und Strahlen-Kranz*: Mémoires de l'académie impériale des sciences de St. Petersbourg, 6 sér., tom. ix., 1859. It is claimed to be of Babylonian origin by Zimmern, *K.A.T.*^{3}, p. 353, who cites Ps. civ. 2 ("He clothes Himself with light as with a garment"); Dan. vii. 9; 1 Enoch xiv. 18; Jas. i. 17; Apoc. John iv. 3; 1 Tim. vi. 16, etc.

In favour of the above we might cite *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4804: "As early as Theophrastus a very large number of stones, all brilliant and of all shades of green, from aquamarine to dioptase (χαλκηδών), were included generally under σμάραγδος."

In any case the object of the bow is to conceal Him that sat on the throne. Thus anthropomorphic details are avoided still more than in Ezekiel.

4. καὶ κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου θρόνους εἴκοσι τέσσαρες,[1] **καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι τέσσαρας θρόνους πρεσβυτέρους καθημένους περιβεβλημένους ἱματίοις λευκοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν στεφάνους χρυσοῦς.** The occurrence of this verse in its present context creates great difficulty. This has already been pointed out by J. Weiss (*Die Offenbarung*, p. 54 sq.). He observes, first, that it interrupts a description of the throne, which is resumed in 5: in the next place, that, as the representation proceeds from the throne outwards, the narrower circle of the four Living Creatures ought to be mentioned before the larger concentric circle of the four and twenty Elders. The Living Creatures stand nearer the throne, and in iv. 9, 10, the Elders do not fall down and worship till the Living Creatures give the signal. On these grounds, Weiss would reject this verse as an addition of the final editor of the Apocalypse, who put together two independent apocalypses with large additions of his own. Though Weiss's theory as a whole is untenable, there are good grounds for regarding iv. 4 as a later addition, but not, as Weiss urges, from another hand. The evidence points to its being a later addition, but an addition from our author's hand, since the diction is wholly his own, and the verse serves to prepare the way for 9–11. For, since the 24 Elders are subordinate in rank to the Living Creatures, they should not be mentioned before them unless the Seer began his description with the outer ranks of heavenly beings that surrounded the throne. Now in vii. 9–11 we find such a description. First we have a great multitude of the saved which no man could number; then the various concentric ranks of heavenly beings round about the throne—first the angels, then the Elders, and finally the four Living Creatures. Probably in the same way we are to explain the order in xix. 1–4—first the great multitude of the angelic orders in heaven "saying Hallelujah" (xix. 1–3), and its repetition by the Elders and Living Creatures in xix. 4 (see note *in loc.*). Elsewhere, where these two orders are simply mentioned together, the Living Creatures are always mentioned first: cf. iv. 9–10, v. 6, 8, 14, xiv. 3. The expression *καὶ τῶν ζῴων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* seems to be a gloss in v. 11 (see note *in loc.*). A single Elder is mentioned in v. 5, vii. 13, and the body of Elders alone in xi. 16.

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[1] Elsewhere in our author εἴκοσι τέσσαρες stands before its noun except in xix. 4. We should observe that τέσσαρες is used not unfrequently as an acc. Cf. Moulton, *Gram.* 46; Blass, *Gram.* 20. On the orthography of τέσσαρες in the N.T., MSS, and the κοινή, see Robertson, *Gram.* 183.

But as we examine the text more closely we see why the addition was made by our author after 3 and not elsewhere in iv. 1–8. For, whereas it would have been natural to make this addition immediately after the four Living Creatures in 6^b, we discover that the description of the latter and their thanksgivings are so closely knit together from 6^b to the close of 8 that the addition of a single phrase alien to the subject of the Living Creatures was practically impossible. Hence the insertion was made in the midst of the description of the throne. Finally, the syntax is defective in this verse. We have three accusatives, *θρόνους*, *πρεσβυτέρους*, *στεφάνους*, but no verb to govern them. Nor is there any such verb in 3 nor in 2, where the verbs are intransitive. To explain these abnormal accusatives, we must hark back to 1 and borrow *εἶδον*. This is wholly unsatisfactory. On the possible origin of the conception of the twenty-four Elders see 10.

5. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. The three nouns recur in the same order in xi. 19, xvi. 18, but in viii. 5 in a different order, *βρονταὶ κ. φωναὶ κ. ἀστραπαί*. *φωναί* = קולות in Hebrew, and denote the "voices" of the thunder; *βρονταί* = רעמים, and denote simply "thunderings." To us moderns, who identify thunder and the "voice" of the thunder, it is difficult to make a distinction between them. In Jub. ii. 2, however, we have the very same expression as in our text—*ἄγγελοι φωνῶν, βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν*. We might also compare Ex. xix. 16, *ἐγίνοντο φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί*: Ezek. i. 13, *ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξεπορεύετο ἀστραπή*. Both nouns are combined in Ps. lxxvi. (lxxvii.) 18, *φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς σου* (קול רעמך); Job xxxvii. 4, "He thundereth with the voice of His majesty" (ירעם בקול גאונו). Cf. also xxxvii. 2, 3, 5.

καὶ ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου [ἅ ἐστιν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ]. We might compare 2 Bar. xxi. 6, "The holy beings . . . of flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne." Cf. viii. 10 of our text.

The clause *ἅ . . . θεοῦ* has been recognized as a gloss by Spitta, J. Weiss, and Wellhausen. It is a gloss, however, which probably gives a right interpretation: cf. i. 4, 12, ii. 1, iii. 1. The seven lamps are seven spirits. The seven lamps stand in some original relation to the seven planets, of which, however, the Seer may have been quite unconscious. See note on i. 4. But this clause also, *καὶ ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες . . . θρόνου*, may be a later addition of our author or of a later hand. Its structure appears to be against the former hypothesis. In the description of the throne the phrase relating to the throne always begins the verse. Thus iv. 5^a, *ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου*: 6^a, *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρ.*: 6^b, *ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρ.* This holds also in iv. 2^c and in the addition iv. 4^a. In iv. 3^b there is a slight departure from this structure, but not the complete departure we find in iv. 5^b. Here, further, we have the awkwardness of *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου* coming almost at the close of one verse and recurring immediately at the beginning of the next, and that in a most carefully elaborated stanza. Notwithstanding I have allowed 5^b, minus the explanatory gloss, to remain in the text. See Introd. to Chapter, § 3.

6. καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ. It is to be observed that our author does not say that there was "a sea of glass" here, but "as it were (ὡς) a sea of glass" (cf. xv. 2). There is nothing like it on earth or in human experience, so that all he can do is to use a figure of speech in order to suggest in some faint measure what he saw in the vision. This is clearly the present meaning of this phrase in our text. But having thus suggested the character of the conception, he can then drop the apocalyptic character of the phrase and use simply the definite expression *τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ὑαλίνην* (xv. 2). But this has very little to do with the original form of this idea. Before the discovery of 2 Enoch, scholars were at a loss to trace its source. In that book (iii. 3) we find: "They showed me (in the first heaven) a very great sea, greater than the earthly sea." This sea, according to T. Levi ii. 7 (*α*), was in the first heaven "hanging," or according to ii. 7 (*β*), "hanging between the first and second heaven." The strange word "hanging" = *κρεμάμενον* = מוּקָע, which appears to be corrupt for בָּרָקִיעַ—therefore "on the firmament." Thus this sea is really the waters above the firmament referred to in Gen. i. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4. According to Jub. ii. 4 these were separated from the waters below the firmament (*ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ . . . ἐμερίσθη τὰ ὕδατα, τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτῶν ἀνέβη ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος*—the Greek version preserved in Epiphan. *Haer.* lxv. 4). These waters were masculine, according to 1 Enoch liv. 8, and the waters on the earth were feminine. From their union, according to Assyrian myths, the gods were produced. Of this myth there seems to be an echo in 2 Enoch xxviii. 2, xxix. 1, 3, "Out of the waves I created rock . . . and from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels."

But to return to the sea of glass, which ultimately goes back, as we have seen, to the waters above the firmament. These waters rest on the firmament, and over them apparently God's throne was *originally* conceived as established, Ps. civ. 3, "Who layeth in the waters the beams of His chambers." Of this heavenly ocean a portion only is visible in the foreground, "as it were a sea of glass like unto crystal," in our text. When the Apocalypse was written it is more than probable that the original meaning of the sea was wholly forgotten. See Bousset *in loc.*, and Gunkel, *Zum Verständnis. d. NT*, 44, n. 5.

καὶ [ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ] κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσερα ζῷα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν.

The Living Creatures are not bearers of the throne (*ἐν μέσῳ τ. θρ.* cannot mean "under the throne"), as in Ezek. i. 22, 26, but they stand round the throne and prostrate themselves in the act of worship, v. 8, xix. 4 (in 2 Enoch xxi. 1 they "overshadow" it), and are free to move independently and singly: cf. xv. 7. If the text is right, we must suppose, with Züllig, De Wette, Düsterdieck, Bousset, Swete, that the Living Creatures stood round about (*κύκλῳ*) the throne, one in the middle of each side of the throne (*ἐν μέσῳ*). From the Greek words it seems impossible to wrest such a meaning. Nor can the passage be interpreted with Eichhorn, Ewald, and Gunkel (*Zum religionsgesch. Verst*, 44), who conceive the four Living Creatures as lying with the lower part of their body supporting the throne and with the upper part of their body projecting beyond it. Eichhorn was misled by following Ezekiel and by failing to follow the text before him, and also by the passage which he quotes from the Midrash Tehillim ciii. 19, to the effect that the Living Creatures were placed under the throne that they might "know that the kingdom of God ruled over all." In fact, the text is unintelligible as it stands. Hence *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καί* is to be taken as (1) a gloss, or as (2) a mistranslation of the Hebrew. 1. It is not impossible that *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου* was added here from Ezek. i. 5, *ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ὡς ὁμοίωμα τεσσάρων ζῴων* (where *ἐν τῷ μέσῳ* refers to the fiery cloud which envelops the throne of God), just as some cursives and versions of the LXX add *καὶ κύκλῳ* *τοῦ θρόνου* after *ἐν τῷ μέσῳ* in Ezek. i. 5, probably from the Apocalypse. Elsewhere throughout the Apocalypse the Living Creatures are said to be "round the throne," but never "in the midst of it," as here. That privilege is reserved for the "Son of Man" or "the Lamb," i. 13, ii. 1, v. 6, vii. 17. Könnecke has also proposed the excision of this clause. 2. Bruston (quoted by Moffatt) thinks that the clause is a mistranslation of בתוך הכסא, which should have been rendered, "And in the midst was the throne"; but there is no other evidence that the passage is a translation, and the sense is hardly satisfactory.

τέσσαρα ζῷα. To the writer of the Apocalypse these four Living Creatures, which are akin to the living creatures (חיית) in Ezek. i., and are called Cherubim in Ezek. x. 2, 20, are simply an order of angels, and apparently the highest, or one of the highest orders. We find them mentioned with two other orders, *i.e.* the Seraphim and Ophannim, in 1 Enoch lxxi. 7 (cf. lxi. 10). And with others still in 2 Enoch xx. 1, xxi. 1, xxii. 2. In 2 Enoch xxi. 1 (cf. xxi. 3) ten orders are mentioned. (See my note *in loc.*)

These Living Creatures in our text are akin, as we have said, to the living creatures in Ezekiel, but they are in certain essential aspects different. The Seer does not simply reproduce the traditions of the past, but speaks in the terms of his own time. In the present instance I hope to show that the conception in our text has probably passed through three stages of development of which the third is that found in apocalyptic literature, 200 B.C. to 100 A.D. In this brief study we shall advance backwards from Jewish to Babylonian conceptions, from the statement of ascertained beliefs to the expression of reasonable hypotheses.

I. *In apocalyptic literature 200 B.C.–100 A.D.*—1. In our text the Cherubim are four in number, it is true, as in Ezekiel, but each Cherub has only one face, and not four faces as in the O.T. prophet. 2. They have each six wings like the Seraphim in Isa. vi., and not four as in Ezek. i. 3. They stand immediately round God's throne, Rev. iv. 6, v. 8, xix. 4, and do not bear it as in Ezekiel. The throne is set ("ἔκειτο," Rev. iv. 2) on the firmament of heaven, and does not rest on them. There is no mention of "the wheels," as in the vision of Ezekiel. 4. They sing God's praises, Rev. iv. 8, like the Seraphim in Isa. vi., and are not silent servants of Deity. 5. They are "full of eyes," but in Ezekiel they are "like lamps," i. 13, and it is "the felloes of the wheels," i. 18, that are full of eyes. Ezek. x. 12, where the Cherubim are said to be full of eyes, is recognized by critics as corrupt. 6. They move freely about, Rev. xv. 7, and act as intermediaries between God and other orders of angels. In most of these respects the conceptions of the N.T. Apocalypse and of Jewish Apocalyptic between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. are at one. As regards 1, we have no mention of the number of the Cherubim outside our Apocalypse nor any description of their form in this period. They are regarded simply as one of the highest orders of angels: cf. 1 Enoch lxi. 10, lxxi. 7. 2. They have each six wings according to Rev. iv. 6, 2 Enoch xxi. 1, as the Seraphim in Isa. vi. 3. They stand round the throne of God and not under it, as Gunkel and others have asserted. They do not bear it, but are rather conceived as guardians of it, 1 Enoch lxxi. 7. In 1 Enoch xiv. 11 they appear to be in the "roof" of heaven. In 2 Enoch xxi. 1 they cover the throne like the Seraphim in Isa. vi. In the next place the throne is conceived as resting on the firmament of heaven, even where the wheels of Ezekiel's vision are mentioned in connection with it. Cf. Dan. vii. 9, "The thrones were set. . . . His throne was fiery flames, and the wheels thereof burning fire." This meaningless survival appears also in 1 Enoch xiv. 18, "I saw . . . a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of Cherubin." In 1 Enoch xiv. 17, 18, all idea of a moving throne has been wholly lost. But other writers either omitted the mention of "the wheels" as a meaningless survival, as in T. Levi v. 1, xviii. 6, where the throne rests on the floor of the Temple in the third heaven, and Rev. iv. 2 sqq., or they transformed "the wheels" (אוֹפַּנִים) into one of the highest orders of angels, *i.e.* Ophannim, as in 1 Enoch lxi. 10, lxxi. 7 and later Jewish Midrashim. Underneath the throne was not only the flaming firmament, but also the sources of the fiery streams, which flowed forth from the stationary base of the throne, Dan. vii. 10; 1 Enoch xiv. 19. With this conception we might contrast Rev. xxii. 1, where it is "a river of water of life" that proceeds out of the throne.

4. Finally, the function of the Cherubim in later apocalyptic literature is not to support the throne of God (except in 2 Bar. li. 11?), but to guard it, 1 Enoch lxxi. 7, or more usually to sing the trisagion, as in our text. Thus in 1 Enoch lxxi. 7, together with the Seraphim and Ophannim they are described as "those who sleep not," but "guard the throne of God's glory." Now, according to 1 Enoch xxxix. 12, "those who sleep not . . . stand before Thy glory and bless . . . saying: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits"; and again in lxi. 11 sq. they exclaim, "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed." These orders are carefully distinguished in xl. 2 from the four archangels. Once more in 2 Enoch xix. 6, xxi. 1, the Cherubim and Seraphim with six wings and many eyes are described as standing before the throne, singing: "Holy,

holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth: heavens and earth are full of Thy glory." Thus the conception of the Cherubim in the N.T. Apocalypse is essentially the same as that found in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Both the conceptions, as we shall see, have their root in the O.T.

II. In the O.T. the Cherubim are referred to, as Bp. Ryle points out (Hastings' *D.B.* i. 377 sqq.), (1) "in the Israelite version of primitive myth; (2) in early Hebrew poetry; (3) in apocalyptic vision; and (4) in the descriptions of the formation and adornments of the ark, the tabernacle, and the temple." We are mainly concerned here with (3), but we shall refer to the passages coming under the other sections as we find occasion.

1. The form of the Cherubim varies in the O.T. In Ezek. i. 6, 10 each had four faces—the faces of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. (In x. 14, where the four faces are given slightly differently, the verse is, with Bertholet, to be excised as an interpolation, as well as the word "cherub" in 7. These are omitted by the LXX.) In Ezek. xli. 18 sq. each had two faces—those of a man and a lion; but this may be due to the fact that they are here represented on the wall of the Temple. Between each pair of Cherubim there was a palm tree.

According to Gunkel, *Genesis*^{3}, p. 25, the simpler conception of Rev. iv. 6 is older than the very complicated one of Ezek. i. 10; indeed Winckler (*Altor. Forsch.* ii. 347 sqq.), as Zimmern notes, *K.A.T.*, p. 631, seeks to prove that the four living creatures in the original text of Ezekiel had only one face each. In any case, the form of the Cherubim in our Apocalypse, so far as regards their head, differs from every definite description of them in the O.T.

2. In Ezek. i. 6, 10 each Cherub had four wings. In Solomon's temple there were two colossal Cherubim, each with two wings, 1 Kings vi. 24 sqq., and standing on their feet, 2 Chron. iii. 13. The walls of his temple were also carved with figures of Cherubim, 1 Kings vi. 29, and palm trees, 2 Chron. iii. 7, as also on the hanging screen, which separated the Holy place from the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle, Ex. xxvi. 31.

Thus the number of wings assigned to the Cherubim in our Apocalypse, while agreeing with later apocalyptic literature, differs from the number assigned in the O.T.

3. The Cherubim in Ezek. i. 22, 26, x. 1, support a firmament, whereon is set the throne of God. The throne is not stationary, but is borne in any one of four directions by the Cherubim. The description of the base of the throne recalls Ex. xxiv. 10, though there is no mention there of the Cherubim. In

Ex. xxv. 18–21, on the other hand, the figures of the Cherubim are represented on the mercy-seat of the ark, facing each other, but looking down on the ark.

Possibly connected with the conception in Ezekiel is that in 2 Kings xix. 15; Ps. xviii. 10, lxxx. 1, xcix. 1; Isa. xxxvii. 16, where the Cherubim are conceived as bearing God.

In Gen. iii. 24 they guard Paradise. In 1 Enoch lxxi. 7 they they are said to guard the throne of God.

Thus the conception in Rev. iv. 6, etc., stands apart in this respect also from any in the O.T.

4. The Cherubim are silent in Ezek. i. 5 sqq., x. 2, and in all passages relating to them in the O.T. as opposed to the function assigned them in late apocalyptic literature.

III. Some of the above conceptions in the O.T. can with great probability be traced to an earlier stage, a stage with which our author was wholly unacquainted, and of which even the O.T. writers had barely the faintest idea. For research in this direction we are indebted to Zimmern and Gunkel. The former (*K.A.T.* 631 sq.) holds that in all probability the four Cherubim in Ezek. i., x. 2, are to be traced to the four chief constellations in the zodiac,[1] and go back fundamentally to Babylonian ideas, though this has not yet been established. The 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th signs of the zodiac are especially significant as corresponding *in space* to the dividing limits of the four quarters of the heavens, and *in time* to the dividing limits of the four seasons. These four constellations are the Ox, the Lion, the Scorpion, and Aquarius. Further, the four winds were probably brought into relation with the four chief signs of the zodiac; for in Babylonian-Assyrian sculpture we find on either side of the holy tree two winged forms, generally with a human body and an eagle head, and occasionally with a human head and a lion's body. Of close affinity with these are the colossal winged ox and lion figures at the entrance of Assyrian temples and palaces, which have human heads and the bodies of the ox or lion. Hence Zimmern infers that the ox, lion, man, and eagle were known in Babylon as symbols of the winds, and that in the Biblical Cherubim the forms of these four creatures were derived from the four constellations in the four quarters, corresponding to the four directions of the wind. The relation of the lion and the ox to the constellations of the lion and ox is obvious. The man corresponds to the scorpion-man, while the eagle is taken not from Aquarius, but from the constellation of the eagle in its neighbourhood, probably because the former had no particularly bright stars.

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[1] Gunkel assumes this hypothesis as an assured result in *Zum religionsgesch. Verständniss des NT*, p. 47, and suggests that the movement of their wings, perceptible by no ordinary earthly ear, is referred to in Ps. xix. and is the music of the spheres.

Now in confirmation of Zimmern's identification of the four winds and the four constellations, it is to be observed that originally the throne of God was the heaven itself: Isa. lxvi. 1, "The heaven is My throne, the earth is My footstool." In Ezek. i. 22 the throne rests on a firmament (רקיע, *i.e.* the heavenly vault, which is like crystal), borne, as we have seen, by the four Living Creatures. A very probable emendation of 1 Enoch xviii. 2 may support Zimmern's identification of "the four winds" and the four constellations: this passage reads, "I saw the four winds which bear the firmament of heaven. Now these stand between earth and heaven." See my edition *in loc.*

It is obvious that the idea of the Living Creatures and the wheels supporting the throne are syncretistic. It rested originally either on the living creatures or on the wheels. Both ideas were prevalent in the ancient world (Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 46). For our present purpose we may leave "the wheels"[1] out of consideration, especially as they do not appear in the N.T. Apocalypse.

Again, as confirming the identification of the Living Creatures and the four constellations, it is to be observed that the former are "like burning coals of fire, like the appearance of lamps" (Ezek. i. 13). Now, since in apocalyptic language the "lamps" signify stars—see Zech. iv. 2, 10 and our text, i. 4 (note), 12, iv. 5—the Living Creatures who are like lamps are reasonably to be identified with stars. And this is further confirmed by the fact that the wheels which accompany the Living Creatures are "full of eyes," *i.e.* are bodies of stars or constellations. In the Veda (*S.B.E.* xlii. 212) the sun-god Surya is himself an eye. In the next stage Mitra and Varuna have the Sun as an eye (*S.B.E.* xxvi. 343, xli. 408). And the seven planets are the seven eyes of Yahweh in Zech. iv. 10, and of the Lamb in our Apocalypse: see v. 6, also note on i. 12.

γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν. These words go back to Ezek. i. 18, x. 12. There the expression is applied to "the wheels," which are said to be "full of eyes round about" (*πλήρεις ὀφθαλμῶν κυκλόθεν*, מְלֵאֹת עֵינַיִם סָבִיב). When, however, our author transferred the idea from the wheels to the Living Creatures themselves, he not unreasonably modified it. The eyes were on the felloes of the wheels, and therefore the eyes presented the appearance of a circle. Hence they are described as "round about." But such an expression could not easily be used of a living creature which had a definite face as a man, or ox, or lion, or eagle, with their eyes in front. In such a case naturally the expression is modified to "full of eyes before and behind," though even here there is some difficulty attaching to the conception of a creature with a face like a man and yet full of eyes in front.

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[1] In Dan. vii. 9, 1 Enoch xiv. 13, "the wheels" are merely a literary reminiscence or survival. The throne is conceived as stationary in both passages—certainly in the latter. In the next stage of development "the wheels" are transformed into an order of angels (see above, p. 120).

The discussion of this question is important, since we shall find later that the words *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν* in 8 are a meaningless interpolation.

In Ezek. x. 12 the text is recognized by critics as originally applying *only to the wheels.* In its present form, which is very corrupt, it runs: "And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels, were full of eyes round about, even the wheels that they four had." See Bertholet *in loc.*, who proposes וְכָל־חִשֻּׁרֵיהֶם וְגַבֵּיהֶם ׀ וִידוֹתֵיהֶם, "and all their naves, and their felloes, and their axle trees . . . were round about full of eyes."

7. καὶ τὸ ζῷον τὸ πρῶτον ὅμοιον λέοντι,
καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ζῷον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ζῷον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου,
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ζῷον ὅμοιον ἀετῷ πετομένῳ.

The order in Ezek. i. 10 is man, lion, ox, eagle. The text in x. 14 is corrupt, as we have already pointed out. Irenaeus (iii. 11. 8) seems to have been the earliest writer who identified the Four Evangelists with the four Living Creatures—Matthew with the man, Mark with the eagle, Luke with the ox, and John with the lion. Victorinus, on the other hand, understood the man as symbolizing Matthew, the lion Mark, the ox Luke, the eagle John. St. Augustine (*De Cons. Evang.* i. 6) attributes the lion to Matthew, the man to Mark, the ox to Luke, and the eagle to John. Such identifications though popular in the early Church, and indeed in later times, are wholly fanciful. See Alford and Düsterdieck *in loc.*; Swete^2, *St. Mark*, p. xxxvi sqq.; Zahn, *Forschungen*, ii. 257 sqq. *μόσχος* is here, as it is over 40 times in the LXX, the equivalent of שׁוֹר—cf. Ezek. i. 10, and therefore means an ox. In the LXX it is more frequently a rendering of פָּר, a bull, and occasionally of בָּקָר and עֵגֶל.

In line 3 ἔχων stands here as in 8 for a finite verb in accordance with a Hebrew, or a still more frequent Aramaic idiom. This idiom is found also in the Κοινή. See note on xii. 2, where it recurs.

8. καὶ τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα, ἓν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἕξ. On the form of the Cherubim in this passage see above, p. 119 sq. For ἓν καθ' ἓν and ἀνά used distributively see N.T. Grammars.

[κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν.] Wellhausen (*Analysed. Offenbarung Joh.*, p. 9) rightly regards this clause as an interpolation, though I can only in part accept his reasons: "*κυκλόθεν* steht bei Ezek. i. 18 für *ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν* zusammen. Denn *ἔσωθεν* bedeutet nach v. 1 ebenso viel als *ἔμπροσθεν*; innen ist vorn und aussen ist hinten." I have already shown (see p. 121 sq.) that our author has modified very considerably the characteristics of the Cherubim as given in Ezekiel, and has transferred to his description of the Cherubim the eyes which in Ezekiel's account belong only to the wheels. The grounds on which I regard this line as an intrusion are: 1. The sentence or line begins without a copula though it contains a finite verb. This is contrary to the writer's custom throughout the preceding verses iv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7. We should expect *καὶ κυκλόθεν*. 2. *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν* is in reality a meaningless phrase. It has proved a hopeless *crux* to interpreters. If in any form it is original, it must be corrupt, and we should have to fall back on the text presupposed by Primasius: "habebant singula alas senas per circuitum. Et erant plena oculis ante se et retro," or still earlier Victorinus: "habentes alas senas in circuitu et oculos intus et foris" (Hausleiter, *Lateinische Apocalypse*, p. 94). These renderings presuppose, as Bousset points out, the text *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν*, which is actually that of Q and a few cursives. Thus we should have, "they had each six wings round about, and they were full of eyes without and within." Luther was also in favour of connecting *κυκλόθεν* with what precedes. But this text is very badly attested. It is only an attempt to smooth away the difficulties of an unintelligible gloss. 3. The words, if they had an intelligible meaning, would be a needless repetition of the last clause of 6. 4. The text of Isa. vi., which our author had undoubtedly before him, describes the Seraphim in 2 as having six wings, and then immediately in 3 their ascription of praise, "Holy, holy, holy." This fact is in favour of the excision of this clause, especially as it has occurred before.

But how is the gloss to be explained? The glosser possibly drew the unintelligible phrase *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν* from the LXX of Ezek. i. 27, *ὅρασιν πυρὸς ἔσωθεν αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ*, where, however, the text refers to a description of God.

καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγοντες. Here it is distinctly implied that the volume of praise is continuous and unbroken. This fact does not harmonize with 9–14, as we shall see presently. For the phraseology, though the sense differs, cf. xiv. 11.

The widespread conception of praise in heaven is attested by such passages as 1 Enoch xxxix. 12 sq., xl. 3 sq., lxi. 9 sqq., lxix. 26, lxxi. 11, etc.; T. Levi iii. 8; 2 Enoch xvii. 1, xviii. 9,

xix. 6, xx. 4; Ascension of Isaiah vii. 15, 19, 20, 27, 29, 30, 36, viii. 3, 16, 17–18, ix. 28–29, 33, 40–42, x. 1–3, 19, xi. 26, 27, etc.; Chag. 12b; Apoc. Zephaniah (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77).

With the trisagion in our text we might compare that in 1 Enoch xxxix. 12, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits." Here as in our text (see note above) the writer has modified the trisagion to suit the main purpose of his Apocalypse.

We have already shown that the task of the Cherubim together with the Seraphim and Ophannim is to sing the praises of God (see above, p. 120 sq.) in later Apocalyptic literature as in our text. De Wette, Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, and Alford regard the Cherubim as representing the whole animate creation. Düsterdieck and Alford quote the Shemoth rabba, 23, fol. 122, 4b, as already giving the right point of view: "Quattuor sunt, qui principatum in hoc mundo tenent. Inter creaturas homo, inter aves aquila, inter pecora bos, inter bestias leo." "Dass diese Vier die gesammte lebendige Schöpfung repräsentiren sollen, ist durch die bedeutungsvolle Vierzahl selbst angezeigt" (Düsterdieck, Bengel). Swete (2nd ed., p. 71), following Düsterdieck, writes that "the ζῷα represent Creation and the Divine immanence in nature," and quotes Andreas to the same effect. And again (p. 72): "This ceaseless activity of Nature under the Hand of God is a ceaseless tribute of praise." But this meaning of the Cherubim cannot, so far as I see, be maintained. In the Book of Jubilees the angels are, speaking generally, divided into two classes: those which keep the Sabbath with God and Israel, and those which do not. The former include only the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification. This latter class are those which sing the praises of God (see my notes on ii. 2, 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14), and embrace, no doubt, the Cherubim and Seraphim. Now as for the angels who do not keep the Sabbath, these are naturally "the angels of service" who are set over the works of nature. These are inferior in rank and knowledge not only to the two higher orders, but also to righteous men, according to the Talmud (see my commentary on Jubilees, p. 12). Even a knowledge of the law is withheld from them (*op cit.*, p. 111). Since, therefore, the angels, that were intimately connected with nature according to Jewish views, held so subordinate a position, it can hardly be right to identify with them the Cherubim, who are immediately round the throne of God and continually sing His praises, and are the highest order of angels in the N.T. Apocalypse.

The idea of nature as itself praising God is found in Ps. xix. 2 sqq., ciii. 22, cxlviii.; but the Cherubim are not regarded as vehicles of this praise in our text, but the twenty-four elders (see 11, p. 133 sq.).

The trisagion in our text differs from Isa. vi. 3 in that it does not voice the praise of creation, but omits the words, "the whole earth is full of His glory," and confines itself to the holiness, omnipotence, and everlastingness of God.

On the essential nature of God, our author bases his assurance of the ultimate triumph of righteousness.

> **Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος, ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ,**
> **ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.**

Cf. i. 8, xi. 17. The trisagion is borrowed here with modifications from Isa. vi. 3, *ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ*. Our author has not followed the LXX; for in every instance צבאות is rendered by the translator of the LXX in Isaiah by *σαβαώθ*. On the other hand, *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* is the rendering of this Hebrew word in the rest of the prophets. Furthermore, our author has inserted *κύριος ὁ θεός* = אדני יהוה—a phrase very frequent in Ezekiel (vi. 3, 11, vii. 2, 5, viii. 1, etc.). For the second line, cf. i. 4, 8, xi. 17. For other doxologies, see note on 11.

On *ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν κτλ.* see note on i. 4.

9. καὶ ὅταν δώσουσιν τὰ ζῷα δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Commentators are practically agreed that *ὅταν δώσουσιν*[1] is here to be translated "whensoever . . . shall give." That is, the action in 10–11 is represented as occurring as often as that in 8. But since the giving of praise on the part of the Living Creatures is continuous and unbroken (8), it is hard to reconcile this conception with that conveyed in 10, which implies that the praise is not continuous, but bursts forth at intervals, whereupon the four and twenty Elders fall down and worship. The latter view, moreover, is that which underlies the rest of the Apocalypse. The Elders are not always prostrating themselves, but on the occasion of great crises in the Apocalypse, which call forth their worship and thanksgiving: cf. v. 8, 14, xi. 16, xix. 4. One of the Elders also comforts the Seer, v. 5, and tells him who are the great white-robed company that are praising God, vii. 13. Nor are the Cherubim occupied with unbroken praisegiving throughout the rest of the book. Separate acts of praise on their part are implied in v. 9 (*ὅταν*), and different tasks are ascribed to them in vi. 1, 3, 5, 7, and in xv. 7. Hence we infer that in this respect iv. 1–8 stands apart from the rest of the Apocalypse.

δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν. The collocation *δόξα καὶ τιμή* is found in Ps. viii. 6 (כבוד והדר), but not in the same connection as in our text. A better parallel is furnished by Ps. xxix. 1, xcvi. 7, *ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ δόξαν καὶ τιμήν* (where, however, *τιμή* is a rendering of עֹז. But the best parallels to our text are found in 1 Enoch lxi. 10, 11, where the Cherubim and other angels are said to "bless and glorify and extol" (= *εὐλογεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν καὶ ὑψοῦν*) God. For similar statements cf. xxxix. 10, 12, xlvii. 2, lxi. 12, etc. (= *δοξάσουσιν καὶ εὐχαριστήσουσιν*). We might also compare Dan. iv. 34.

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[1] For other examples of *ὅταν* with indicative in a frequentative sense see Moulton, p. 168.

τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. This phrase recurs in 10, x. 6, xv. 7; see also vii. 2. Cf. Dan. iv. 31 (Theod.), *τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* (חי עלמא) *ᾔνεσα καὶ ἐδόξασα*; also Deut. xxxii. 40; Dan. xii. 7 (חי העולם); Sir. xviii. 17; 1 Enoch v. 1. This phrase repeats the idea in the second line of the trisagion. See Bousset, *Rel. d. Judentums*, 293. This divine attribute is applied to our Lord in i. 18.

10. οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι. This conception of a heavenly divan composed of four and twenty Elders is not found in existing Jewish literature. There are indeed echoes of such a conception in 1 Kings xxii. 19 sqq., Job i. 6, ii. 1, which represent God as taking counsel with His angels; and in Dan. iv. 17, vii. 9, where a certain order of angels is regarded as assessors of God and issuers of the divine decrees. But a still closer parallel is found in Isa. xxiv. 23:

> *βασιλεύσει Κύριος ἐκ Σειὼν καὶ εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ,*
> *καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων δοξασθήσεται.*

This passage has been, it is true, assigned by Duhm and Marti to the latter half of the 2nd century B.C., and the *πρεσβύτεροι* (זקנים) are interpreted as the heads of the Jewish community—an interpretation that is already propounded in the Targum on Isaiah. But whether this be so or not, the passage could easily have assumed a different meaning in the 1st century of the Christian era, and formed a starting-point for the development of the conception in our text. In our text the Elders are crowned as kings, and seated on thrones round the throne of God: they are thus the heavenly *γερουσία*.

Who then are these Elders? that is, whom does the author of our book conceive them to be? for their original meaning and their meaning in the text have no necessary connection.

First let us inquire what we know from our text of these Elders. i. They sit on twenty-four thrones round the throne of God, iv. 4, xi. 16. ii. They wear crowns of gold, and are clothed in white garments, iv. 4. iii. They are called *πρεσβύτεροι* (זקנים). iv. They are four and twenty in number. v. They occupy these thrones not at the Final Judgment or the consummation of the world, but in the present and apparently in the past (since the creation?). vi. The Seer addresses one of them, vii. 13, as κύριε. vii. They act as *angeli interpretes*, vii. 13. viii. They discharge a priestly function in presenting the prayers of the faithful to God in golden bowls, v. 8. ix. They encourage the Seer when in the spirit he beholds the inhabitants of heaven, v. 5. x. They discharge the office of praising God by singing and playing on the harp, v. 8, 14, xi. 16, xix. 4.

Now these Elders have been variously taken as

I. *Glorified men.*
II. *A College of angels — earlier angelic assessors— originally Babylonian star-gods.*
III^a. *Angelic representatives of the twenty-four priestly orders.*
III^b. *And in their present context Angelic representatives of the whole body of the faithful.*

I. *Glorified men.*—Thus (1) Bleek, 198 sq.; De Wette^3, 72; Weizsäcker^2, 617, take them to be representatives of the Jewish and heathen communities. (2) Victorinus, Andreas, Arethas, Bousset, Stern, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Düsterdieck, 221; B. Weiss, 438, hold them to be representatives of the O.T. and N.T. communities, twelve of them being the O.T. patriarchs from whom the nation of Israel arose, and twelve the N.T. apostles by whom the Christian Church was founded. It is true, indeed, that the name πρεσβύτεροι suggests in itself representatives of the community: cf. Isa. xxiv. 23, quoted above, and Ex. xxiv. 11. As representatives of the entire community of believers there would belong to them the kingly dignity; for since faithful believers share the throne of their Lord, and reign, iii. 21, i. 6, xx. 4, 6, xxii. 5 (2 Tim. ii. 12), and wear crowns, iii. 11, it is pre-eminently fitting that their representatives should enjoy such kingly privileges. In the Ascension of Isaiah vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10–13, 18, 24, 25, xi. 40, the idea of crowns (στέφανοι not διαδήματα) and thrones as the rewards of the righteous is repeatedly dwelt upon. Such views, therefore, must have been widely current in early Christendom. Moreover, the idea of crowns as the reward of righteousness is pre-Christian; see T. Benj. iv. 1. Further, it might be urged that there are some grounds for the identification of these Elders with the twelve Patriarchs and the twelve Apostles; for they are closely brought together in the description of the New Jerusalem. Thus the names of the twelve Patriarchs are written on the twelve gates, xxi. 12, and those of the twelve Apostles on the twelve foundations of its wall, xxi. 14. Furthermore, the homogeneity of the Jewish and Christian Churches emerges from the fact that the redeemed sing the song of Moses and the Lamb, xv. 3 (?).

But it has been rejoined, there is no true co-ordination of Jewish and Christian Churches in xxi. 12, 14, else there would be twenty-four gates or twenty-four foundations. Moreover, there is not a hint in the text that the Elders refer to definite persons such as the Patriarchs and Apostles.

But the real difficulty does not lie here, but in the fact that the *Elders cannot be men but must be angels.* This follows from the characteristics mentioned in v., vi., vii., viii., ix. above. These we must now treat more in detail. The Seer addresses one of the Elders as κύριε, vii. 13, a fact which, though not conclusive, is in favour of the angelic nature of the Elders. That they act, however, as *angeli interpretes*, vii. 13 (cf. xvii. 3, xxii. 6), is conclusive against their being of human origin. Such duties belong to angels only; cf. Dan. ix. 22 sqq.; 1 Enoch xvii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 5, xxii. 6, etc.; 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Bar. *passim.* No more is the function of offering encouragement to the Seer, v. 5, reconcilable with their being men: cf. Dan. x. 11.

Furthermore, it is angels and not men that offer the prayers of the faithful in golden bowls, T. Levi iii. 7; Chag. 12^b; Sebach, 62^a; Menachoth, 110^a, and so in our text, v. 8; it is angels that sing hymns, 2 Enoch xviii. 9, xix. 3, xx. 4, etc., and so in our text, v. 9, xiv. 3; but this last point must not be pressed.

And again the fact that the elders sit on thrones *prior to the consummation of the kingdom or the final judgment* is against their being conceived as men. Not till this period arrives will the faithful wear crowns and sit on thrones. This holds also in Judaism, as appears from a passage of Tanchuma, fol. 52, quoted by Spitta and others: "Tempore futuro Deus S. B. sedebit et angeli dabunt sellas magnatibus Israelis, et illi sedent. Et Deus S. B. sedet cum senioribus tanquam אב בית דין, princeps senatus, et judicabunt gentiles." To the above passage we might add Dan. vii., where the thrones are set for the angelic assessors of the Most High. Thrones were thus not unfitting for angels, according to pre-Christian Judaism. On the above grounds, therefore, the Elders are to be taken as angels. Whatever the twenty-four Elders may have been originally, in the view of our author, they are not men, but *an order of angels.*

II. *A College of angels—earlier angelic assessors—originally Babylonian star-gods.*—Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, 302–308) and Zimmern (*K.A.T.*^{3} 633) examine the various interpretations adduced, including that given under the next heading, and conclude that neither in Judaism nor in Christianity can any true interpretation of the twenty-four Elders seated on thrones be found. For they urge that the thrones imply that the Elders are kings and judges: that these Elders are supernatural beings, and that the number twenty-four is no invention of the Seer, but that the whole conception has been taken over from apocalyptic tradition.

They are of opinion that the twenty-four Babylonian star-gods are the original of the twenty-four Elders, and that these gods were transformed by Judaism into angels. They support their view with the following citation from Diodorus Siculus, ii. 31: *μετὰ δὲ τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον εἴκοσιν καὶ τέτταρας ἀφορίζουσιν ἀστέρας, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς βορείοις μέρεσι, τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις τετάχθαι φασί, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ὁρωμένους τῶν ζώντων εἶναι καταριθμοῦσι, τοὺς δ' ἀφανεῖς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι προσωρίσθαι νομίζουσιν, οὓς δικαστὰς τῶς ὅλων προσαγορεύουσιν.* With the Babylonian star-gods Gunkel (*Zum Verständniss des N. Testaments*, 43) thinks the twenty-four Yazata of the Persians are related (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 47).[1] Gunkel admits that the Seer has lost consciousness of the original meaning of these beings in that he assigns them priestly functions, though they were originally kings, senators of the Most High.

This interpretation has received the support of Bousset, J. Weiss, Holtzmann[3], and is undoubtedly attractive, but the evidence of connection between the Babylonian conception and that which appears in our text is too slight to build upon. It seems to be, in fact, not more than a coincidence; for the points in common between the two can be explained within Judaism.

There is not a trace of what, according to Gunkel, was the original character of these Elders; for the *στέφανοι* and *θρόνοι* do not necessarily in themselves imply kingship. If *διαδήματα* were used instead of *στέφανοι*[2] the matter might be different. Nor need the possession of *θρόνοι* involve judicial powers, if we may reason from the passages cited above from the Ascension of Isaiah; while as regards the number twenty-four, it can be satisfactorily accounted for within Judaism.

Since the Elders are not conceived in any way as kings, since they never act as judges and are never consulted by God as His assessors,[3] but are described as angels discharging priestly (v. 8) and Levitical functions (v. 8), the most reasonable interpretation is that which identifies them with the angelic representatives of the twenty-four priestly orders.

III^{a}. *Angelic representatives of the twenty-four priestly orders.*—A great number of scholars in past times derived the number twenty-four from the twenty-four priestly orders, such as Alcasar, Vitringa, Eichhorn, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Erbes; but it was Spitta (275 sqq.) who first recognized in the Elders the *heavenly* representatives of the twenty-four orders (1 Chron. xxiv. 7–18). The chief priests were designated not only שָׂרִים, "princes" (so angels are designated in Dan. x. 13, 20, 21), and רָאשִׁים, "heads," but also "elders of the priesthood," זקני כְּהֻנָּה (Joma i. 5), and זקני בית אב, "Elders of a father's house" (Tamid i. 1); Middoth i. 8. See Schürer^3, ii. 236. They are also called שׂרי האלהים, "princes of God," in 1 Chron. xxiv. 5. Spitta quotes the passage from Tanchuma, 52 (cited above), to show that angels sat on thrones. These angels, then, would be the heavenly counterpart of the heads of the twenty-four priestly orders. As such they themselves offered sacrifice[1] in heaven, v. 8—they presented the prayers of the faithful a bloodless offering: cf. T. Levi iii. 6 sq. If, then, this order of angels sat on thrones, it is to be expected also that they should wear crowns. Spitta might further have added that there were also twenty-four orders of Levites, 1 Chron. xxv. 9–31, whose duty was to "prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals" (1 Chron. xxv. 1). This duty is discharged by the Elders in our text: cf. v. 8. In favour of this interpretation it may be observed that, since the archetypes of the temple and its accessories, as the altar and the ark, are represented by the Seer as already existing in heaven, it is natural to find the archetypes of the twenty-four priestly orders there also.

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[1] 2 Enoch iv. 1 might be compared: "And they brought before my face the elders and rulers of the stellar orders."

[2] I find, however, that *στέφανος* is used of the crown of the sun in 3 Bar. vi., viii.

[3] In 1 Enoch xiv. 22, Sir. xlii. 22, it is expressly stated that God stands in no need of counsel though thousands of thousands of angels stand around Him.

These angels Spitta identifies with the *θρόνοι* mentioned in T. Lev. iii. 8, where their duty, as in several passages in our text, is to offer praise to God (*ἀεὶ ὕμνον τῷ θεῷ προσφέροντες*).

That they sat on thrones is clear from the Ascension of Isaiah vii. 14, 15, 21, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, xi. 25.

Finally, this view of the Elders is preserved in the writing, *αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος* (Lagarde, *Juris ecclesiastici antiquissima*, 1856, 74 sqq.): *εἴκοσι γὰρ καὶ τέσσαρές εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι, δώδεκα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ δώδεκα ἐξ εὐωνύμων . . . οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δεξιῶν δεχόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων τὰς φιάλας προσφέρουσι τῷ δεσπότῃ, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐπέχουσι τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγγέλων* (quoted by Harnack, *Lehre der 12 Ap*, 233). This passage is an early expansion of our text. It still preserves the priestly element in the conception.

III^{b}. *And in their present context the Elders may be the*

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[1] The priestly character of the Elders may be hinted at in their great hymn in v. 9–10, where the Elders dwell on the *self-sacrifice* of the Lamb as manifesting His worthiness to take the Book of Destiny and open its seals. However, it is just possible that the Living Creatures also join in that hymn.

heavenly representatives of the faithful in their twofold aspect as priests and kings.

It is, of course, possible that the Jewish character of the Elders may persist in our text: but it is not improbable that for our author the Elders have become the heavenly representatives of the faithful, all of whom are priests, i. 6. The risen martyrs are both priests and kings, xx. 6. This conception presents no difficulty, seeing that every man had his guardian angel, Acts xii. 15; Tob. v.; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxiii. 10; Chag. 16^{a}; Ber. 60^{b}, and particularly "the little ones," Matt. xviii. 10. This phrase has in Matthew a secondary meaning, "the weaker brethren in the faith." The Elders, therefore, may be the heavenly representatives of the whole body of the faithful.

10. βαλοῦσιν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. For this act of homage familiar in the East, Wetstein compares Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 29, "Placuit Tiridaten ponere apud effigiem Cæsaris insigne regium . . . ad quam (sc. effigiem Neronis) progressus Tiridates . . . sublatum capiti diadema imagini subjecit," and Eichhorn, Plutarch, *Lucull.* p. 522, Τιγράνης τὸ διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελόενος ἔθηκε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν: and in the Jalkut Shimoni, i. fol. 55^{b}, "omnes reges orientis et occidentis venerunt ad Pharaonem. Cum vero Mosen et Aaronem in coelesti splendore viderent, tremor ipsorum in eos incidit—et sumserunt coronas de capitibus suis eosque adoraverunt." Cicero, *Pro P. Sestio*, 27: "Hunc Cn. Pompeius, quum in suis castris supplicem abjectumque vidisset erexit, atque insigne regium, quod ille de suo capiti abjecerat reposuit.

11. **ἄξιος εἶ, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν,**
λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν,
ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα,
καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν [καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν].

ἄξιος εἶ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. The nominative is used here as the vocative: see Blass, *Gram.* p. 87; Moulton^{2}, 71. It is possible that the Seer has chosen this title in reference to God in contrast to Domitian's blasphemous claim to be called Dominus et Deus noster (Suet. *Domitian*, 13).

The phrase ἄξιος . . . λαβεῖν recurs in v. 9, 12. In 1 Enoch such doxologies are frequent, and have, as a rule, a close connection with their respective contexts: cf. ix. 4, 5, xxii. 14, xxv. 7, xxxvi. 4, xxxix. 9–13, xlviii. 10, lxxxi. 3, lxxxiii. 11, lxxxiv., xc. 40. The same rule can be traced in the doxologies of our text: cf. v. 12, 13, vii. 12.

As the doxology of the Cherubim in 8 has for its theme the holiness, omnipotence, and everlastingness of God,—i.e. *the essential nature of God*,—so the doxology of the four and twenty

Elders has for its theme *the glory of God in His works*; for that all things were created by Him.

τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν. Cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 27–28.

διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν [καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν]. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 5, "He commanded, and they were created." 1 Enoch lxxxi. 3, "I blessed the great Lord, the King of glory for ever, in that He hath made all the works of the world." Our text is certainly difficult. We should naturally expect ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ ἦσαν. The various corrections in the critical footnotes show how deeply this difficulty was felt. But none of them is helpful. If any change of the text were admissible, it would be best to read ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ ἦσαν, or to omit καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν with A as an explanatory gloss added by a scribe who misunderstood ἦσαν. Then we should have

> "For Thou didst create all things,
> And because of Thy will they had their being"—

i.e. to Thy will they owed their existence.

But, if the text is correct, there are two possible interpretations. 1. Because of Thy will they had their being (*i.e.* existed in contrast to their previous non-existence) and were created. So Düsterdieck. But this involves an awkward inversion of thought. 2. "Because of Thy will they existed (in the world of thought) and were (then by one definite act) created." So also practically Swete, who writes: "The Divine Will had made the universe a fact in the scheme of things before the Divine Power gave material expression to the fact."

But I confess that the text of A seems best, and from it all the other variations can be explained.

With the idea in our text we might contrast contemporary Jewish speculation. According to 2 Bar. xiv. 18, Ezra viii. 1, 44, the world was created on account of man; but this was only a loose way of putting the idea which is definitely expressed elsewhere, to the effect that the world was created on account of Israel, 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59, vii. 11; Ass. Mos. i. 12, or rather on account of the righteous in Israel, 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24. Such was the belief of the Rabbis: see Weber, *Jud. Theol.*² 208 sq.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. *Contents and Authorship.*

As in iv. we have the vision of Him that sitteth on the throne, to whom the world and all that is therein owe their being, in v. we have the vision of the Lamb into whose hands the destinies of the world and all that is therein are committed. By His victory once and for all (*ἐνίκησεν*, v. 5, and *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*, v. 6) He has shown Himself equal to this task, for whose achievement none else could be found. And as in iv. the Living Creatures praise God as the All Holy, the Almighty and the Everlasting One, and the Elders fall down and worship Him as the Creator of all things, in v. 8 sqq. first the Living Creatures and the Elders fall down and worship the Lamb who through His redeeming death had won the right to carry God's purposes into effect, next (11 sq.) the countless hosts of angels praise the Lamb as God, and finally (13) the whole world of created things in heaven, in earth and under the earth joins in a universal burst of thanksgiving to Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb. Thus as in iv. God the Creator is the centre of worhip, in v. it is God the Redeemer, who thereby carries God's purposes into fulfilment, while the chapter closes in the joint adoration of Him that sitteth on the throne and of the Lamb.

As regards the authorship, every clause of it is from the hand of our author except two glosses in 8, 11, which are intended to be explanatory and supplementary, but are both in conflict with the thought of the writer. Whilst the diction and the idiom (§ 2), which latter is not so pronounced as in the earlier chapters, are clearly those of our Seer, there is not an idiom or phrase that is not his.

§ 2. *Diction and Idiom.*

There can be no doubt as to this chapter being from the hand of our author.

(*a*) *Diction.*

2. ἄγγελον ἰσχυρόν: again in x. 1, xviii. 21. ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ: again in xiv. 7, 9, 15. Without *ἐν* in v. 12, vi. 10, vii. 2, 10, viii. 13, x. 3, etc. Contrast the non-Johannine *ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ* in xviii. 2.

3. ὑποκάτω. Cf. 13, vi. 9, xii. 1. Elsewhere in NT 7 times.

4. ἄξιος εὑρέθη. For *εὑρεῖν* with part. or adj. cf. ii. 2, iii. 2, xx. 15.

6. ἀρνίον. This word is applied to Christ 29 times in our author and not elsewhere in the N.T., where *ἀμνός* is used (Fourth Gospel, Acts, 1 Pet.).

9. ᾄδουσιν ᾠδὴν καινήν: cf. xiv. 3, xv. 3. ἐσφάγης: cf. 6, 12, xiii. 8. ἠγόρασας: cf. xiv. 3, 4. ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου: cf. i. 5. φυλῆς κ. γλώσσης κ. λαοῦ κ. ἔθνους: cf. vii. 9, xi. 9, xiii. 7, xiv. 6.

10. βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς: cf. i. 6. βασιλεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς:

cf. xx. 4, *ἐβασίλευσαν . . . χίλια ἔτη*—both statements referring to the Millennial Kingdom. Contrast xxii. 5.

12. ἄξιόν ἐστιν τὸ ἀρνίον . . . λαβεῖν τ. δύναμιν: cf. xi. 17, *εἴληφας τ. δύναμιν.* τὴν δύναμιν κ. πλοῦτον κτλ. For the same seven, save in the case of *πλοῦτον*, cf. vii. 12.

13. τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τ. θρόνῳ κ. τῷ ἀρνίῳ. Cf. vi. 16, vii. 10, xiv. 4, xxii. 1, 3.

(*b*) *Idiom.*

1. τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τ. θρόνου. Cf. 7, 13, and the note on iv. 2, for the unique use of these phrases in our author.

4. ἔκλαιον. The past imperfect is not frequently used in our author, and its use is very forcible (except in v. 14): cf. i. 12, ii. 14, v. 4, 14, vi. 8, 9, x. 10, xix. 14, xxi. 15.

5. εἷς ἐκ. Seven times elsewhere in our author: twelve times in Fourth Gospel: ten times in rest of NT.

ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς. For this use of the art. connecting the noun with a following phrase, cf. i. 4, ii. 24, viii. 3, 9, xi. 19, xiv. 17, xvi. 3, xix. 14, xx. 8, 13.

6. ἐν μέσῳ . . . ἐν μέσῳ = בין . . . ובין = "in the midst of . . . and"—a Hebraism.

ὡς ἐσφαγμένον: A frequent idiomatic use of ὡς in our author. **ἀρνίον . . . ἔχων.** This breach of concord in gender frequent in our author. Cf. **πνεύματα . . . ἀπεσταλμένοι**, which follows.

7. ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν: cf. viii. 3, xvii. 1, xxi. 9 for this Semiticism, which does not occur in the Fourth Gospel. Introd. to II.–III. § 2 (a), p. 39. It has been pointed out that the use of the perfect *εἴληφα* is characteristic of our Seer.

11. ὁ ἀριθμός . . . λέγοντες. Another instance of this breach of concord common in our author occurs in 13, *πᾶν κτίσμα . . . λέγοντας.*

13. τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα. *πᾶς* precedes its noun in our author except here and in viii. 3, xiii. 12.

V. 1. καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν, κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγῖσιν ἑπτά. For the construction *ἐπὶ τὴν δεξίαν* compare xx. 1, *ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα.* The book-roll lies on the open palm of the right hand, not in the hand.

Opinions are divided as to i. the form, and ii. the contents of the *βιβλίον*.

i. *The form.*—(*a*) Grotius (ii. 1160), Zahn (*Einleit.* ii. 596), Nestle (*Text. Crit. of NT*, 333), take it to be not a roll but a codex; for (1) it is said to be *ἐπὶ τὴν δεξίαν.* Had it been a roll it would have been *ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ.* This argument is already answered above. (2) "The word used for opening the Book is *ἀνοῖξαι* (v. 4) and not, as in the case of rolls, *ἀνελίσσειν*, *ἀνειλεῖν* or *ἀναπτύσσειν*." But this is not so. *ἀνοῖξαι* is used in Isa. xxxvii. 14 (*ἤνοιξεν αὐτό = τὸ βιβλίον*) as a rendering of פרשׂ, the word which Ezekiel uses in ii. 10, and which the LXX renders there by *ἀνείλησεν*.

ἀνοῖξαι is used of unrolling a book also in Luke iv. 17, where ℵD correct the *ἀνοίξας* into *ἀναπτύξας*, against ABL and most Versions. In Luke iv. 20 *πτύξας* is used of rolling up the book. Nestle further adds: "That it was not written on the outside is also shown by the fact that it was sealed with seven seals, the purpose of which was to make the reading of the book impossible. Not till the seventh seal is broken is the book open and its contents displayed." But the idea in our text is that with the opening of each successive seal a part of the contents of the book-roll is disclosed in prophetic symbolism. Hence these scholars read *γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν κατεσφραγισμένον*, taking the two latter words together. To this it has been reasonably rejoined that such a description is superfluous, as a roll is never written on the outside and sealed on the inside.

(*b*) Spitta, 281, supposes that the *βιβλίον* is a book consisting of parchment leaves, each pair of which is fastened with a seal.

(*c*) But with most scholars we take the *βιβλίον* to be a book-roll. In Ezek. iii. 1, Ezra vi. 2 this is simply called *κεφαλίς* (מגלה), in Ezek. ii. 9 and Ps. xxxix. 8 *κεφαλὶς βιβλίου* (מגלת ספר). The roll was *ὀπισθόγραφον*, written on the back also as in Ezek. ii. 10. In the latter passage it is described as "written before and behind"—*γεγραμμένα . . . τὰ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω* (כתובה פנים ואחור), but in our text as "written within and without"—*γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν*. This may be due, as Bousset suggests, to the fact that in Ezekiel the roll is open, but that in our text it is closed. On the use of such *ὀπισθόγραφα* amongst the Greeks and Romans, Wetstein quotes Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 9, *ἡ πήρα δέ σοι θέρμων ἔσται μεστὴ καὶ ὀπισθογράφων βιβλίων*; Juvenal, i. 6, "Summi plena jam margine libri scriptus et *in tergo* necdum finitus Orestes"; Martial, viii. 62, "Scribit in *aversa* Picens Epigrammata *charta*,"

ii. *The contents.*—(*a*) According to Huschke (*Das Buch mit den sieben Siegeln*, 1860), Zahn (*op. cit.*), and J. Weiss[1] (*Die Offenb.* 57 sqq.) the Book represents a Will or Testament relating to the Old and New Testament Covenant. A will, according to the Praetorian Testament, in Roman law bore the seven seals of the seven witnesses on the threads that secured the tablets or parchment (see Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Ant.*, p. 1117). Such a Testament could not be carried into execution till all the seven seals were loosed.

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[1] A colleague of J. Weiss (*op. cit.* p. 57, n. 3) has shown that it is possible to construct a roll in which the seals fastened to the cords can be so fastened that with the removal of one a part of the roll can be unrolled, while the rest remains secure.

The Seal visions are, therefore, on this view only signs of the end, the "woes" of the Messiah. But, if this view were right, then our author could not have omitted the most significant part of the whole procedure—the opening of the Book itself after the undoing of the seventh seal.

(*b*) The roll contains the divine decrees and the destinies of the world. It deals with the things ἃ μέλλει γενέσθαι. With the loosing of each seal a part of its contents is revealed in symbolic representation. In other words, the Book is a prophecy of the things that fall out before the end. Owing to the solemnity with which it is introduced and the importance attached to it by the Seer, it should contain all the future history of the world described in the Apocalypse to its close; and so Nicolas de Lyra, Corn. a Lap., Bengel, Düsterdieck, Bousset, etc., explain. This appears to be the right view, though it is hard to reconcile this view with the rest of the Apocalypse.

That this Book is sealed with seven seals shows that the divine counsels and judgments it contains are a profound secret (cf. x. 4, xxii. 10; Isa. xxix. 11; Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4, 9), which can only be revealed through the mediation of the Lamb.

In apocalyptic literature we have conceptions closely related to that of the Book in our text. It recalls the thought expressed by the phrase "the heavenly tablets" (αἱ πλάκες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) which is found in the Test. XII Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, and in 1 Enoch. The conception underlying this phrase is to be traced, partly to Ps. cxxxix. 16; Ex. xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, where we find the idea that heaven contains divine archetypes of certain things that exist on earth; partly to Dan. x. 21, where a book of God's plans is referred to; but most of all to the growing determinism of thought, for which this phrase stands as a concrete expression. The conception is not a hard and fixed one: in 1 Enoch and Test. XII Patr. it wavers between an absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple. In the following passages as in our text the heavenly tablets deal with the future destinies of the world in 1 Enoch lxxxi. 1 sq., xciii. 1–3, cvi. 19, cvii. 1; and the blessings in store for the righteous ciii. 2. They are apparently called the Book of the Angels, ciii. 2 (*gm*, *β*), and are designed for the perusal of the angels, cviii. 7, that they may know the future recompenses of the righteous and the wicked. Here there is a divergence between the Book in our text and the books in Enoch. The Book in our text is closed, and can only be opened by the Lamb. Those in Enoch are open to be perused by the angels. Notwithstanding the ideas are closely related. See my notes on 1 Enoch xlvii. 3 and Jub. iii. 10.

2. καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. A "strong angel" is referred to again in x. 1, xviii. 21. The strength of the angel is dwelt upon, as his voice penetrates to the utmost bounds of heaven and earth and Hades. The phrase *ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ* (see note on x. 3) recurs in xiv. 7, 9, 15; *κηρύσσοντα ἐν* is a Hebraism.

τίς ἄξιος ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ. *ἄξιος* here = *ἱκανός*. Matt. viii. 8: cf. 2 Cor. ii. 16, *πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανός;* In John i. 27 it is combined with *ἵνα*. The "worthiness" (*ἀξιότης*) is the inner ethical presupposition of the ability (*ἱκανότης*) to open the Book. In *ἀνοῖξαι καὶ λῦσαι* there is a *hysteron proteron*, or else we may take *λῦσαι* as defining more nearly the preceding word *ἀνοῖξαι*.

3. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὐδὲ βλέπειν αὐτό. Our author uses *ἐδύνατο*, never *ἐδυνήθη*. In the whole sphere of creation none was worthy to open the Book. This threefold division is found already in Ex. xx. 4 (cf. xx. 11; Ps. cxlvi. 6), though in an earlier and different form: "that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth." This latter agrees exactly with the Babylonian division of the world into heaven and earth and water (*apsu* = water under and around the earth: see Zimmern, *K.A.T.*^{3} ii. 350, 615), each of which had its own god. In Ex. xx. 4 the Babylonian polytheism has of course disappeared, though the cosmic division has survived. But, inasmuch as there has been a great eschatological development between Ex. xx. 4 and the time of our Apocalypse, the third division has become synonymous with Hades. This appears clearly in Phil. ii. 10. On a fourfold division of creation see note on 13.

4. καὶ ἔκλαιον πολύ, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄξιος εὑρέθη ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό. The Seer began to weep unrestrainedly because no being in creation was found worthy to open the Book. Others think that his weeping was due to his fear that the hoped for revelation would now be withheld, as it depended on the opening of the Book.

5. καὶ εἷς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγει μοι Μὴ κλαῖε· ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ῥίζα Δαυείδ, ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ. *εἷς ἐκ* is found twelve times in the Fourth Gospel and eight times in the Apocalypse. One of the Elders here, as again in vii. 13, intervenes, as elsewhere do other angels, x. 4, 8 sqq., xvii. 1, xix. 9, xxi. 9, xxii. 8, in order to inform or guide the Seer. *μὴ κλαῖε*: cf. John xx. 13. The actual phrase is used by Christ in Luke vii. 13, viii. 52.

ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν. The *ἰδού* serves to introduce vividly the scene represented in the next verse. *ἐνίκησεν* is to be taken here, as always in the LXX and the N.T., absolutely. It states that once and for all Christ has conquered: cf. iii. 21, *ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα*, and the object of this conquest was to empower Him to open the book of destiny and carry the history of the world throughout its final stages. Thus the *ἀνοῖξαι* is to be taken as an infinitive of purpose. The victory has been won through His death and resurrection. The Victor is designated as *ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα* in dependence on Gen. xlix. 9, *σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα . . . ἀναπεσὼν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων*, and as *ἡ ῥίζα Δαυείδ* in dependence on Isa. xi. 1, *ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης* (מִגֵּזַע) *Ἰεσσαί, καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης* (מִשָּׁרָשָׁיו) *ἀναβήσεται*, and xi. 10, *καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα* (שֹׁרֶשׁ) *τοῦ Ἰεσσαί.* The first passage was interpreted Messianically in the 1st cent. B.C., as we see from the Test. Judah xxiv. 5, and the second in Rom. xv. 12. Since Isa. xi. 4, "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth," is applied to the Messiah in Pss. Sol. xvii. 39, we may conclude that Isa. xi. 1–10 was interpreted Messianically in pre-Christian times. In xxii. 16 of our text the author returns to these designations of the Messiah: *ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυείδ.*

6. καὶ εἶδον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρνίον ἑστηκὸς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον. The position of the Lamb, in the scene depicted, depends on the rendering assigned to *ἐν μέσῳ . . . ἐν μέσῳ.* 1. The text may mean "between the throne and the four Living Creatures (on the one side) and the Elders (on the other)." In this case the Greek would be Hebraistic = בין ובין. The LXX constantly translate in this way the Hebrew preposition literally, and not idiomatically, as in Gen. i. 4, 7, 18, iii. 15, ix. 16, 17, etc. On this view the Lamb would stand somewhere between the inner concentric circle of the Living Creatures and the outer concentric circle of the twenty-four Elders. 2. Or the two phrases *ἐν μέσῳ* may be parallel and emphasize the fact that the Lamb stood in the centre of all the beings above named. In favour of the latter view may be cited vii. 17, *τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου.* If this view is correct it would imply that the Lamb is standing in immediate closeness to the throne. But v. 7, *καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν*, is against this. Accordingly the text seems to teach that the Lamb, when first seen by the Seer, appeared in the space between the circles of the Living Creatures and the twenty-four Elders.

The term *ἀρνίον* as applied to our Lord is peculiar to the Apocalypse—elsewhere in the N.T. it is *ἀμνός* that is used: John

i. 29, 36; 1 Pet. i. 19; Acts viii. 32. This last passage is a quotation from Isa. liii. 7, *ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος*. That this passage was interpreted of Christ by the first Christians is shown by Acts viii. 34 sqq. The prophet applies it to himself in Jer. xi. 19, *ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀρνίον ἄκακον ἀγόμενον τοῦ θύεσθαι οὐκ ἔγνων κτλ.* The word is used twenty-nine times in twelve chapters of the Apocalypse as a designation of the crucified Messiah. Vischer (38–46) has tried to show that *ἀρνίον* is an interpolation in the present passage as well as throughout the rest of the Apocalypse, but unsuccessfully save perhaps in xiii. 8. So far, however, is Vischer from being right as to the present passage, that with J. Weiss (p. 57) the conceptions of the Book and the Lamb are to be regarded as "the kernel of the Vision." *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*, *i.e.* as though slain in sacrifice and still retaining the appearance of death wounds on its body. These wounds are tokens that the sacrifice has been offered. The Lamb is represented *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*, because in very truth He is not dead but alive: cf. i. 18, ii. 8.

ἔχων κέρατα ἑπτά. The horn first of all symbolizes power in the O.T. Cf. Num. xxiii. 22; Deut. xxxiii. 17; 1 Sam. ii. 1; 1 Kings xxii. 11; Ps. lxxv. 4, lxxxix. 17, etc. Next it marks kingly dignity, Ps. cxii. 9, cxlviii. 14; Zech. i. 18; Dan. vii. 7, 20, viii. 3 sqq.; Apoc. xii. 3, xiii. 1, 11, xvii. 3. In 1 Enoch xc. 9 the Maccabees are symbolized by "horned lambs": "And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs": and in Test. Joseph xix. 8 sq., one of this family is designed under the term *ἀμνός*, which destroys the enemies of Israel. While the idea underlying *ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον* is clearly derived from Isa. liii. 7, it is very probable that the conception underlying *ἔχων κέρατα ἑπτά* is sprung from apocalyptic tradition. It is probable also that it is the Jewish Messiah that is designated *ἀμνός* in the above passage of the Test. Joseph; and such is certainly the case in 1 Enoch xc. 37, "And I saw that a white bull was born with large horns." "The Lamb," then, "with the seven horns" is the all-powerful (observe the perfect number "seven" is used) warrior and king. Cf. Matt. xxviii. 18; John xvii. 1, 2. Over against the Christ so represented we have His counterpart in the Beast with the seven heads in xiii. 1.

καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑπτά, οἵ εἰσιν τὰ [ἑπτὰ] πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεσταλμένοι εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Omniscience appears to be here attributed to the Lamb. The possession of the seven eyes has this import: for these belong to Yahweh in the O.T.: cf. Zech. iv. 10, *ἑπτὰ οὗτοι ὀφθαλμοί εἰσιν κυρίου οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες* (מְשׁוֹטְטִים) *ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν*. The clause *οἵ εἰσιν . . . γῆν* has been rejected by Weyland, Spitta (p. 67), Völter, iv. p. 12, Wellhausen

(p. 9) as an explanatory addition. Its removal would certainly make the interpretation of the text easier. But there is no objection to this clause as coming from our author's hand: cf. iii. 1. In iv. 5, on the other hand, we found that alike the verse structure of iv. 1–8 and the order of the words were against the originality of iv. 5^b (?), but not against its insertion, when he edited his visions as a whole. Furthermore, since *ἀπεσταλμένοι* or *ἀπεσταλμένα* seems to be a very loose but independent translation of משוטטים (LXX, *ἐπιβλέποντες*), and since we have already found that our author does not depend for his knowledge of the Hebrew on the LXX, this forms a presumption in favour of his authorship of this clause. Accordingly recognizing its originality, we should next determine the true text. This, we fear, cannot be done with any certainty. The authorities are divided between *ἀπεσταλμένοι*, *ἀπεσταλμένα*, and *ἀποστελλόμενα*. This word could be used either of the "eyes" or of the "spirits," and hence gives us no help, though the original passage in Zechariah is in favour of connecting the words *ὀφθαλμούς* and *ἀπεσταλμένοι*.

B. Weiss (p. 442) decides definitely for this view and accordingly reads *ἀπεσταλμένοι*. On the other hand, the context is rather in favour of connecting *πνεύματα* and the participle. In this case Bousset thinks we should read *ἀποστελλόμενα* or *ἀπεσταλμένα*. But there is no necessity whatever for so doing. Such a construction as *πνεύματα . . . ἀπεσταλμένοι* is quite a normal one in our author, however abnormal in itself. The seven eyes are here identified with the seven spirits of which the Lamb is Lord and Master, iii. 1. The conception of spirits being sent forth as the agents of Divine Providence is easier of comprehension than that in Zech. iv. 10.

On the probable origin and meaning of the eyes and "spirits" in this connection, see note on p. 12 sq.

It is quite impossible to conceive a figure embodying the characteristics of the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, and the seven-horned Lamb with seven eyes. The Apocalypse deals with ideas, not with plastic conceptions. The terms used have become for the most part purely symbolical and metaphorical. They have been derived from various sources. Taken by themselves and separately, they are but one-sided and partial representatives of the Messiah of our author. Without any fear of seeming contradiction he combines apparently in one concrete whole these various conceptions, in order to embody fitly the Messiah of his faith and visions. If we confine ourselves to the ideas, and ignore the conflicting plastic manifestations, we shall find no difficulty. The Lion of the tribe of Judah is the one strong member *par excellence* of this tribe; the Root of

Jesse,[1] is, of course, the plant springing from the root of Jesse (cf. Isa. liii. 2; Deut. xxix. 18).

Thus in xxii. 16 ἡ ῥίζα and τὸ γένος are practically synonymous. These two expressions designate in tradition the expected Messiah of the tribe of Judah. When we combine with these the further one, "the Lamb with seven horns and seven eyes," we have a being possessing full power and omniscience—the supreme ruler under God descended from the tribe of Judah. Quite another idea underlies the phrase ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον. As in the former expressions supreme power and omniscience are indicated, by this latter it is supreme self-surrender and self-sacrifice. But there is no contradiction between the ideas, however it may be with their symbols; for this absolute self-sacrifice which has already been undergone, as our author indicates, has become the avenue to supreme power and omniscience.

Such appears to have been the meaning attached to the conception of the Lamb by our author. But some of the elements in the conception may possibly, as Gunkel (*Zum Verständniss NT,* 60 sqq.) and Bousset (259) point out, go back to an ancient heathen myth. One such element is the opening of the sealed Book. Magical books, magical rings, magical oaths and formulas were everywhere current in the East. He who could make himself master of such books or oaths[2] became to a great degree lord of the universe, and a new deity. By virtue of his magical power, however won, he has power to loose the seals of the book of destiny, to bring the old world to a close and enter on the sovereignty of the new, and thus be enthroned among the ancient deities, as Marduk in the Babylonian creation myth. Gunkel and Bousset assume the currency of some such heathen myth which was subsequently adopted into Judaism and from Judaism into Christianity. However this may be, our author has no consciousness of the existence of this myth, even if in the above form it ever existed. Some elements of the picture, however, do appear to go back to a heathen original.

7. καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. In ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν we have a Semiticism (cf. viii. 3) not found in the Fourth Gospel; cf. viii. 3, xvii. 1, xxi. 9. See Dalman's *Words of Jesus*, p. 21. But the ἦλθεν may not be a mere Semiticism, but may describe the actual advance of the Lamb from the place where He appeared between the Living Creatures and the Elders to the throne of God. Weiss, followed by Bousset and Swete, takes the perfect *εἴληφεν* as pointing to the permanent results of the action. "Christ receives the revelation of the secrets of the future as an abiding possession." On the other hand, Moulton (*Gram. N.T. Greek*, i. 145) and Blass (p. 200) regard *εἴληφεν* as a genuinely aoristic perfect, as well as the perfect in vii. 14, viii. 5, xix. 3, and probably in iii. 3, xi. 17, ii. 27. Other examples are found in 2 Cor. ii. 13, i. 9, vii. 5; Rom. v. 2ᵃ; Mark v. 15. It is characteristic of the Apocalypse.

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[1] In Jer. xix. 19 the expressions "lamb" and "tree" are applied to the same subject, *i.e.* Jeremiah.

[2] Compare the magical oath in 1 Enoch lxix. 15 sqq., by virtue of which the heavens were made fast, the sea created, the earth founded on the waters, and all the planets and stars kept in their courses. Michael the greatest of all the angels and the patron of Israel had the charge of this oath,

8–14. Adoration of the Lamb—first by the Living Creatures and the Elders, 10; next, by the countless hosts of angels, 11–12; next, by all creation, 13; whereupon the Living Creatures say "amen" and the Elders fall down and worship, 14.

8. καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν τὸ βιβλίον, τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου. Spitta (p. 67) removes *ἔπεσαν . . . ἀρνίου* as a gloss, (1) because elsewhere not the Living Creatures, but only the Elders fall down and worship. But this is not so in xix. 4, and there is no reason why the Cherubim in our author's view of them should not prostrate themselves. (2) As the Elders had harps and censers in their hands they could not fall down. But Hirscht (*Apocalypse und ihre neueste Kritik*, p. 47) adduces the Egyptian picture, in which Rameses II. is represented as falling down before the sun-god Amen-Ra, holding the offering in his left hand and a crozier and a whip in his right (Lepsius, *Aegypt. Wandgemälde d. Königl. Museen*³, 1882, p. 26). (3) The falling down of the Elders first takes place in v. 14. This prostration removes, as Bousset points out, the difficulty alleged in (2). Besides, as Hirscht states, 11 seems to presuppose that the Living Creatures are again standing, and the Elders are sitting on their thrones. (4) Through the addition of the verb the following participles are brought unsuitably into relation with the Living Creatures. There is no more cogency in this objection than in the first. The Living Creatures, *i.e.* the Cherubim, were simply angels, and no longer bearers of the throne of God. As such there would be nothing strange, even if the Cherubim were conceived as holding harps and censers in their hands. But the latter belong exclusively to the Elders. On the other hand, J. Weiss (p. 55) would explain the clauses referring to the Elders as additions of the final editor, as in iv. 4, v. 6, and would thus represent the Living Creatures as holding the harps and censers. But though iv. 4 appears to have been added by our author when re-editing an earlier vision, there seem to be no adequate grounds for the view of Weiss with regard to the other passages.

ἔχοντες ἕκαστος κιθάραν καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων [αἵ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων]. The words *ἔχοντες ἕκαστος* appear to refer only to the Elders, though, so far as the grammar goes, the ἔχοντες could refer to the τὰ ζῷα taken κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cf. ἔχων in iv. 7. But the office of the Cherubim is not of a priestly nature, as we have already seen above, whereas that of the Elders is (see note). They have harps (cf. xiv. 2, xv. 2) and censers in their hands, and the theme of their hymn is the self-sacrifice of the Lamb, by the which He has won the salvation of His people chosen from every race and tongue. The αἵ refers to θυμιαμάτων and not to φιάλας. Its gender is to be explained by attraction from προσευχαί. The prayers of the saints are symbolized by the incense: Ps. cxl. 2, κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου. The ἅγιοι are those dedicated to God, *i.e.* the Christians; for so the latter are frequently designated in the Apocalypse: cf. viii. 3, 4, xi. 18, xiii. 7, 10, xiv. 12, xvi. 6, xviii. 20, xx. 9. Spitta (p. 67) and Völter (iv., p. 13) bracketed the clause αἵ . . . ἁγίων as an explanatory gloss, and a wrong one to boot; for the incense and the prayers are not identical. At most they can be compared to incense. The gloss is due to a spiritualizing of the idea in viii. 3, to the effect that prayer is the true incense of heaven. This is no doubt a true idea, but it does not belong to the Apocalypse. The true relation of prayer and incense in our Book is given in viii. 3.

The office of presenting the prayers of the faithful before God, which the gloss attributes to the Elders, is assigned to Michael in Origen, *De Prin.* i. 8. 1, and to the guardian angels in the Apoc. Pauli, 7–10. In 3 Bar. xi., Michael descends to the fifth heaven to receive the prayers of mankind. According to the Apoc. Pauli, 7–10, the doors of heaven were opened at a definite hour to receive these prayers. Judaism is the source of these views, as we see by going back to an earlier work, the Test. Levi iii. 5–6, where it is said that in the highest heaven the archangels, of whom Michael is the chief, "minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of the righteous, Offering to the Lord . . . a reasonable and a bloodless offering." Next, in iii. 7, in the fifth heaven, is the order of angels who present the prayers of the faithful to the archangels, who in turn lay them before God. (See my edition with notes *in loc.*) Cf. Tob. xii. 12, 15. *Thus in our text* (except in viii. 3–5) *the four and twenty Elders have definitely taken the part assigned in many circles of Judaism to the Archangels*, if the gloss is a valid interpretation of the text. They present before God the prayers of the saints, which they have probably received from a lower order of angels. It is a priestly function, as that of the Archangels in Test. Levi iii. 5–7; Origen, *De Orat.* 11 on Tobit. In the O.T. and later Judaism, as I have shown in my notes on Test. Levi iii. 5, the angels acted as intercessors for mankind. But in the face of viii. 3–5 the rôle of the Elders can hardly be that of presenting the prayers of the faithful to God. They exercise priestly functions, it is true, but their chief function is the praise of God and of the Lamb, who has redeemed humanity.

9. καὶ ᾄδουσιν ᾠδὴν καινὴν λέγοντες. This song is sung exclusively by the Elders, who play on their harps to the accompaniment of their song. "Heaven is revealed to earth as the homeland of music" (C. Rossetti). The *ᾠδὴ καινή* (שׁיר חדש) was originally a song of praise inspired by gratitude for new mercies. As such it occurs six times in the Psalter: xxxii. (xxxiii.) 3, xxxix. (xl.) 4, xcv. (xcvi.) 1, xcvii. (xcviii.) 1, cxliii. (cxliv.) 9, cxlix. 1. But in Isa. xlii. 10 the phrase has a fuller content, corresponding to the deeper sense of "new things" in xlii. 9. The one cycle of events is fulfilled, the other is about to begin. However great the glories of things of old time, they shall be dimmed by the splendour of things to come. To this new cycle the new song belongs. Suddenly in our text the old God-appointed Jewish dispensation, with its animal sacrifices and racial exclusiveness, is brought to a close, and the new Christian dispensation is initiated, as the "new song" declares, by the self-sacrifice made once and for all (*ἐσφάγης*) by the Lamb, and the universal Church thereby established and drawn from every people and nation and language. The continuous song (*ᾄδουσιν*) is the note of continuous thankfulness and joy.

The *καινότης*—the newness in character, purity, and permanence of the New Kingdom is a favourite theme in the Apocalypse, and rightly; for from the beginning of and throughout apocalyptic literature there had been a promise of a new world and a new life. Although in earlier times the expected world may have been in most respects merely a glorified repetition of the world that then was, in later times the expectation became transformed and a world was looked for that was new, not as regards time (*νεός*), but as regards quality (*καινός*). And so our Apocalypse, as closing the long development of Apocalyptic in the past, dwells naturally on this theme. The Seer beholds in a vision the *οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν* and the *Ἰερουσαλὴμ καινήν*—the new universe created by God, who in the vision declares *ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα*, xxi. 5, 2 (cf. iii. 12). Each citizen, moreover, of this New Kingdom is to bear a new name *ὄνομα καινόν*, ii. 17, iii. 12, and in praise of this kingdom the Elders sing the new song *ᾠδὴν καινήν*, and likewise the angels, xiv. 3, and the blessed company of the martyrs before the throne, xv. 2.

Ἄξιος εἶ λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον
καὶ ἀνοῖξαι τὰς σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ,

ὅτι ἐσφάγης καὶ ἠγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου
ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους,
10. καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς
καὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

σφάζεσθαι is, as Swete points out, used to describe the death of Christ in this Book (6, 9, 12, xiii. 8) in dependence on Isa. liii. 7, *ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη*, and the death of the martyrs in vi. 9, xviii. 24. *ἀγοράζειν* expresses the idea of salvation as one of purchase. Christ has bought the faithful for God by the shedding of His blood (cf. 1 Pet. i. 19). The power or sphere from which the purchase sets free is not mentioned here. In (xiv. 3 it is from the earth and its evils, and in—a gloss) xiv. 4 from wicked men that they are withdrawn through the purchase. *ἀγοράζειν* is a Pauline word, 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 1. B. Weiss (p. 443) holds that the word points back to i. 5, so far as the loosing of the bands of sin makes this possible, in order that the redeemed may become *ἅγιοι*.

Bousset is of opinion that the word suggests release from a hostile power. In later ages many Christian theologians held that Christ purchased His disciples from the devil by His death.

ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου. Here as in i. 5 *ἐν* = the Hebrew ב, denoting price: "at the cost of Thy blood."

ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς κτλ. This expression does not attribute the same universal scope to the redemptive power of Christ's death as 1 John ii. 2, *αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν . . . περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου.*

φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους. These four words occur, but in different order, in v. 9, vii. 9, xi. 9, xiii. 7, xiv. 6. In no two instances is the order the same. They recur twice more, but not only in a different order but with *βασιλεῦσιν* instead of *φυλαῖς* in x. 11, and *ὄχλοι* instead of *φυλαί* in xvii. 15. But this last occurs in a gloss. There is a similar enumeration in 4 Ezra iii. 7, "Gentes et tribus, populi et cognationes" (= *ἔθνη καὶ φυλαί, λαοὶ καὶ συγγένειαι* (?)). Now the source of all these is ultimately the Book of Daniel, iii. 4, 7, 29, v. 19, vi. 25, vii. 14, whether it be the Massoretic, Theodotion, or the LXX. In the printed texts of the LXX it is found also in iii. 31, but it is to be observed here that iii. 31–32 were borrowed by Origen from Theodotion. Now, since the Massoretic has in all the above passages עַמְמַיָּא אֻמַּיָּא וְלִשָּׁנַיָּא and Theodotion *λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι*, it will become clear as we proceed that the enumerations in our text, which in every case consist of four members and one of these members *ἔθνος* or *ἔθνη*, cannot be derived from either the Massoretic text or Theodotion. On the other hand, the LXX has *ἔθνος* or *ἔθνη* always as one member of the enumerations, and in iii. 4 there are four members in the enumeration

—*ἔθνη καὶ χῶραι* (=מדינתא?), *λαοὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι*. In the remaining four passages iii. 2, 7, 29, vi. 25, only three are mentioned: in the first three of these *ἔθνη καὶ φυλαὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι* (in various cases), and in vi. 25, *ἔθνεσι κ. γλώσσαις καὶ χώραις*. Here we observe that, whereas *λαός* is found in all the passages in the Apocalypse and in Theodotion, it is found only once in the LXX (iii. 4). Thus this list is more nearly related to the LXX than to the Massoretic and Theodotion, but diverges also from the former. Hence our text presupposes either the existence of a translation differing both from the LXX and Theodotion though more akin to the former, or the independent use of an older Aramaic text of Daniel than that preserved in the Canon.

10. βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς κτλ. On the expression *βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς* see note on i. 6. The present *βασιλεύουσιν*, which is the harder reading, is also the right reading. It resumes the idea in *βασιλεία* and explains it. *In the vision* the Seer sees the saints already reigning. Thus the expression is *proleptic*, and refers primarily to the Millennial Kingdom in xx. Or *βασιλεύουσιν* may, like *συντρίβεται* in ii. 27, be a Hebraism for *βασιλεύσουσιν*. Others explain it as preserving its natural sense on the ground that the Church even then was reigning on earth, and that all things were being put under her feet as under those of her Lord: cf. Eph. ii. 6; 1 Cor. xv. 25. Not the Caesars, but the persecuted Christians are the true kings of the earth. But this sovereignty is not referred to here: it is only potential and is not realized till xx. 4.

11. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἀγγέλων πολλῶν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου [καὶ τῶν ζῴων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων], καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων. The *καὶ εἶδον* introduces a new feature in the vision: see note on iv. 1. Round about the two smaller concentric circles of the highest angels, the Seer sees and hears innumerable angelic hosts acclaiming the Lamb with one voice.

I have bracketed *καὶ τῶν ζῴων κ. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* as a gloss. Their special thanksgiving has already been recorded in 9–10: that of the countless hosts of the angels comes in 12; then the thanksgiving of all creation. Further, when the various orders of heavenly beings are mentioned, they are given in the following order: Living Creatures, Elders, angels; or angels, Elders, Living Creatures, according as the Seer's description proceeds from the throne outwards, or *vice versa*. See note on iv. 4. The order of the words *μυριάδες* . . . *χιλιάδες* is surprising, and Bousset therefore brackets *μυριάδες μυριάδων καί* as an addition. They are omitted by the Vulgate and Primasius. The combination is already found, but in its natural order, in 1 Enoch xl. 1, lx. 1, lxxi. 8 = *χιλιάδες χιλιάδων καὶ μυριάδες μυριάδων*, and these passages may have been in the mind of our author. The same combination is found also in Dan. vii. 10, though verbs intervene: *χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παριστήκεισαν αὐτῷ* (Theodotion). For partial parallels, cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 22; Ps. lxvii. (lxviii.) 18 (*μυριοπλάσιον, χιλιάδες εὐθηνούντων*), Deut. xxxii. 30; Gen. xxiv. 60, and our text, ix. 16.

12. **ἄξιός ἐστιν τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν**
καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν
καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν.

The doxology is uttered either in recognition of the power already possessed by the Lamb, or on its immediately impending assumption by Him. The fact of this assumption is subsequently referred to in xi. 17, *εἴληφας τὴν δύναμιν . . . καὶ ἐβασίλευσας.*

In iv. 9, 11 there are only three predicates over against four in v. 13, and seven in v. 12, vii. 12. Next, whereas in iv. 11, vii. 12 the article precedes each number of the ascription, here one article includes them all, as though they formed one word. Again, the seven members of the ascription in our text recur in vii. 12, though in a different order, except that for *πλοῦτος* in v. 12 we find *εὐχαριστία* in vii. 12. The latter doxology, moreover, is addressed to God, as also those in iv. 9, 11. The septenary number may indicate completeness. Two heptads of such titles of honour are found as early as 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12, though each member does not always consist of a single word, but in xxix. 11 of a clause in two instances, and in three in xxix. 12. In the latter verse four of the members are the same as those in our text, *πλοῦτος . . . δόξα . . . ἰσχύς . . . δύναμις* (עשר . . . כבוד . . . כח . . . גבורה). These are not the renderings of the LXX. If our author made any use of 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12 here, he did not use the LXX version of it.

Bousset points out that the seven members of the ascription fall into two divisions of four and three: the four deal with the power and wisdom that the Lamb assumes; the three with the recognition of the Lamb on the part of mankind. In this way he accounts for the different order in v. 12 and vii. 12. Spitta (285) thinks that the different order in the attributes in iv. 11, v. 12, vii. 12 is due to the wish of the writer to bring out more fully the contrast between *τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον* and the attributes *δύναμις, πλοῦτος, σοφία, ἰσχύς*. Thereupon follow the *δόξα, τιμή, εὐλογία*, which in the doxologies addressed to God, however, are at the beginning.

13. **καὶ πᾶν κτίσμα ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς**
καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐστίν,
καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα, ἤκουσα λέγοντας.

Again the circle of the worshippers is extended, and on the doxologies and thanksgivings of the Cherubim and Elders, and the innumerable hosts of angels, follows the great finale pronounced by all creation.

Here the writer, who in 3 had given the usual threefold division of creation, now gives a fourfold one. Since the inhabitants of heaven have already been fully (?) enumerated, we should expect the mention of those in the air (*ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*), on the earth, and in the sea (cf. Ps. viii. 7–8); and this is actually the text of ℵ, some cursives, and two Versions, which omit *ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς*.

But the textual evidence strongly supports this clause, which is, therefore, to be interpreted of the inhabitants of Hades, as it cannot well admit of any other meaning. That the inhabitants of Hades join in the doxology, shows the vast progress that theology has made from O.T. times, when no praise of God was conceived of as possible in Sheol: Ps. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 10–12; Isa. xxxviii. 18. This being the meaning of this clause, what meaning are we to attach to *ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*? (*a*) If we follow the interpretation suggested above, we have the birds of the air, the men and the animals on the earth, the souls in Hades, and the fish of the sea. This is a very unsatisfactory list. Other explanations of *ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* have accordingly been offered. (*b*) Thus Corn. a Lap. has suggested that it refers to the sun, moon, and stars. This is quite possible, since we know that the Jews attributed a conscious existence to these luminaries, 1 Enoch xviii. 13 sqq., and according to 2 Enoch xi. they belong to the fourth heaven. (*c*) Or the clause may be taken as referring to all the inhabitants of heaven except the Cherubim and the Elders, who pronounce the amen on this doxology. (*d*) Or, finally, the clause is to be taken resumptively as including all that went before. In favour of this view it may be observed that at the close of the enumeration in 13 we have another resumptive clause embracing exhaustively all the creation of God (*καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα*). Thus the universe of created things, the inhabitants of heaven, earth, sea, and Hades, join in the grand finale of praise that rose to the throne of God. Yet 14 might seem, but not necessarily, to exclude from these the Cherubim and the Elders.

For a parallel resumptive expression cf. Mark xv. 1, *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον*. The phrase *τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα* is already found in Ex. xx. 11; Ps. cxlv. (cxlvi.) 6.

ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. So ℵ and various Versions. *ἐπί*, *cum gen.* impossible here.

τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ
ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα
καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπί (see note on iv. 2) **τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.** This conjunction of God and the Lamb, which recurs in vii. 10, attests the advanced Christology of our author. The throne of Both is one and the same, xxii. 1, 3, iii. 21, and the worship offered to Each is also one and the same: cf. vii. 12.

In this verse we have the climax of chaps. iv. and v. Chap. iv. relates to God, and v. 1–12 to the Lamb; v. 13–14 to the conjoined glory of God and the Lamb. The two doxologies offered respectively by the Cherubim (iv. 9) and the Elders (iv. 11) dwell on the holiness, almightiness, and everlastingness of God, and the manifestation of His glory in *creation*. The first two doxologies in v. which are offered by the Cherubim or Living Creatures and the Elders (v. 9–10), and by the innumerable hosts of angels (v. 12), dwell on the *redemption* of the world by the Lamb, and pronounce Him as worthy to rule it and to receive the sevenfold attributes of God (cf. vii. 12). And now the climax of the world's adoration has come, and the worship offered to God in iv., and that to the Lamb in v. 1–12, are united in one great closing doxology, in which all created things throughout the entire universe acclaim together God and the Lamb, with praise and honour and glory and power for ever and ever. The doxology has four members, consisting of the last three attributes in the doxology in 12 together with one which is elsewhere found only in the doxology in i. 6.

14. καὶ τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα ἔλεγον Ἀμήν. It is fitting that the Cherubim, the highest order of angels, should close the doxology of all creation with the solemn ἀμήν of confirmation, as at the beginning, iv. 8, they had pronounced the first doxology. Both Cherubim and Elders join in this ἀμήν in xix. 4. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 15 sqq.

Amen is used in the Apocalypse in probably four senses. i. The initial amen in which the words of a previous speaker are referred to and adopted as one's own: v. 14, vii. 12, xix. 4, xxii. 20. The earliest instances of this use are found in 1 Kings i. 36; Jer. xxviii. 6, xi. 5. ii. "The detached Amen, the complementary sentence being suppressed (Deut. xxvii. 15–26; Neh. v. 13)." Such may be the use in v. 14 of our text. This amen was used liturgically, in the time of the Chronicler, 1 Chron. xvi. 36 = Ps. cvi. 48—though not in the Temple service, when the response was different, but in the services of the synagogue (Schürer, *G.J.V.* II. ii. 453–454, 458), whence the custom passed over to the Christian Church (cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 16). This usage is vouched for by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 65, ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων Ἀμήν, and later by Jerome. iii. The final amen with no change of speaker, i. 6, 7. This use is frequent from the N.T. onwards, but not found in the O.T. save in the subscriptions to the four divisions of the

Psalter, xli. 14, lxxii. 18, lxxxix. 52, cvi. 48. iv. See note on iii. 14. For other uses of this word see the article in *Encyc. Bib.* i. 136 sq., by Professor Hogg, which I have drawn upon for the above notes; and that in Hastings' *D.B.* אָמֵן is rendered in the LXX by *γένοιτο* in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalter, but by *ἀμήν* in the Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Apocrypha. (See note on *ναί, ἀμήν*, in i. 7.)

With the doxology in 13^{bc} and the succeeding amen we should compare 1 Chron. xvi. 36, *εὐλογημένος κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ ἐρεῖ πᾶς ὁ λαός Ἀμήν.* That the doxologies in the Psalter were in the mind of our writer will become clearer when we come to xix. 4.

Swete well remarks *in loc.*, "the whole passage is highly suggestive of the devotional attitude of the Asiatic Church in the time of Domitian towards the person of Christ. It confirms Pliny's report: '(Christianos) carmen Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem.'" This was already remarked by Völter, *Das Problem d. Apok.* p. 512, "Wenn Plinius an Trajan schreibt, dass die Christen am Tag ihrer Zusammenkünfte gewöhnt seien, carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere, so erinnert man sich dabei . . . der Lobpreisung des Lammes in Apok. v. 13." Here the Elders prostrate themselves before God and the Lamb, as in iv. 10 they had done before God.

APPENDIX.

Writers have dealt very variously with this chapter. Vischer, 54 sqq., Schmidt, 35, are obliged from their standpoint of an original Jewish Apocalypse to reject v. 9–14, since the glorification of the Lamb and His redemption of the Gentiles cannot appear in such an Apocalypse. The former rejects also the words *ἀρνίον . . . ὡς ἐσφαγμένον* in v. 6 and *ἀρνίου* in v. 8. Weyland, 148 sqq., from the same standpoint goes farther and assigns v. 6–14 to the Christian redactor, and X. (in *Z.A.T.W.*, 1887, No. 1) is still more drastic and regards v. 2^{b}, 3–6, 8–14 as derived from a Christian redactor. Rauch, 79 sq., 121 sq., is content with excising v. 9^{b}, 10, the explanatory relative sentences in v. 6, 8, and the phrase *καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ* in v. 13.

Even critics who start from the basis of a Christian Apocalypse remove v. 11–14. So Völter^{2}, i. 156, ii. 27 sq., iii. 84–86, iv. 13 sq., 27, mainly on the grounds that the chronology is expressed only in general terms and takes no account of the Lamb taking the Book and opening the seals, and that He is set on equality with God. This addition he variously assigns to a reviser of the year 129 or 114. In iv. 145 he finds additions made by a redactor of Trajan's time, in v. 6^{b}

because of the exalted view of the Lamb, and in v. 9^b because of the contradiction existing between this universalistic conception and vii. 1–8, and in v. 10^b where the final clause is added on the basis of xx. 4, xxii. 5. Erbes, 50, 102, regards v. 11–14 as an intrusion in their present context, and thinks that it stood originally after xv. 2–4. Spitta, 280–287, maintains the integrity of the chapter on the whole, but excises as additions of a redactor the relative clauses in v. 6, 8, the final clause of v. 10, and *ἰδοὺ . . . αὐτοῦ* in v. 5, and *ἔπεσον . . . ἀρνίου* in v. 8.

But no valid grounds exist for any such mutilations of the text of this chapter or the preceding one, seeing that the ideas are so closely wrought together and elaborated in a growing *crescendo* (cf. closing note on v. 13), and that the diction and idiom are so distinctively characteristic of our author. To the intrusion of certain glosses in iv.–v. we have already drawn attention.

CHAPTER VI.

The first six Seals—preliminary signs of the End.

§ 1. *Subject of this Section.*—This section gives an account of the six Seals, which in the Gospels and in contemporary and earlier Judaism were the Messianic woes or signs of the immediate destruction of the present world. The world in all its phases subserves a moral end—the training and disciplining of the children of God. When this end is attained, *i.e.* when the number of God's children is complete, 9–11, the present order of things will be destroyed.

The approach of this consummation will be heralded by the breaking up of political and social order, 1–8, and the partial destruction of the present cosmic order, vi. 12–17, will follow. Our author thought that the time of the end was at hand; for he expected a universal persecution and a universal martyrdom. But that hour had not yet come; for the roll of the martyrs was still incomplete. Accordingly the cosmic woes in vi. 12–vii. 3 are still future, and even when fulfilled, are partial and not universal.[1] History has still some time to run, and the happenings of that time are mainly the theme of the rest of the book.

§ 2. The entire chapter is from our author's hand. Independently of the fact that it forms an organic part of his work, the diction and idiom are obviously his.

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[1] In the Gospels, Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi., and analogous descriptions of the last times, these woes are to be literally and fully realized, and so to be taken as the immediate heralds of the final judgment; but in our author's hands they have ceased to be the *immediate* heralds of the end, and are to be realized only partially.

(*a*). *Diction.*

1. καὶ εἶδον. See p. 106. **ἤνοιξεν**—*passim.* **τὸ ἀρνίον**: used twenty-seven times in our author, but not elsewhere in the N.T. of Christ.

2. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδού: also in 5, 8: see p. 106.

8. θάνατος = **λοιμός**, as in ii. 23. **ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐξουσία**: cf. ix. 3, xiii. 5, 7, ii. 26.

9. τῶν ἐσφαγμένων: cf. v. 6, 9, 12, xiii. 8, xviii. 24. Only once in rest of N.T. **διὰ τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ**: cf. i. 2, note, 9, xii. 11, xx. 4. **διὰ τ. μαρτυρίαν**: cf. i. 2, note.

10. ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ: cf. vii. 2, 10, x. 3, xix. 17, etc. **ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός**: cf. iii. 7, note. **κρίνεις κ. ἐκδικεῖς . . . ἐκ**: cf. xix. 2.

11. ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα, *cum fut*: cf. ix. 4. **χρόνον μικρόν**: cf. xx. 3. **οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν**: cf. (xix. 10) xxii. 9. **ὡς καὶ αὐτοί**: cf. ii. 27, iii. 21. Not in other Johannine books of N.T.

13. ἔπεσαν εἰς τ. γῆν: cf. ix. 1.

14. πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τ. τόπων ἐκινήθησαν: cf. xvi. 20, where the same idea and in fact the same words recur.

15. οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς: cf. xix. 18, 19, xxi. 24. **βασιλεῖς . . . χιλίαρχοι . . . ἰσχυροὶ . . . δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος.** These recur in xix. 18.

16. ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη (*i.e.* of judgment). Recurs in xvi. 14, and not elsewhere in N.T. save in Acts ii. 20, where it is a quotation from Joel.

(*b*) *Idiom.*

1. μίαν ἐκ: cf. ἑνὸς ἐκ in next clause: frequent in our author. **ὡς φωνή**—a Hebraism for ὡς φωνῇ. See note *in loc.*

2. ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν: cf. 5: also 16, *τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου.* In 4 *τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ᾽* †*αὐτόν*†, the *αὐτόν* is corrupt for *αὐτῷ*; see p. 112 sq.

3. ἄλλος ἵππος πυρρός = "another, a red horse." This classical idiom recurs in xiv. 8, 9, and John xiv. 16 (yet see Abbott, *Gram.* p. 612 sq.) may be interpreted in the same way. Otherwise it is not found in the N.T. ἕτερος is used in this sense in Luke x. 1, xxiii. 32.

4. ἵνα . . . σφάξουσιν: cf. 11. *ἵνα*, *cum inf.*, nine times in our author, fourteen in rest of N.T.

6. ὡς φωνήν. See note on p 35 sq.

7. φωνὴν τ. τετάρτου ζῴου = "*the* voice," etc.

11. αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ: cf. ii. 23. Outside our author only once in N.T.

§ 3. *Method of interpreting the Seven Seals.*—A short inquiry as to the right method of interpreting the Seven Seals is necessary, since the bulk of interpretations proceed on wholly arbitrary lines. We can take account only of the most notable interpretations, and then try to arrive at one which is justifiable on historical and critical grounds. Our inquiry relates to the first five seals, since the sixth is universally taken eschatologically. The methods may be given as follows:

i. *Contemporary Historical Method.*—Völter in all his four volumes, Erbes, 37 sqq., Holtzmann, and Swete seek to explain the first five seals by the Contemporary Historical Method. The first three seals reproduce, Erbes asserts, an ancient eschatological scheme, but correspond to events of the present, and in regard to the fourth and fifth Seals these writers find corresponding historical events. The first Rider is the Parthian King Vologäses, who in 62 A.D. forced a Roman army to capitulate. Erbes explains the second Rider by the great insurrection in Britain, 61 A.D., which led to the loss of 150,000 lives and by contemporary wars in Germany and troubles in Palestine; the third Rider by a famine in 62 affecting Armenia and Palestine; the fourth by pestilences in Asia and Ephesus, 61 A.D.; the fifth by the Neronic persecution. Erbes has here, on the whole, gone on the same lines as his predecessors. Völter, Holtzmann, and Swete take the first Rider to represent the Parthian empire, the second to represent Rome, the third they explain by the famine in Domitian's time (see note on 6). Though in his earlier editions Holtzmann seeks to explain the fourth figure as referring to the failure of the harvests in 44, the famines in Nero's time and the great pestilence throughout the Empire in 65 (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 13; Suet. *Nero*, 39, 45), in the last he prefers to abandon the Contemporary Historical Method, though it is true he refers the fifth Seal to the Neronic persecution.

This method proceeds mainly on the principle that the symbols used in the Seals are either devised or at all events arranged in their present order with a view to represent certain historical events. Now since, as we shall see later, the Apocalyptist has received from tradition both the materials of this vision and almost the very order in which they are cast, it will not be possible to acknowledge it as a *free composition*, as the Contemporary Historical Method would in the main require, and though a few clear references to historical events are to be found, we shall recognize these as reinterpretations of pre-existing materials, or as additions to a pre-existing eschatological scheme.

ii. *Contemporary-Historical and Symbolical with Traditional Elements.* — Bousset feels himself obliged to use these two methods in this interpretation of the Seals. The first Seal must, he holds, be interpreted by the Contemporary-Historical of the Parthian empire on two grounds: (*a*) The meaning of the white horse cannot be explained from stereotyped eschatological ideas. (*b*) The white horse is placed first in our text in contradistinction to the order in Zech. vi. The latter reason, already advanced by Spitta, 291, is not of much weight; for though the horses are mentioned three times in Zech. vi., they occur in a different order each time. The second and fourth Seals are explained symbolically of war and pestilence, though, of course, individual features in the Riders are derived from tradition. In regard to the third Seal, Bousset accepts the Contemporary-Historical explanation, and interprets this Seal by Domitian's Edict in 92 (see note on 6 of my text).

The fifth Seal is likewise interpreted by the same method (p. 274). Thus the first, third, and fifth are to be explained by this method. Spitta, 287 sqq., explains these three Seals by the same method, but arrives at very different results. The first Seal refers to Rome, the third to definite famines, and the fifth (p. 300) to the persecutions of the Christians by the Jews.

Although Bousset's exegesis is, of course, good, it has in my opinion missed the key to the interpretation of the Seals as a whole, and therefore has a show of arbitrariness.

iii. *The Traditional-Historical.*—This method has been applied to the interpretation of the first four Seals by Gunkel (*Zum religionsgesch. Verst. d. N.T.* 53 sq.), who is of opinion that primitive Oriental materials lie behind this vision and help to explain some of its details. The four horsemen, which in the Apocalypse are conceived as plague spirits, must originally have had a wholly different significance. This, he holds, is quite clear in the case of the first victorious and crowned horseman, which has ever been a *crux interpretum.* These four horsemen were originally the four world gods, which ruled each over one of the four world periods, and are distantly related to the four beasts in Dan. vii., each of which represents a world empire. The first horseman was originally a sun-god: his horse is white (as in vi. 2, ἵππος λευκός: cf. the white horse of the divine slayer of the dragon, xix. 11; the white horses of Mithras in the Avesta—Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, p. 3). He carries a bow (so vi. 2, ἔχων τόξον) as the sun-god (Zimmern, *K.A.T.*^{3} 368, note 5): he wears a *crown* (so vi. 2, ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στέφανος) as Mithras (Cumont, *op. cit.* 84; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 11, 15), and is always *victorious* (so vi. 2, νικῶν καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ), and hence is called ἀνίκητος, "invictus" (Cumont, *op. cit.* 82). The second horseman is the god of war, and the third, originally the god of grain, is here transformed into a famine god: thence is explained his sparing the oil and wine.

Now, whilst the above theory is ingenious and offers some attractive explanations, it is nevertheless unsatisfactory and inconsistent. For, first of all, how can the first of the four horsemen, who are said to have been originally world gods who preside over the four world periods, be afterwards described as the sun-god, the war-god and grain-god! Gunkel makes no attempt to find the original (?) equivalent of the fourth horseman, θάνατος, in our text. In regard to the first horseman, however, his theory is interesting; but that the Seer had any idea of the original meaning of this figure cannot be entertained for a moment.

iv. *Contemporary-Historical and Traditional-Historical.* Under this heading J. Weiss (59 sqq.) is to be mentioned, though it is difficult to characterize his exegesis accurately. The Apocalyptist, according to Weiss, was using traditional material, and the particular form into which he cast this material was due to the eschatological ideas in the Parousia discourses of our Lord, which he had learnt from the Gospels or from oral tradition. The recognition of the connection of the Seals with the Woes in the Parousia discourses, which is already to be found in Alford, is the chief merit in his exegesis of this passage. And yet he has only partially appreciated the permanent importance of this fact, as we shall see presently. In the original Johannine Apocalypse (*circa* 60 A.D.) which Weiss assumes, the following plagues were enumerated: "pestilence, war, famine, Hades, persecution, earthquakes"; or "war, famine, pestilence, Hades, persecution, earthquakes."[1] This Apocalypse the final Apocalyptist re-edited, and this particular passage he transformed by prefixing the victorious Rider on the white horse and displacing the mention of mere persecution by an account of actual martyrdom (vi. 9–11) already in the past. The victorious Rider represents the victorious course of the Gospel, which must be preached to all nations before the woes come (so Weiss interprets Mark xiii. 10). Thus, while in the completed Apocalypse the fifth Seal represents events already in the past, the first represents a present process: while in the Johannine Apocalypse the second, third, and fourth represent future events, yet it is to be presumed that these too in the completed Apocalypse refer to past events. This exposition is no more satisfying than those which precede. I proceed, therefore, to offer another explanation of the Seals, which explains more or less fully all the difficulties of this Vision.

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[1] Weiss (p. 60) is of opinion that originally the four figures were war, famine, pestilence, and Hades, which gathered the victims of the first three, and that then the Apocalyptist affixed the first figure, which represents the victorious course of the Gospel. But to this we reply that our author had before him an eschatological scheme of *seven* woes which he found in the document behind Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi.

v. *Traditional-Historical Method with incidental references to contemporary Events.*—The more closely we study the Seals in connection with Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi., the more strongly we shall be convinced that our author finds his chief and controlling authority in the eschatological scheme there set forth. By putting these authorities and our text in parallel columns we shall make this close connection undeniable.

MATT. xxiv. 6, 7, 9^{a}, 29.	MARK xiii. 7–9^{a}, 24–25.
1. Wars.	1. Wars.
2. International strife.	2. International strife.
3. Famines.	3. Earthquakes.
4. Earthquakes.	4. Famines.
5. Persecutions.	5. Persecutions.
6. Eclipses of the sun and moon; falling of the stars; shaking of the powers of heaven.	6. (As in Matt.)

LUKE xxi. 9–12^{a}, 25–26.	REV. vi. 2–17, vii. 1.
1. Wars.	Seal 1. War.
2. International strife.	,, 2. International strife.
3. Earthquakes.	,, 3. Famine.
4. Famines.	,, 4. Pestilence. (Death and Hades.)
5. Pestilence.	,, 5. Persecutions.
6. Persecutions.	,, 6. (vi. 12–vii. 3) Earthquakes, eclipse of the sun, ensanguining of the moon, falling of the stars, men calling on the rocks to fall on them, shaking of the powers of heaven, four destroying winds.[1]
7. Signs in the sun, moon, and stars; men fainting for fear of the things coming on the world; shaking of the powers of heaven.	

Even a cursory comparison of these lists shows that they practically present the same material.[2]

If we accept the Domitian date of the Apocalypse, there can be no question as to the dependence of our author on the tradition represented in the Gospels. The six Seals embrace the seven[3] woes of Luke by combining two woes, *i.e.* the third and seventh, under the sixth Seal. It is remarkable that neither in Luke on the one hand nor in Matthew or Mark on the other can we find the full list of woes that appears in Revelation. In this respect they are complementary. On the one hand, our text agrees with Luke rather than with Mark and Matthew. Thus while pestilence, the fourth plague in Revelation, is omitted in the first and second Gospels, it is found in the third; and, while the predictions in Rev. vi. 15–17 are wanting in the first two, their equivalent is found in Luke xxi. 25. This shows a greater dependence on the Lucan form of the narrative. On the other hand, whereas the eclipse of the sun and moon and the falling of the stars (Rev. vi. 12–13) are only referred to in the Lucan account as "signs in the sun, moon, and stars," they are described in Matt. xxiv. 29 and Mark xiii. 24 in almost the same language as in our text. The question naturally arises therefore: Did our author make use of two of the Gospels, Luke together with Matthew or Mark; or did he use *the document behind the Gospels*—the Little Apocalypse, the existence of which so many scholars have felt themselves obliged to assume; or thirdly, was he simply dependent on oral tradition for his material? The first and third alternatives are possible, but less likely than the second. The second seems highly probable, if we may assume the independent existence of the Little Jewish-Christian Apocalypse (= Mark xiii. 7–8, 14–20, 24–27, 30–31, and parallels in Matthew and Luke). In this Little Jewish Apocalypse, so far as it is preserved in the Gospels, there is no reference to the persecution of the faithful. But since in the Psalms, Daniel and later apocalyptic literature this is a constant subject of complaint to God, it cannot have been wanting in the original form of the Little Apocalypse. If such an Apocalypse were current, it is but natural to assume that such a profound master of this literature as our author would be acquainted with it. However this may be, the conclusion that *our text is dependent on the Gospel accounts, or rather on the document behind them*, seems irresistible. The subject-matter, then, of the Seals is derived from a pre-existing eschatological scheme. The number seven in such a connection is known to tradition (see note *in loc.*); but independently of this fact it is postulated by our author's plan, in which seven plays a predominant rôle—Seven Churches, Seven Bowls.

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[1] This feature may have its parallel in Luke xxi. 25, where the nations are said to be distressed, *ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἠχοῦς θαλάσσης καὶ σάλου*. The winds in our text, vii. 1, are not to blow upon the sea till the final judgment. The storm winds of Yahweh are a well-known eschatological element in O.T.

[2] Other signs preluding the end are given in connection with the predicted fall of Jerusalem (cf. Mark xiii. 14 sqq. and parallels, Luke. xxi. 20 sq.); but since Jerusalem had fallen over twenty years before, our author is not concerned with these.

[3] A scheme of seven plagues was already current in Jewish literature: see Sir. xl. 9; Test. Benj. vii. 2; Sayings of the Fathers, v. 11. Also Lev. xxvi. 21, "I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins." It is noteworthy that in Parsism we find many of the above signs mentioned as precursors of the end of the world, such as the following: wars

The dependence of our author on a pre-existing eschatological scheme is further shown by his seeming abandonment of it in two

(Bahman—Yasht ii. 24 sqq.); social divisions (*op. cit.* ii. 30); earthquakes, famines, and pestilences (*op. cit.* iii. 4); falling of the star Gurzihar on the earth (*op. cit.*; Bundahish xxx. 18); the sun losing its light (ii. 31). See Böklen, *Verwandtschaft der Jüdischchristlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie*, p. 88 sqq.

particulars. 1. Although he gives a new character to the seventh woe quite distinct from that of the last woe in these Gospels, he is careful not to omit the subject-matter of this last woe, and accordingly embodies it under the sixth Seal. Thus the sixth Seal embraces the two Gospel woes—earthquakes and signs in the powers of heaven. Our author therefore preferred including these two woes under one Seal to omitting these elements of tradition. 2. Our author has changed the order of the woes. He has relegated the "earthquakes" to the sixth Seal, whereas it is third in Mark and Luke and fourth in Matthew. Two valid reasons for this change can be given.

1. In his fresh reproduction of the traditional material, our author personifies four[1] of the woes under forms borrowed from Zech. i. 8, vi. 1–8. Now, since "earthquakes" cannot be so personified, they are relegated to the sixth Seal, and their place is taken by "pestilence." Thus the four Riders represent war, international strife, famine, and pestilence.

2. But there is another and weightier reason. The more closely the vision is studied, the more manifest becomes the dramatic fulness of the order of the Seals, and the growing intensity of the evils they symbolize. These begin with social cataclysms (Seals 1–4) and end with cosmic (Seal 6). Human society is overthrown by war, revolutions, famines, and pestilences (Seals 1–4), which rage without ceasing, till a large proportion of the number of the martyrs is accomplished (Seal 5). Social catastrophes are followed by cosmic in the sixth Seal. The solid crust of the earth breaks, the heaven is rent above, sun and moon are darkened or ensanguined, and the stars of heaven fall. From the standpoint of our author, therefore, the necessity of transposing "earthquakes" from the third or fourth place to the sixth is obvious.

Thus the subject-matter of the Seals, which is derived from a pre-existing eschatological scheme, is recast under new forms.

But, further, in this reproduction of the first five woes our author so recasts them as to give three or possibly all of them a more or less clear historical reference *to contemporary events.* Thus the first Rider *with the bow* refers to the Parthian empire that was to overthrow the hated Rome; the second may have a secondary reference to Rome, as the source of social disorder and destruction, though earlier regarded as the upholder of order and peace; the third possibly (?) to the edict of Domitian, and the fifth certainly to the martyrdoms under Nero.

But these references are due to our author, and do not belong to the original eschatological scheme. Such contemporary historical references are, however, to be looked for, though primarily the subject-matter is traditional: cf. 1 John ii. 18.

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[1] This number is already suggested by the number of the four Living Creatures who severally summon the four Riders.

1. καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὸ ἀρνίον μίαν ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ σφραγίδων. The loosing of the Seals is a symbolical action. The visions are not read out from the Book, but the contents of the Book are forthwith translated into action in the visions of the Seer. On *καὶ εἶδον* see note on iv. 1. In *μίαν ἐκ* = "the first of," we may have a Hebraism = אחד·מן; but there is the possibility, of course, as Moulton, *Gram.* i. 95 sq., contends, that *εἷς* came in Byzantine Greek to be used as an ordinal, and that we have such an instance here. The partitive use of *ἐκ* is frequent in the Apocalypse: cf. Blass, *Gram.* p. 97. But the fact that in *μίαν ἐκ* we have a double Hebraism, and that it occurs in a book containing so many Hebraisms, is in favour of the phrase being taken as such. We might compare Ezek. x. 14, "the face of the first" = *τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἑνός* = פני האחד, where four are mentioned: Job xlii. 14. But the phrase may simply mean "one of." The occurrence of the ordinals, however, in v. 3, 5, 7, appears to be against this.

καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων λέγοντος ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς Ἔρχου. On *ἑνὸς ἐκ* = "the first of," see preceding note. The four Cherubim in succession summon the four Riders. This is the most natural interpretation, as J. Weiss, 59, Bousset², 264, Wellhausen, 10, and Holtzmann³, 444, have recognized. Others have taken the words as addressed to the Seer; but elsewhere xvii. 1, xxi. 9, where the Seer is summoned, *δεῦρο* is used. Moreover, as J. Weiss observes, it is inconceivable that the *ἔρχου* should be addressed four times to the Seer. Others—Alford and Swete—again suppose it to be addressed to Christ, and cite as parallels xxii. 17, 20.

ὡς φωνή. Nearly all the textual evidence is against reading *φωνῇ*, which in order to arrive at an intelligible text we must read.

But *ὡς φωνή* is susceptible of explanation. The writer may have had כקול in his mind and rendered this as *ὡς φωνή*, whereas idiomatically it = *ὡς φωνῇ*, the ב being suppressed after כ. Cf. Isa. v. 17, ix. 3.

2. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός. On the apocalyptic phrase *καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδού*, which recurs in vi. 5, 8, xiv. 1, 14, xix. 11, see note on iv. 1.

The *subject-matter* of the first four Seals appears, as we have seen (see p. 157 sqq.), derived from the woes mentioned in (the Jewish-Christian Apocalypse) Mark xiii. 7 sqq.; Matt. xxiv. 6 sqq.; Luke xxi. 9 sqq., *i.e.* war, international or civil strife, famine, pestilence (*i.e.* death).

The *form* of the Vision in vi. 2–8 is based on the vision of the four sets of horses and chariots in Zech. i. 8, vi. 1–8—so far as regards the four horses and their colours. But the functions and character of the O.T. figures are transformed, and the messengers of God to the four quarters of the heaven are changed into agents of destruction.

Next as regards the different colours, these are chosen from Zechariah to suit the woes they symbolize. Thus red naturally corresponds to the sword, black to famine, and pale yellow to death, being a corpse-like colour. The white remains, and this naturally belongs to the horse on which triumphant war is seated. Thus Xerxes rode on white Nisaean horses (Herod. vii. 40; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* i. 30), and Mardonius, one of his chief generals, rode on a white horse (Herod. ix. 63). White was the colour of victory: cf. Virg. *Aen.* iii. 537, "Quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi Tondentes campum late candore nivali." Here Servius notes: "candore nivali. Hoc ad victoriae omen pertinet." According to Dio Cassius, *H.R.* xliii. 14 (quoted by Swete), the four horses which drew the car in Julius Caesar's triumph were white: *τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ προεψηφισμένα ἐπί τε λευκῶν ἵππων.*

Our author was at liberty to arrange the colours in any order that suited his purpose; for in Zech. i. 8, vi. 2–7, they are given three times, and in each in a different order: i. 8, red, sorrel (or reddish-yellow), white (defective); vi. 2, 3, red, black, white, speckled; vi. 7, 8, black, white, speckled, red.[1]

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[1] The passages in Zechariah call for treatment since they are manifestly corrupt. Zech. i. 8, אדמים שרקים ולבנים; LXX, *πυρροὶ καὶ* [*ψαροὶ καὶ*] *ποικίλοι καὶ λευκοί.* Here it is admitted that the text is defective and omits שחרים, which is found in vi. 2, 6. The LXX gives, it is true, four colours, but *ψαροί* and *ποικίλοι* appear to be duplicate renderings; for, according to Hesychius, they have the same meaning. So also Eustathius on the *Iliad*, xvii. *ad fin.*, *ψαρὸς ἵππος ὁ κατὰ τὸν ψᾶρα ποικίλος.* Next, in vi. 2, 3 we have אדמים . . . שחרים . . . לבנים . . . ברדים אמצים . . ., LXX *πυρροί . . . μέλανες . . . λευκοὶ . . . ποικίλοι* [*ψαροί*]. Here also it is admitted that the text is corrupt. אֲמֻצִּים = "strong," cannot denote a colour. It has possibly been inserted here from vi. 7. By its omission we have the needed four colours. Finally, in vi. 6, 7 we have הַשְּׁחֹרִים . . . הלבנים . . . הברדים . . . האמצים; LXX, *οἱ μέλανες . . . οἱ λευκοὶ . . . οἱ ποικίλοι . . . οἱ ψαροί* (but Aquila has *οἱ πυρροί*). Here אמצים is rightly taken to be a corruption of אֲדֻמִּים = "red," a reading which is attested by the Peshitto and Aquila. The text is thus restored so far as the colours go, but there are evidently two lacunae in vi. 6, 7; for since the four bodies of horses represent the four winds, vi. 5, the four quarters of the world to which they go as God's messengers should be mentioned, whereas only the north and the south are. In the next place, while the *black* horses rightly go towards the north, the *red* should go to the south and not the spotted, the *white* to the east, and the *yellow* ("spotted" in text) to the west; for the four colours of the horses are said to symbolize the four quarters (Zimmern, *K.A.T.*³ 339, 616, 633; Marti on Zech. i. 8). We can now reconstruct Zech. vi. 6, 7, הסוסים השחרים יצאים אל ארץ צפון והלבנים יצאים אל ארץ הקדם והברדים יצאים <אל ארץ הערב> והאדמים יצאים אל ארץ התימן. Here I have with previous scholars emended the unintelligible אחריהם into

καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχων τόξον, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στέφανος, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν νικῶν καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ. As has already been pointed out, the rider here symbolizes war in the first instance; for this is the first woe in the source from which the woes in the Seals are derived (see pp. 157–9); but owing to the rider carrying a bow[1] and riding on a white horse, we can hardly evade the conclusion that a secondary reference to the Parthian empire is here designed as representing triumphant war. The great victory of Vologäses in 62 over the Romans gave birth to the idea that Rome would be finally overthrown by an Oriental power. This idea recurs later in our author (see xvii. 16). The very form of the words favours this view. ἐξῆλθεν νικῶν would refer to past achievements of this empire, and ἵνα νικήσῃ to its ultimate conquest of the west. The *gift* of the στέφανος is equivalent to a promise of victory. Furthermore, as regards the στέφανος, which, as a symbol of victory, was given to him, it may be mentioned, though the fact probably does not concern our text, that Seleucus, the Parthian king, who founded Seleucia on the Tigris, was named Νικάτωρ. The Parthian leaders, according to Wetstein, rode white horses in battle.

Other interpretations are as follows:

1. The text points *first and solely* to the Parthian empire: so Holtzmann, Schmidt, 11; Ramsay, 58; Swete, Bousset.

2. Völter in his different works, and Erbes, 37 sqq., interpret the first Rider of Vologäses. This is a less defensible view than 1.

3. Spitta, 290, interprets the text of Rome; but this view is generally rejected.

ארץ הקדם, and changed יצאו into יצאים three times (with Wellhausen). Next I have restored the lost אל ארץ הערב, "to the west country," and finally I have transposed הארמים יצאים before אל ארץ התימן from the beginning of 7, where they are meaningless. Thus we have, "The black horses go forth to the north country, and the white go forth to the east country, and the spotted go forth to the west country, and the red go forth to the south country." All appears right here except the word בְּרֻדִּים, vi. 2, 8 = "spotted." In i. 8 שְׂרֻקִּים = "sorrel," a yellowish or reddish brown colour, appears in its stead. Since in i. 8 red is already mentioned, we should take this word with Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, i. 50, as meaning "yellow." Thus the "yellow" horses go to the quarter of which yellow is the symbol. This may be the source of the word χλωρός, "pale" or "pale yellow," in our text, vi. 8. As regards ברדים I see no way of explaining it from an archaeological standpoint, nor of reconciling it with the apparently right word שרקים in Zech. i. 8. Here again our author does not follow the LXX. The above four colours are said to be connected with the planets Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn. But among the Babylonians white has never been discovered to be the colour of Jupiter or of the other three. The speculations of Jeremias (*Babylonisches im N.T.* 24 sq., and in *Das A.T. im Licht des alten Orients*) on this question are often merely fantastic. See Müller, "Die Apokal. Reiter," *Z.N.T.W.*, 1907, 290–316.

[1] See Herod. v. 49, vii. 61; Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 227; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 8; and Wetstein *in loc.*

4. A great number of interpreters—Victorinus, Primasius, Bede, Bullinger, Paraeus, Grotius, Vitringa, Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, 445, have identified the first horseman with the Rider on the white horse in xix. 11 sqq., *i.e.* the Messiah. But the Messiah cannot appear before the Messianic woes; nor can he be at once the Lamb who opens the Seals, and the Rider who appears in consequence of such opening. Moreover, the details are distinct. The former carries a τόξον, the latter a ῥομφαία; the former wears a στέφανος, the latter διαδήματα πολλά. Not a bow, but the sword of the word belongs to Christ. In fact the two Riders have nothing in common but the white horse.

5. Hilgenfeld (*Z. W. T.*, 1890, p. 425), Zahn, ii. 592, Alford, Kübel take this horseman to represent the victorious course of the Gospel. J. Weiss, 59 sqq., accepts this interpretation, and maintains that it receives support from the Parousia discourses of Christ. For although Mark xiii. 9 treats of the beginning of the Messianic woes, yet according to xiii. 10 the Gospel must first be made known to all nations. The woes, therefore, in both passages begin when the victory of the Gospel is decided. Despite all tribulations, the victory is once and for all assured. This view with modifications was earlier put forward by Andreas, Arethas, Lyra, and Ribeira.

Over against explanations 4 and 5, it is to be maintained that there is an essential likeness among the Riders: they clearly belong together, and represent the ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων (Mark xiii. 8). All four have to deal with judgments—"the beating down of earthly powers, breaking up of earthly peace, the exhausting of earthly wealth, the destruction of earthly life" (Alford). The first horseman like the rest, therefore, is to be interpreted of woe—denoting first of all war, as it did in its immediate source, and in a secondary aspect through its fresh remoulding by our author, the Parthian empire.

3. καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν δευτέραν, ἤκουσα τοῦ δευτέρου ζῴου λέγοντος Ἔρχου. 4. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἄλλος ἵππος πυρρός, καὶ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ᾽ † αὐτὸν † ἐδόθη [αὐτῷ] λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς καὶ ἵνα ἀλλήλους σφάξουσιν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ μάχαιρα μεγάλη. This second horseman is a symbol of international and civil strife. The immediate source of our author is, as we have seen, the document behind the Gospel accounts, Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 10 (see pp. 157–9). But there are other references to such civil strife as preluding the Parousia in Jewish literature: cf. Jub. xxiii. 19; 1 Enoch lvi. 7; 4 Ezra v. 9, vi. 24, xiii. 31; 2 Bar. xlviii. 32, lxx. 3, 6. The expectation that civil strife would herald the end of the world is found also in Babylonian literature. See Zimmern, *K.A.T.*^{3} 393. Since we have here to deal with a stereotyped prediction, which exhibits no new elements pointing to historical events, there is no occasion to enumerate the various historical interpretations that have been advanced.

As in the case of the first Seal the Rider is furnished with a bow (which gives the Seal an historical reference), so here the second Rider is provided with a sword. This symbol, however, belongs to eschatological tradition. This sword is mentioned in this eschatological sense in Isa. xxvii. 1, xxxiv. 5, xlvi. 10, xlvii. 6; Ezek. xxi. 3 sqq., where it is wielded by Yahweh Himself. In the next stage of development it is committed to Israel to take vengeance on their own and God's enemies. The very words ἐδόθη . . . μάχαιρα μεγάλη are found in 1 Enoch xc. 19, "A great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them." This sword is again mentioned in xci. 12, xc. 34. The object with which it is given in Enoch is that the faithful Israelites may therewith destroy their enemies, who are the enemies of God.

In the third stage of development it is given to the enemies of God that they may destroy one another with it. This stage is found in 1 Enoch lxxxviii. 2, where Gabriel causes the giant offspring of the fallen angels and the daughters of men to destroy each other by giving them a sword. "And one of them drew a sword and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked because of them." The command to do so is given in apocalyptic language in x. 9, "Proceed against the bastards . . . and destroy the children of fornication, and the children of the watchers . . . send them one against another that they may destroy each other in battle." In our text, as also in Matt. x. 34, μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν (cf. Luke xii. 51), the symbol has the same eschatological force. Our text, λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς . . . ἐδόθη αὐτῷ μάχαιρα, looks like a reminiscence of the words of our Lord just cited. The Massoretic text of Ezek. xxxviii. 21 seems to attest the same idea, but it is corrupt, and the text of the LXX (B) is to be followed here (see Marti *in loc.*).

Holtzmann and Moffatt have taken the "sword" as symbolizing Rome, just as the "bow" symbolizes the Parthian empire, and holds that the two world empires are here designated. But this is not so. The "bow" is *characteristic* of the first Rider; but the sword is not characteristic of this Rider, but is *given* to him, just as the "crown" is given to the first Rider. As the "crown" is given to foreshow conquest, the sword is given to bring about civil and international strife. There may, however, be a remote reference to Rome as the destroyer of order and life as opposed to the rôle it was conceived to play by St. Paul.

λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς. The object of this woe is to take away the false peace of the earth. Contrast John xiv. 27. Thus it seems best here to follow A and some cursives in omitting ἐκ. Cf. the kindred phrase "children of earth," 1 Enoch c. 6, cii. 3, over against "children of heaven," ci. 1.

For ἵνα with the fut. Ind. see Robertson, *Gram.* 998 sq.

5. καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν τρίτην, ἤκουσα τοῦ τρίτου ζῴου λέγοντος Ἔρχου. καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος μέλας, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχων ζυγὸν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Famine is here symbolized by the black horse, as we have seen (see p. 161). For the more detailed explanation see next verse. The *ζυγός* is literally the beam of the balance from which the scales are suspended. That bread is sold by weight is a token of scarcity. Cf. Ezek. iv. 16, *φάγονται ἄρτον ἐν σταθμῷ καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ*, and Lev. xxvi. 26, *ἀποδώσουσι τοὺς ἄρτους ὑμῶν ἐν σταθμῷ καὶ φάγεσθε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐμπλησθῆτε.*

6. καὶ ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων λέγουσαν Χοῖνιξ σίτου δηναρίου, καὶ τρεῖς χοίνικες κριθῶν δηναρίου· καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσῃς. On the peculiar use of ὡς here see note on p. 33 sq. We have the same use on xix. 1, 6. The voice, as Bousset suggests, may be that of the Lamb.

The voice states a coming price of the wheat and barley—almost a famine price; for a *χοῖνιξ* of wheat—about two pints—constituted the daily consumption of a man. So Herodotus assumes in estimating the amount of food consumed by Xerxes' army: vii. 187, *εὑρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον.* Thucydides, iv. 16, mentions as the allowance made for the Spartans in Sphacteria —*σῖτον . . . δύο χόινικας ἑκάστῳ Ἀττικὰς ἀλφίτων καὶ δύο κοτύλας οἴνου καὶ κρέας, θεράποντι δὲ τούτων ἡμισέα.* The quantity here stated was the ordinary allowance made at the Spartan mess, the allowance both of grain and wine being *double* of that which was supposed to be necessary. Similarly in Athenaeus, iii. 20, *τὴν δὲ χοίνικα ἡμεροτρόφιδα*, and Diog. Laert. *Pythag.* viii. 18, and Suidas under Pythagoras: *ἡ γὰρ χοῖνιξ ἡμερήσιος τροφή.* For other references see Wetstein.

The denarius, which was worth about $9\frac{1}{2}$d. (see Hastings' *D.B.* i 427), was the ordinary daily wage (cf. Matt. xx. 2 sqq.). The following passages from Cicero are instructive. Cicero, *Verr.* iii. 81, "Idque frumentum Senatus ita aestimasset, quaternis H.S. tritici modium, binis, hordei. . . . Cum in Sicilia H.S. binis tritici modius esset . . . summum H.S. ternis . . . tum iste pro tritici modiis singulis ternos ab aratoribus denarios exegit. 84, Cum esset H.S. binis aut etiam ternis . . . duodenos sestertios exegisti." Here wheat appears to have been twice the price of barley in Sicily; whereas it was three times in our text. In the next place the modius of wheat cost 2 or 3 sesterces, or according to the estimate of the Senate 4. Now, since a modius contains 8 choenices, and a denarius = four sesterces, it follows that the price in our text was 16 times the lowest price of wheat in Sicily, $10\frac{2}{3}$ times the highest, and 8 times the estimate made by the Senate.

Thus at the time designed in our text a denarius—a man's daily wage—could purchase only two pints of wheat—a quantity sufficient merely for his own immediate needs, whereas at other times its purchasing power was 8, 12, or 16 times as great, if we may use the data supplied by Cicero. But since the workman would not buy wheat but barley, he could earn enough to procure something for his family as well, though the supply was inadequate and deaths occurred through starvation (see 8). The text, then, speaks of a time of very great dearth, but not of absolute famine, that was coming upon the world. It is the λιμοί predicted in Mark xiii. 8; Matt. xxiv. 7.

But the words that follow, *τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης*, when taken in conjunction with what precedes, may point to a special time when the necessaries of life were scarce and its superfluities abundant.

According to Erbes, 40, the more moderate the scarcity is represented, the more manifestly it belongs not to the region of fancy but to history, and in his opinion to the year 62 (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9. 2); whilst Völter in his various works assigns this event to the latter half of Nero's reign (Suet. *Nero*, 45; Tac. *Ann.* xv. 18). But a more satisfactory explanation has recently been advanced by Harnack (*T.L.Z.*, 1902, col. 591 sq.) in a short notice on S. Reinach's "La mévente des vins sous le haut-empire romain," *Rev. Achéol.*, sér. iii. t. xxxix., 1901, pp. 350–374. Owing to the lack of cereals and the superabundance of wine, Domitian issued an edict (Suet. *Dom.* 7: cf. Euseb. *Chron.*, on 92 A.D.) that no fresh vineyards should be planted in Italy, and that half the vineyards in the provinces should be cut down. But, as Suetonius observes, Domitian did not persevere in this matter; for the edict set the Asiatic cities in an uproar, and owing to their agitation they prevailed on Domitian not only to withdraw his edict, but to impose a punishment on those who allowed their old vineyards to go out of cultivation (cf. *τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης* of our text).[1] Our author from his ascetic standpoint had sympathized with Domitian's decree, which according to its own claims was directed against luxury, and was accordingly the more indignant when it was recalled. Accordingly, he predicts an evil time, when men will have oil and wine[1] in abundance, but suffer from lack of bread. In favour of this view it may be added that the date of the Apocalypse therein implied would agree with that assigned to it by Irenaeus and Epiphanius. This explanation is accepted by Bousset and Swete, but is treated as doubtful by Holtzmann and rejected by Wellhausen.

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[1] Our author, according to Harnack, added the oil of his own initiative, or else found it in a decree unknown to us.

Though Wellhausen suggests no alternative explanation, he is right, I think, in rejecting the last mentioned. At all events the decree of Domitian, if here operative at all, was not the cause, but only the occasion of the statement in our text. The scarcity of bread and the plentifulness of the vintage in the last days was an old Jewish expectation. Thus we have in Sotah, 49^b, "In the times when the Messiah is at hand shamelessness will increase, and there will be a dearth: the vine will yield its fruit, but wine will be dear (ויוקר יהוא הגפן תתן פריה והיין ביוקר); the empire of the world will become minaean: there will be no discipline . . . the son will despise the father, the daughter resist the mother, the daughter-in-law the mother-in-law: a man's foes shall be they of his own household (בן מנבל אב בת קמה באמה כלה בחמותה אויבי איש אנשי ביתו)." The last clauses here may have been in the mind of our Lord when He uttered Matt. x. 35 sq. (= Luke xii. 53), while the opening words may explain our text. Rabbi Nehemiah (in Hadrian's time) quotes the first part of the above, and R. Nehorai and R. Judah, his contemporaries, other portions of it in Sanh. 97^a. It seems, therefore, to have been in an old apocalypse. This apocalypse states that there will be a general dearth, but not of the vintage, though, owing to the disorder, wine would be dear. Domitian's edict may have occasioned the mention of this old eschatological expectation.

7. καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν τετάρτην, ἤκουσα φωνὴν τοῦ τετάρτου ζῴου λέγοντος Ἔρχου. 8. καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος χλωρός. The fourth horse is described as χλωρός, "pale yellow," "pallid," or "pale." This appears to be an independent rendering by our author of שְׂרֻקִּים in Zech. i. 8 (see note on p. 162). The LXX has here ποικίλος. Now ποικίλος evidently presupposes בְּרֻדִּים, as in Zech. vi. 3, 7, and not שרקים. But as we have seen in the note referred to, we require in Zechariah a word signifying "yellow" or "pale yellow." Bochart (*Hieronzoicon*, i. 50) gives good grounds for assuming this to be the meaning of שָׂרֹק, and holds that שָׂרֹק and יֶרֶק were related colours, since in Lev. xi. 18, Deut. xiv. 17, the same bird is called ירקרקא in

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[1] In Jub. xxiii. 18 the first Messianic woe is given thus: "There shall be no seed of the vine and no oil."

Onkelos and שרקרקא in Ps. Jon. The Nisaean horses were somewhat of this colour, as Phavorinus attests: *Νισαῖος ἵππος ὅ ἐστι ξανθός· ἡ γὰρ Νίσα πάσας τὰς ἵππους ξανθὰς ἔχει* (see Bochart, *loc. cit.*). Now Aristotle (*Meteor*, 3, 4, 5) defines *ξανθός* as the colour in the rainbow between red and green. "Pale yellow" then is the meaning required by our text and most probably by that of Zech. i. 8. Possibly our author found a form ירקים or ירקרקים instead of שׂרק in Zech. i. 8; for *χλωρός* is the most frequent rendering of this word in the LXX. יֵרָקוֹן means "paleness," "lividness."

8^{b}. ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος[1]
[καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἠκολούθει μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ]
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς,
[ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ
καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς].

Either the above text is corrupt or the writer confused beyond all precedent. I have come to the former conclusion, the grounds for which are given below. The Rider symbolizes "the pestilence" (ὁ *θάνατος*). And the original text is to be translated as follows: "He that sat upon him was named Pestilence, and there was given to him authority over the fourth part of the earth."

Let us now study the text as it stands. First of all, Death and Hades are personified as in i. 18, xx. 13, 14. But how are we to conceive them in the present passage? There is only one horse and there are two figures. From the analogy of the preceding Seals we expect here only one figure. Hence J. Weiss, 59, thinks that Hades is here "suspiciously" thrust into the corner and granted only a shadowy existence, since he scarcely appears to be aught else than a double of Death. This writer then goes on to conjecture that *θάνατος* here was in the original conception a personification of pestilence (=דבר), and that Hades then represented Death in a general sense, whose function was to gather the victims of the preceding plagues. Originally, therefore, the four were War, Famine, Pestilence, and Hades, and not as in our text. These four became in our author's hands five, when he prefixed the first Rider, who, according to J. Weiss, symbolizes the progress of the Gospel. Death and Hades were then of necessity represented as one. This theory is attractive, but the evidence, as I have sought to show (p. 157 sqq.), is in favour of the vision of the Seals being based on the material given in Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi., by means of which we can explain the first six Seals. Besides, we cannot accept this scholar's explanation of the first Seal (see p. 163). How then are we to recover the original text? By a careful study of the details.

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[1] The irregular construction here is due to a Hebraism (cf. ix. 11). The line=הָרֹכֵב עָלָיו מָוֶת שְׁמוֹ.

1. There is only one horse mentioned under the fourth Seal: there could not be two; for there are only four horses altogether presupposed. Hades then cannot be riding a separate horse, as there is only one horse; nor can he be riding on the same horse as Death, for then we should expect *οἱ καθήμενοι* and not *ὁ καθήμενος*. Hence the clause *καὶ ὁ ᾅδης . . . αὐτοῦ* introduces confusion of thought and diction, and looks like an intrusion.

2. We should expect *λοιμός* here, as in Luke xxi. 11. But *θάνατος* can be used in the same sense, as it frequently appears in the LXX as a translation of דבר. In Sir. xxxix. 29 we have the combination רע<ב>ודבר; LXX, *λιμὸς καὶ θάνατος*: Vulg. "fames et mors"; and also in Pss. Sol. xiii. 2, *λιμοῦ καὶ θανάτου*. But the fact that *θάνατος* and not *λοιμός* is used is instructive. It forms an additional argument that our author is using not our Canonical Gospels, but the document behind Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi.; for the word in this Aramaic document would be מוֹתָא;[1] for this is the rendering in the Targum of Onkelos of דבר in Ex. ix. 15; Num. xiv. 12; Targ. Jon. of Jer. xiv. 12, xxi. 6, 7, 9, xxiv. 10, xxix. 17, 18, xliv. 13; Ezek. v. 12, 17, xiv. 21, xxxiii. 27, etc. Now מותא can mean either "death" or "pestilence." Luke rendered it by the unmistakable word *λοιμός* in xxi. 11, but our author by *θάνατος*, which might mean either "death" or "pestilence." But to return. We expect, as we saw in 1, a single Rider: in the next place we expect him to be named "the pestilence," as in the source used by our author. And this, in fact, *θάνατος* could mean, and not only the source, but the context requires such a meaning; for such a plague as "the pestilence" would be in keeping with what precedes and what follows; for all these refer to plagues or evils which bring about death, but are not synonymous with death. Death conceived generally, according to the traditional text, as the lord of all kinds of destroying agents, and Hades do not belong to the present category of evils.

3. The reading *ἐδόθη αὐτῷ*, strongly attested by the Versions and Q, is in favour of one figure only, *i.e.* *θάνατος*, "pestilence."

Accordingly we reject *καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἠκολούθει μετ' αὐτοῦ* as the interpolation of a scribe who was familiar with our author's combination of these two conceptions, Death and Hades. Cf. i. 18, xx. 13, 14. But his perverse industry did not stop here; for to him we owe the final clause, as will appear from the next paragraph.

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[1] If the source were in Hebrew, דֶּבֶר (=*λοιμός* in Aq. or Sym., or *θάνατος* in the LXX) would account for the above facts.

4. If the above conclusions are right that only one Rider is referred to and that his name is "pestilence," then the last clause of the verse, ἀποκτεῖναι . . . γῆς, can hardly be genuine. It cannot be said that power was given to "the pestilence" to destroy "with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence," etc. Even if by any possibility θάνατος in the first instance meant death itself, the lord of destruction, it would have been culpably careless to use the same word again in the same sentence with quite a different meaning.

It is further to be observed that the clause ἀποκτεῖναι . . . γῆς, which seems intended to resume the evil activities of the second, third, and fourth plagues, is clearly otiose here. The statement adds nothing to the weight of what is already better said, and the reference to θάνατος is extremely awkward, since it obliges us to assume θάνατος (= lord of all the plagues) controlling θάνατος (= a single plague), or θάνατος (= pestilence) controlling its underling θάνατος (= pestilence).

Hence I conclude that the clause is an interpolation. Furthermore, its subject-matter and, in fact, its diction are based on Ezek. xiv. 21, ῥομφαίαν καὶ λιμὸν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ θάνατον. This borrowing explains the presence of ῥομφαίαν instead of μάχαιραν (cf. vi. 10) and the concluding phrase, *i.e.* ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς, which has no connection with the context as the other three plagues have. The construction of ὑπό after an active verb is unexampled elsewhere in the N.T. and is found very rarely in classical Greek. With θηρίων τῆς γῆς (Gen. i. 30; Ezek. xxxiv. 28), the only near parallel in the N.T. is Acts xi. 6.

The fact that there are four plagues described in our text, and that Ezekiel in xiv. 21 speaks of "four sore judgments," may have led to the incorporation of this gloss in our text.

9–11. In a certain mechanical manner the first four plagues are grouped together and the last three. The first four possess one characteristic in common—the impersonation of their leading features: another is their connection with the four living beings. But in another aspect the first five are more nearly related to each other as evils affecting man *directly*, whereas the two evils which are combined in the sixth Seal—the breaking up of earth and heaven—are in their first reference cosmic, and affect man *indirectly*.

The fifth Seal.—Verses 9–11 deal with Christian martyrdom. In the corresponding sections in Mark xiii. 9–13, Matt. xxiv. 9–10, Luke xxi. 12–18, persecutions and martyrdom are foretold. In our text they are in part already accomplished. The standpoint, therefore, is wholly changed. Instead of reproducing the stereotyped description of persecutions still to come carrying with them the sanction of Christ Himself, our author refers in unmistakable language to a great persecution in the past: nay more, with his own eyes—for he is in heaven—he beholds the souls of the martyrs already offered on the heavenly altar before God; hears them supplicating for judgment on the heathen world, and sees them being clothed with their heavenly bodies—a spiritual privilege limited exclusively to the martyred righteous; for the rest of the righteous could not receive their heavenly bodies till the final resurrection.

9. καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγῖδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον. In this verse we have to deal with three questions: 1. The altar in heaven. 2. The souls under the altar—in Judaism and Christianity. 3. The reasons for which the faithful suffered martyrdom.

1. *The altar in heaven.*—The fact that the altar, though not mentioned hitherto, is preceded by the article, points to a current belief in the existence of an altar of burnt-offering in heaven.[1] That, according to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic, there was only one altar in heaven, and that this altar had the characteristics partly of the earthly altar of incense and partly of the altar of burnt-offering, but mainly of the former, I have shown later on at some length. (See note on viii. 3.) How early this belief arose cannot be definitely determined. Since, however, according to Ex. xxv. 9, 40, Num. viii. 4, the earthly altar and tabernacle were to be made after the likeness of heavenly patterns or originals,—a view which recurs in Heb. viii. 5, ix. 23,—the belief in question may be of very early origin—as early as Isa. vi. 1 sqq., though scholars are divided as to the scene of the vision in that chapter, Duhm, Whitehouse, Gray, Marti contending that it is in the earthly temple, while Delitzsch, Dillmann, and Jeremias maintain that it is in the heavenly. At all events it was current in the 2nd cent. B.C., as we have seen above.

2. *The souls under the altar in Judaism and Christianity.*—The souls in our text are those of the martyrs. It has been generally supposed that our text is to be explained from the Jewish ritual, according to which the blood of the victim was to be poured on the base of the altar (Lev. iv. 7, *τὸ αἷμα τοῦ μόσχου ἐκχεεῖ παρὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*). Since the life was in the blood, the souls were thus conceived to be beneath the altar.

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[1] Spitta, 296 sqq., argues strongly for the altar in Jerusalem; but most of his arguments are beside the mark. On the other hand, the whole vision implies a heavenly scene, witnessed by our Seer *ἐν πνεύματι*. All the visions in iv. 1—x. the Seer beheld while *in heaven* (see p. 109). The white garments in which the martyrs were arrayed is a heavenly vesture. Furthermore, the situation implies the age of Domitian, when the Temple was no longer standing.

But this is unsatisfactory. The souls are beneath the heavenly altar; for they have already been sacrificed thereon. Let us examine the evidence. That a sacrificial death of the martyrs is implied in our text is clear from the words *θυσιαστηρίου* and *ἐσφαγμένων*. Elsewhere in the N.T. the martyrs are regarded as victims offered to God, 2 Tim. iv. 6; Phil. ii. 17; and in later times cf. Ignatius, *Ad Rom.* ii. 2, *πλέον δέ μοι μὴ παράσχησθε τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ, ὡς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἕτοιμόν ἐστιν*: iv. 2, *ἵνα . . . θεοῦ θυσία εὑρεθῶ.* But the belief that the martyrs were a sacrifice was already current in pre-Christian Judaism, as appears from the passages quoted from 4 Maccabees below.[1]

These passages refer to martyrs. In later times the souls of the *righteous* are conceived by the Christians as well as by the Jews (see later) as offered in sacrifice. Cf. Questions of Bartholomew i. 29, *ὁ δὲ Βαρθωλωμαῖος ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· Κύριε, τίς ἔστιν ἡ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἀναφερομένη θυσία; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει· ψυχαὶ δικαίων.* Vita Pachomii abbatis tabennensis xxxviii. "Multitudo sanctorum angelorum cum magna laetitia sumentes animam ejus velut electam hostiam Christi conspectibus obtulerunt."

In Judaism also we find the belief that the souls of the righteous were *under the altar in heaven.* This in the *Aboth R.N.* xxvi., "Rabbi Akiba declares . . . that whoever was buried in the land of Israel was just as if he were buried under the altar, and *whoever was buried under the altar was just as if he were buried under the throne of glory.*"

In Shabb. 152^b it is stated that "the souls of the righteous are preserved under the throne of glory," and in Debarim rabba, 11, God says to the soul of Moses: "Go forth, delay not, and I will bring thee up to the highest heaven, and cause thee to dwell under the throne of My glory amidst the Cherubim and Seraphim and heavenly hosts." But if the souls of the righteous were under the heavenly altar, they had first been offered upon it. Thus in the Tosaphoth on Menachoth, 110^a, it is said, according to some teachers, that Michael sacrifices upon the heavenly altar the souls of the students of the law. In the

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[1] According to 4 Macc. vi. 29 the martyr's death was conceived to be a true sacrifice and possessed an atoning power. *καθάρσιον αὐτῶν ποίησον τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα καὶ ἀντίψυχον αὐτῶν λάβε τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν.* Cf. also *op. cit.* xvii. 21, 22. Moed Qatan, 28^a, where the death of the righteous is said to atone as a red heifer. In Gittin, 57^b, the mother of the seven martyrs exclaims: "My sons . . . tell Abraham your father, Thou didst build an altar whereon to offer thy son as sacrifice. I have built seven altars." Now, if the Jewish martyrs were regarded in pre-Christian times as an atoning sacrifice, it is more than probable that the belief in the abode of righteous souls under the heavenly altar *arose first in connection with the martyrs*, and that this privilege was afterwards extended to the righteous generally. See 1 Enoch xlvii. 4, which is quoted under 11.

סדר גן עדן (ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha Midrasch*, iii. 137), "And there stands . . . the great prince Michael and the altar before him, and he offers all the souls of the righteous on that altar (כל נפשות הצדיקים על המזבח ההוא)." In the Jalkut Rub. f. 112^b (Schöttgen, *Horae*, i. 1220), "Et ille (*i.e.* Michael) stet et offert animas justorum"; and similarly in Jalkut Chad. f. 118, col. 4.

Again in Jalkut Rub. fol. 14, col. 3 (*Horae*, i. 1215), the souls of the righteous are offered (on the heavenly altar): "Ex quo tempore conditum est altare terrenum dixit Deus: Nolo ut mihi in altari caelesti oves aut boves offerantur nisi tantum animae justorum." See, further, Lueken, *Michael*, 48 sq.

The above Jewish authorities are late, but they must represent, when taken with analogous phenomena, a Jewish tradition—anterior at all events to Christianity; for it is not reasonable to suppose that it was borrowed from early Christian sources.

We conclude, therefore, that by our author *the martyr was conceived first and chiefly as a sacrifice to God, and that though his body was slain on earth, the sacrifice was in reality made in heaven, where his soul was offered on the heavenly altar.* Our text, therefore, has come to represent symbolically the consummation of the idea expressed by St. Paul in Rom. xii. 1, where he exhorts his readers, *παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν.* Cf. Rom. vi. 13; Phil. ii. 17; Col. i. 28.

3. *The reasons for which the faithful suffered martyrdom.*—The martyrs were put to death because of the word given by God and the witness borne by Jesus. The testimony no less than the word is an objective possession of the faithful. Many scholars have taken the witness to be that which the martyrs had borne to Christ; but the expression *εἶχον* is against such a view, and implies a testimony that has been given them by Christ and which they have *preserved.* John iii. 32, *ὃ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει· ὁ λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐσφράγισεν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής ἐστιν.* Thus the clause in our text is the exact equivalent of the fuller clause in xii. 17, xx. 4. The martyrs are incontestably Christian martyrs, to wit, the martyrs of the Neronic times.[1]

10. καὶ ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες Ἕως πότε, ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός, οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;

ἔκραξαν. The aorist appears here to refer to a single definite prayer; the righteous souls made one appeal to God and it was immediately answered. They are not represented as continuing

[1] Spitta, 300, is of opinion that only Jewish persecutions of the Jews are referred to here.

to urge such supplications, as in the Jewish Apocalypses quoted below.

ἕως πότε. Cf. Matt. xvii. 17 = Mark ix. 19; John x. 24. The phrase is frequent in the LXX, especially in the Psalms. Cf. iv. 2, vi. 3, xii. (xiii.) 1, 2, lxi. (lxii.) 3, etc. **ὁ δεσπότης** = *δέσποτα*. On the vocative with the article see Moulton, *Gram.* 70 sq., 235; Blass, *Gram.* p. 87. *δεσπότης* (= אדון or אדוני, Gen. xv. 2, 8; Josh. v. 14; Isa. iii. 1; Dan. ix. 8, 15, 16, etc.) is applied to God in only two other passages in the N.T., Luke ii. 29; Acts iv. 24. It is applied to Christ twice, in 2 Pet. ii. 1; Jude 4. **ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός.** These epithets are used in reference to Christ in iii. 7 (see note). **κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς.** For this combination cf. xix. 2, *ὅτι ἔκρινεν . . . καὶ ἐξεδίκησεν*, and 1 Sam. xxiv. 13 in the Hebrew, ישפט . . . ונקמני. xix. 2 affords another parallel to our text in the epithets *ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι* which are applied to *κρίσεις*. In fact, xix. 2 describes the fulfilment of the prayer in our text.

ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα . . . ἐκ (= תקם את דמנו מן). Cf. xix. 2, where this phrase recurs. *ἐκδικεῖν* is followed by *ἐκ* (Deut. xviii. 19; 1 Sam. xxiv. 13) or *ἀπό* (Luke xviii. 3) in reference to the persons from whom the vengeance is exacted. Cf. also 2 Kings ix. 7, *ἐκδικήσεις τὰ αἵματα τῶν δούλων μου.* On the meaning of the phrase *κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* see note on iii. 10.

As regards the thought of the words, it has been maintained that they "only assert the principle of Divine retribution which forbids the exercise of personal vengeance (Rom. xii. 19)." It has been urged also that Luke xviii. 7, *ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν βοώντων αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός*, practically expressed the same view.

The teaching of the Gospel passage and of our text is, however, different. In Luke the entire passage refers to the *living* elect (cf. xviii. 1), and the spirit of the teaching must be construed in keeping with the context. In our text, however, the *departed souls* are referred to, and the note of personal vengeance cannot be wholly eliminated from their prayer. The *living* pray to God to free them from unjust oppression and secure them their just rights. On the other hand, the *departed* pray for vengeance for what they have suffered or lost. The former is prospective and breathes the spirit of justice, the latter is retrospective as well as just. Both Luke xviii. 1–8 and our text appears to go back to Jewish originals or Jewish traditional views. The former has several elements in common with Sir. xxxii. 15–22, where it is said that God is a just God, and hearkens to the prayer of him that is wronged, and to the supplication of the widow, and that He will not be slack in doing justice to them, nor will He be slow over them (*μακροθυμήσει ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς*: cf. Luke xviii. 7, *καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς*), "till He have smitten in sunder the loins of the unmerciful." Both Luke xviii. 1–8 and Sir. xxxii. 15–22 refer to the living; and the former, at all events, when taken in conjunction with Christ's other teaching, postulates the surrender of all desire for *personal* vengeance. The same postulate cannot be said to hold for the Sirach passage; for in Sirach, policy is laid down no less frequently than principle as the motive of action.

We thus discriminate the temper underlying our text from that in Luke xviii. 1–8.

The true forerunners of our text are to be found in 1 Enoch xlvii. 2, 4, "The prayer of the righteous (that the shedding of their blood) may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits, That judgment may be done unto them, And that they may not have to suffer for ever." 4, "And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy, Because . . . the prayer of the righteous had been heard, And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits." In xxii. 5, 7 the spirits of the righteous, who are in Sheol and had suffered persecution or violent death, pray for vengeance. In a contemporary work, *i.e.* 4 Ezra iv. 35, the souls of the righteous in the chambers of Sheol ask, "How long are we to remain here? when cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward?" Prayer for vengeance is taught as a continuous duty in 1 Enoch xcix. 3, civ. 3, therefore it was the manifestation of a permanent attitude of mind. This is not so in our text.

The prayer of the souls under the altar for a righteous vindication on their persecutors, made here once and for all and not uninterruptedly pressed as in Judaism, is represented as fulfilled in xviii. 20, xix. 2. Therein is reflected the temper that in part animated the Church in the persecutions of the 1st century. We might compare the attitude of the martyrs towards their judges in Polyc. *Mart.* 11, or the later Acts of the Martyrs.

11. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ στολὴ λευκή. This white robe was their heavenly body (see note on iii. 5, and Additional Note at close of this chapter: cf. vii. 9).

The martyrs have thus in a great degree attained their consummation. Their reception of the heavenly body at this stage is a special privilege accorded to the martyrs, just as they exclusively are to return with Christ to reign for the 1000 years; cf. xx. 4.[1] To all the righteous these white robes are given finally.

καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν. Augustine, Alcasar, Ribiera, Bengel, De Wette, Bleek, Holtzmann, Bousset, etc., explain these words as meaning that the martyrs are to be patient and to abstain from their cry of vengeance; but Hengstenberg, Düsterdieck, Kliefoth, Alford, Swete, and others, as meaning that they are to rest in blessedness, as in xiv. 13, *ἵνα ἀναπαήσονται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν.*

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[1] Erbes, 42 sq., seeks to explain the text by the individual martyrdoms of Jews and Christians before 62 A.D.

ἕως πληρωθῶσιν καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτέννεσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί. The martyrs are kept waiting until their fellow-servants also (*i.e. καί*), who with them have the same Master (*δεσπότης*, 10), and their brethren (i. 9), have also been slain. The *σύνδουλοι* and the *ἀδελφοί* are the same persons viewed under different aspects. The repeated *αὐτῶν* can best be explained as an unconscious Hebraism.

The above clause looks back to the martyrdoms under Nero, and anticipates a final and universal persecution under Domitian which would follow "in a little time." In this persecution he expects the number of the martyrs to be completed. Then would ensue the end.

Instead of either of the above explanations of *ἀναπαύσονται ἔτι*, the evidence of contemporary literature is perhaps in favour of the following: the souls of the martyrs, now clothed in spiritual bodies (cf. Asc. Isa. ix. 6 sq., where Abel, Enoch, and others are represented as being so clothed, and in the seventh heaven, but not yet in possession of their full privileges), are bidden to enjoy their present rest and quietness for a little while longer, when, on the completion of the roll of the martyrs, the judgment they demanded would ensue. In a much earlier work, 1 Enoch c. 5, the righteous souls in the intermediate state are referred to:

> "And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint
> guardians from amongst the holy angels,
> To guard them as the apple of an eye."

In cii. 5 they are bidden "to wait for the day of the judgment of sinners," and in civ. 3 (cf. xxii. 5–7, xlvii. 2, xcvii. 3–5), to pray for judgment on their oppressors. From the contrast of the conditions of the righteous and wicked in Sheol in xci.–civ., it is clear that, though the righteous demand vengeance on the evil-doers, they are enjoying peace and rest.

In 4 Ezra vii. 85 part of the torment of the wicked souls after death will consist in seeing "how the habitations of the other souls are guarded by angels in profound quietness," whilst part of the blessedness of the righteous souls will consist in beholding the present evil condition of the souls of the wicked, and the still greater torments that await them (vii. 93), and in appreciating "the rest which they now, being gathered in their chambers, enjoy in profound quietness guarded by angels" (vii. 95).

From the standpoint of the Gospels we cannot understand how the souls of the righteous could enjoy such rest in the presence of such suffering.

The view that the end of the world would ensue when the roll of the martyrs was complete was current in pre-Christian Judaism.

This thought is highly characteristic of later Judaism, which held that everything was carried out in the divine government of the world according to a certain predestined number, time, or measure. This appears in 4 Ezra iv. 36 sq.:

> "For He has weighed the age in the balance,
> And with measures has measured the times,
> And by number has numbered the seasons:
> Neither will He move nor stir things
> Till the measure appointed be fulfilled."

In 1 Enoch xlvii. the end will come when the *number of the martyrs is complete.*

Thus in xlvii. 1 it is said that

> "In those days (*i.e.* the last) shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous,
> And the blood of the righteous from earth before the Lord of Spirits."

In the next verse (xlvii. 2) the angels supplicate and intercede

> "On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,
> And that the prayer of the righteous might not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits,
> And that judgment should be done unto them,
> And that they may not have to suffer for ever."

Here clearly the souls of Jewish martyrs are referred to, which demand vengeance and pray against the further postponement of it. In xlvii. 3 the books are opened and the Lord of Spirits seats Himself on the throne of judgment. In xlvii. 4 reads:

> "And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy,
> Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
> And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
> And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits."

Here, as the context shows, the righteous are martyrs. This is the earliest form of this conception, and is reproduced in our text. A later development of it (see p. 173) is found in 4 Ezra iv. 35. "Were not these questions of thine asked by the souls of the righteous in their chambers? How long are we to remain here? When cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward? And to them the archangel Jeremiel made reply and said: Even when the number of those like yourself is fulfilled!"

And in 2 Bar. xxx. 2, "And it will come to pass at that time that the treasuries shall be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous."

From the above passages it follows that our author is following a current Jewish tradition. There is no need for supposing that he had any acquaintance with 4 Ezra; for the latter represents a later development of this conception, as we have shown. Bousset, as Spitta, 298, had already done, regards our text and 4 Ezra iv. 35 sq. as independent, but as derived from a common older source. He represents our author as transforming the current Jewish tradition, that the world would come to an end when the number of the souls *of the righteous* was completed, into the form given in our text; but Bousset's view was due to the unintelligible text of 1 Enoch xlvii. 4, which, however, when retranslated into Hebrew, presents the same tradition as our text. The unintelligibleness was due to the Greek translator rendering קרב as "had drawn nigh" (a possible meaning), instead of "had been sacrificed," as the context here required (so in later Hebrew and Aramaic). See p. 172.

11–VII. 8. *The sixth Seal—its plagues and the ensuing pause during which the faithful Israelites are sealed to secure their safety.*—These woes are still in the future. They are not in our author the immediate heralds of the end, as in the Gospels. The end cannot come till the great persecution and martyrdom of the faithful have taken place. With the text compare Mark xiii. 8, 24–25; Matt. xxiv. 7, 29; Luke xxi. 11, 25–26, xxiii. 30. The woes, therefore, are not to be taken in their full literal significance. This is manifest from the fact that after the stars of heaven had fallen, the heaven been removed as a scroll, and every mountain and island had been removed out of their places, the kings of the earth and the mighty, the bond and the free, could hardly be described as hiding themselves in the caves and rocks of the earth and imploring the mountains to fall upon them.

12. καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν ἕκτην,
καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο,
καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος,
καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα.

The earthquake here is not to be explained by that in Laodicea in 61, or at Pompeii in 63. It is rather a single great earthquake, which is a precursor of the end of the world. Thus the *σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους* (= Mark xiii. 8) has not only been transformed into a single world catastrophe, but also transposed from holding the third or fourth place in the list of woes to the sixth, as we have already pointed out.

Earthquakes belong, of course, to the traditional eschatological scheme. Cf. Amos viii. 8, ix. 5; Ezek. xxxviii. 19; Joel ii. 10; Ass. Mos. x. 4; 4 Ezra v. 8, ix. 3; 2 Bar. lxx. 8. See Gressmann, 12 sqq. There are further references to an earthquake in our text: viii. 5, xi. 13, xvi. 18. The darkening of the sun is also a constant eschatological phenomenon: Amos viii. 9; Isa. xiii. 10, l. 3, *ἐνδύσω τὸν οὐρανὸν σκότος καὶ ὡς σάκκον θήσω τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ*: Ezek. xxxii. 7; Joel ii. 10, 31 (= Mass. iii. 4), *ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου*: Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; Luke xxiii. 45; Ass. Mos. x. 5; Acts ii. 20 (quotation from Joel ii. 31); Rev. ix. 2.

To Joel ii. 31 (see quotation above) and Ass. Mos. x. 5, "(luna) *tota convertet se in sanguinem*," we have a very remarkable parallel in our text. The passage in Ass. Mos. appears to be directly dependent on the text of Joel save that it adds *tota*. Now our text, while it gives a free rendering of the Hebrew behind both passages (יהפך לדם), embodies the addition of ὅλη in the Ass. Mos. This might be a coincidence, but it seems to be more. Our author may not improbably have had the text of this book before him in some form; for the Ass. Mos. x. 4–5 contains references to earthquakes, the eclipse of the sun, the ensanguining of the moon, and the disorder of the stars: "Et tremebit terra . . . sol non dabit lumen . . . et (luna) tota convertet se in sanguinem et orbis stellarum conturbabitur." In any case he is not dependent on the LXX. For the expectation in Babylonian literature that the sun and moon would be darkened, see Zimmern, *K.A.T.*^{3} 393.

13. καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὡς συκῆ βάλλει τοὺς ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου μεγάλου σειομένη, 14. καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον ἑλισσόμενον. This passage appears to be based on Isa. xxxiv. 4, *καὶ τακήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἑλιγήσεται ὡς βιβλίον ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται ὡς φύλλα . . . ἀπὸ συκῆς*. If this is so, then our author may seem dependent on the LXX, since the Massoretic has יִבּוֹל, "will fade," and not יפול = *πεσεῖται*, but that Symmachus also has *πεσεῖται*. This clause is found also in Matt. xxiv. 29, *καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; also in Sibyll. iii. 83, *καὶ πέσεται πολύμορφος ὅλος πόλος ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ*, ii. 202, viii. 190; and the same expectation in the Bundehesh xxx. 18 (Böklen, p. 87).

The world and its wellbeing depend on the faithfulness with which the luminaries of heaven fulfil their parts. The unvarying order and loyalty with which they do so was a favourite theme with apocalyptic writers: cf. 1 Enoch ii. 1, xli. 5, xliii. 2, lxix. 16 sqq.; T. Naph. iii. 2; Pss. Sol. xviii. 11–14; 4 Ezra vi. 45. When, then, the sun and moon and stars forsook this order, the end of the world was at hand. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxx. 5, 6; 4 Ezra v. 4, 5; Sibyll. iii. 801 sq.

The darkening of the sun and the ensanguining of the moon and the falling of the stars in our text, have a like significance.[1]

The mention of the fig-tree appears to be due wholly to Isa. xxxiv. 4, and to have no connection with Matt. xxiv. 32 and its parallels. *ὄλυνθος = τὸ μὴ πεπεμμένον σῦκον* (Hesychius). The figure in *ἀπεχωρίσθη . . . ἑλισσόμενον* is that of a papyrus rent in two, whereupon the divided portions curl and form a roll on either side. With this clause we might compare 2 Pet. iii. 10, *οἱ οὐρανοὶ ῥοιζηδὸν παρελεύσονται*, though the thought is here different. An excellent parallel appears in Sibyll. iii. 82, *οὐρανὸν ἑλίξῃ, καθ' ἅπερ βιβλίον εἱλεῖται.* Cf. viii. 233, 413. In the O.T. the heavens are said to be "shaken" and "rent" (קרע): cf. Isa. xiii. 13, lxiii. 19; Hagg. ii. 6, 21.

καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν. This statement recurs in xvi. 20, *πᾶσα νῆσος ἔφυγεν, καὶ ὄρη οὐχ εὑρέθησαν.* No real parallel has hitherto been found for these words. Nah. i. 5 is adduced by some, and Jer. iv. 24 by others, but neither is at all likely. Such cosmic phenomena must in their original context have been *immediate* precursors of the end; but as they are not such in our author, the words are not to be taken literally.

15. καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες καὶ οἱ χιλίαρχοι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ πᾶς δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἔκρυψαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς πέτρας τῶν ὀρέων. With the above enumeration compare xiii. 16, xix. 18. The number of classes in our text is seven—a favourite number with our author. It includes every one from the emperor down to the slave. For similar enumerations see Jub. xxiii. 19; 2 Bar. lxx. 3, 4, 6, though these are mentioned in connection with what is given in our text under the second Seal.

With the thought of 15–16 cf. Luke xxi. 26, *ἀποψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ φόβου καὶ προσδοκίας τῶν ἐπερχομένων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται.* The *βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς* (cf. xvii. 2, 18, xviii. 3, 9; Isa. xxiv. 21) are the heads of the heathen nations. The *μεγιστᾶνες* are probably here to be identified with the Parthian princes (cf. Mommsen, v. 343 sq.). So Holtzmann and Bousset. The word is used six times in Theodotion's translation of Daniel as a rendering of רַבְרְבָן, who were an order of great nobles and court officials under Belshazzar and Darius. Swete takes them to be civil officials, *i.e.* the persecuting proconsuls. As distinguished from the Parthian nobles we have the Roman military tribunes referred to in *οἱ χιλίαρχοι.*

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[1] Gressmann (*Ursprung d. Isr.-Jüd. Eschat.* 27–28) traces back the ideas in our text and such as underlie Isa. xxxiv. 4 to the mythical conception of a heavenly tree with the stars as its fruit and the sirocco which casts them to the ground.

With *ἔκρυψαν ἑαυτούς κτλ.* cf. Isa. ii. 10, 18 sq., *εἰσέλθετε εἰς τὰς πέτρας καὶ κρύπτεσθε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ φόβου κυρίου. . . . καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα πάντα κατακρύψουσιν, εἰσενέγκαντες εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν πετρῶν.* See also Isa. ii. 21; Jer. iv. 29.

With 15–16 cf. 1 Enoch lxii. 3, "And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty, | And the exalted and those who hold the earth, | And they shall see and recognize How He sits on the throne of His glory"; lxii. 4, "Then shall pain come upon them as upon a woman in travail . . ."; lxii. 5, "and they shall be terrified." Cf. also lxii. 9, lxiii. 1.

16. καὶ λέγουσιν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ ταῖς πέτραις· Πέσατε ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνιοῦ. These words are drawn from Hos. x. 8, where the LXX has *ἐροῦσιν τοῖς ὄρεσιν Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς Πέσατε ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς.* Here our text differs from the LXX in its renderings, *λέγουσιν, πέτραις, κρύψατε*, and in the order of its verbs. This order is found also in Luke xxiii. 30, where this quotation is given: *ἄρξονται λέγειν τοῖς ὄρεσιν Πέσατε ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς.* It may not be necessary to assume an independent translation of Hos. x. 8 here, but only the use of a current collection of eschatological passages, or a collection of the sayings of our Lord. Either of these hypotheses would account for the inversion of the order of the verbs. The use of *κρύψατε* and *πέτραις* could be accounted for by the occurrence of these words in 15.

Against the genuineness of the clause, *καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου*, Vischer, 40; Spitta, 78; Weyland, 150; Völter, i. 51, iv. 22; J. Weiss, 64, and others have variously urged that elsewhere in the Apocalypse the Lamb has always a peaceful rôle, whereas the wrath of God is frequently spoken of: xi. 18, xiv. 10, 19, xv. 7, xvi. 1, 19, xix. 15. Further, that six verses earlier, *i.e.* vi. 10, where the martyrs cry for judgment, God and not the Lamb is addressed; and that this is so in the present passage is shown by the *αὐτοῦ* in 17. Spitta urges that the words disturb the unity of the situation, since in iv.–vi. God is the Judge on the throne, whereas the Lamb appears elsewhere in these chapters before the throne, surrounded by angels. J. Weiss regards the clause as a later addition of the final editor, according to whose view the enmity of the Beast is directed against the Lamb and His followers, xvii. 14–15.

Two rejoinders have been made to the above arguments. 1. The clause is to be retained; for the Lamb is the central figure of this chapter. Since He opens the Sealed Book, He is in a certain sense the cause of the woes that follow: it is Christ that pronounces the great *κατάρα* in Matt. xxv. 41 sqq. on the wicked, and the irregular *αὐτοῦ*, where we should expect *αὐτῶν*, has its parallel in 1 Thess. iii. 11, where sing. verb follows *ὁ θεός . . . καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν*: moreover, God and Christ are set on an equality by our author, i. 17, 18, xxii. 13. See Hirscht, 58 sq.

2. The clause is to be retained; for the *αὐτοῦ* refers not to God, but to the Lamb only. So Bousset.

It is perhaps best to accept the clause on the second ground. The Messiah was expected to be the judge of the world in Judaism, 1 Enoch lxix. 27: our author, who took a far higher view of His Person, regarded Him in the same light, xxii. 12.

17. ὅτε ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι. The verse seems to be based on Joel ii. 11, *μεγάλη ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου . . . καὶ ἐπιφανὴς σφόδρα, καὶ τίς ἔσται ἱκανὸς αὐτῇ* (יְכִילֶנּוּ): ii. 31^b, *πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην*. That our author had the Hebrew of these passages before his mind may be inferred also from the fact that in 12 he has already borrowed from Joel ii. 31^a directly or indirectly.

In Zeph. ii. 2 we have another close parallel, *πρὸ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ὀργὴν κυρίου, πρὸ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἡμέραν θυμοῦ κυρίου*. To the last clause in our verse, the original of which is probably in Joel ii. 11 (see above), we have further parallels in Nah. i. 6, *ἀπὸ προσώπου ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ τίς ὑποστήσεται καὶ τίς ἀντιστήσεται ἐν ὀργῇ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ*. "The great day" and equivalent phrases are very frequent in Enoch and later Jewish literature: see Bousset, *Religion d. Judenthums*, 246; Volz, *Jud. Eschat.* 188; 1 Enoch xlv. 2 (note in my edition).

This verse expresses the alarm of the conscience-stricken inhabitants of the earth, but not the thought of our author.

The woes already past, which had hitherto been regarded as the immediate forerunners of "the great day," might well have justified such a cry of despair; but our author teaches that the end is not yet; the roll of the martyrs is not yet complete; the unbelieving world has worse woes still to encounter.

With *τίς δύναται σταθῆναι;* we might contrast the picture in vii. 9 sqq. of the innumerable host standing (*ἑστῶτας*) before God.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON VI. 11.

ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς στολὴ λευκή. It is best to give at the outset the interpretation of the στολὴ λευκή that can be justified by Jewish and Early Christian literature, and this is that the στολὴ λευκή signifies the spiritual bodies which were forthwith given to the martyrs, but not to the rest of the faithful departed till after the Final Judgment. Attempts have been made by Böklen (*Verwandtschaft d. jüdisch-christlichen mit d. Parischen Eschatologie*, pp. 61–62) to find this conception in the Zend-Avesta (Yasht xiii. 49 sq.: see *S.B.E.* xxiii. 192–193[1]), but it cannot be regarded as successful. In the Pahlavi literature (8th cent. A.D. or later) to which he appeals (p. 62), there is a doctrine approximating, but only approximating, to that of our author: see Bund. xxx. 28 (*S.B.E.* v. 127). "This too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship, and has ordered no Geti-kharid, and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there; and he performs the worship of Aûharmazd, and † the heavenly angels provide him the use of clothing †." Cf. also Dâdistân-î Dînîk, xliii. 19 (*S.B.E.* xviii. 149 sq.), and Sad Dar, lxxxviii. 2–6 (*S.B.E.* xxiv. 351). There is therefore no evidence to prove that Judaism or Christianity is beholden to the Zend religion for this doctrine.

We now return to pre-Christian and later Judaism, where we find this view undoubtedly prevalent.

In Ps. civ. 2, "Thou clothest Thyself with light as with a garment," we find one of the sources of the conception with which we are dealing. Now as God was clothed in light, the risen faithful were likewise so conceived, as in 1 Enoch cviii. 12, "I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour." But since the light going forth from God was likewise the glory of God, the resurrection bodies of the righteous could be described as "garments of glory." Thus in 1 Enoch lxii. 16:

> "And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,
> And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits";

and in 2 Enoch xxii. 8, "And the Lord said to Michael: Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments . . . and put him into the garments of My glory." The garments are "white," as the white garment is a symbol of the light streaming forth from a supernatural being. Thus the raiment of the angels is "white," Mark ix. 3 (*τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ . . . λευκὰ λίαν*), xvi. 5 (*στολὴν λευκήν*); Acts i. 10 (*ἐσθήσεσιν λευκαῖς*), or "dazzling," Luke ix. 29 (*ὁ ἱματισμὸς αὐτοῦ λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων*), xxiv. 4 (*ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπτούσῃ*).

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[1] Here the departed souls revisiting the earth say: "Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss?" The clothes so given are supposed to clothe the soul in the next world. This idea is poles apart from that in our text, and yet Clemen (*Erklärung d. NT*, 135) and many other Germans accept this view without any attempt to consult the *S.B.E.*

So far we see that the bodies of the risen righteous were described as "garments of glory," *i.e.* the supernatural glory or light belonging to God Himself (2 Enoch xxii. 8), and that the garments of the angels in the N.T. are described in analogous terms as "white" or "dazzling." The angels are then apparently to be conceived of as having spiritual bodies. But the identification of the "white garments" or "white raiment" of the blessed with their spiritual bodies can be fully established. For in the Ascension of Isaiah (*circ.* 88–100 A.D., or 100–120 A.D. according to Beer) we have *a writing contemporary, or almost contemporary, with that of our author, which deals definitely with this question.* Thus in iv. 16 we read: "But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed . . . and He will clothe (*i.e.* reading ἐπενδύσει for ἐνισχύσει, which latter the Ethiopic presupposes) the saints who have been found in the body . . . in the garments of the saints." Again in viii. 14 we find: "When from the body . . . thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment which thou seest." For other references to these "garments" or spiritual bodies see vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 9, 17, 24–26, xi. 40. These garments were most probably termed ἐνδυμήματα in the lost Greek original, since this term is found in the *Greek Legend*, ii. 35, which is based on the Asc. Isa. See p. 145 of my edition of this work. From the Ascension we may proceed to Hermas, *Sim.* viii. 2. 3, ἱματισμὸν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν πάντες εἶχον λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιόνα, and 4 Ezra ii. 39, "Qui se de umbra saeculi transtulerunt, splendidas tunicas a domino acceperunt . . . 42. Ego Esdras vidi in monte Sion turbam magnam, quam numerare non potui . . . 44–45. Tunc interrogavi angelum et dixi: Qui sunt hi, Domine? Qui respondens dixit mihi: Hi sunt qui mortalem tunicam deposuerunt et immortalem sumpserunt."

From the evidence given in the preceding paragraph we conclude that, in the circles best fitted to understand apocalyptic symbols, the symbolism of the white garments from 88 or thereabouts to 200 A.D. was clearly understood as given above. We may now return to the N.T., to the Pauline Epistles, and our author. That St. Paul held analogous beliefs though he expressed them somewhat differently, is clear from 1 Cor. xv. 44, where he distinguishes the σῶμα ψυχικόν from the σῶμα πνευματικόν, the latter of which is said (xv. 49) to be "the likeness of the heavenly" (τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου). This heavenly body he calls in 2 Cor. v. 1 an οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ . . . οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς: in the next verse he defines it as τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, being clothed with which we shall not be found naked (ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθησόμεθα). Finally he declares (Phil. iii. 21) that this body of our humiliation will be fashioned anew so as to be conformed to the body of His (*i.e.* Christ's) glory (σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ). Here the σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ[1] denotes the same thing as the "garments of glory" in 1 Enoch lxii. 16, though the form of expression is different.

Let us next examine the views of our author on this question. In this connection he uses two words, στολή and ἱμάτιον. Since the meaning is less clear with regard to ἱμάτιον we shall begin with στολή.

First of all, in vi. 11, when the souls under the altar appealed for judgment on their oppressors, a στολὴ λευκή (*i.e.* a spiritual body) was given to each, and they were bidden to rest till their fellow-servants on earth should suffer martyrdom even as they had. Here there is no definite answer given to their collective cry for retribution, but a definite boon is accorded—even the gift of spiritual bodies. But thereby their complete blessedness is not yet fulfilled. This cannot be accomplished till all the faithful have finished their warfare on earth. They are not to enjoy perfect blessedness till the roll of the martyrs is complete and the Millennial Kingdom established on the earth. In this kingdom they are to reign with Christ for 1000 years (xx. 4), sitting on His throne (*i.e.* sharing in His authority), iii. 21 (cf. Luke xxii. 29, 30; Matt. xix. 28), and to be crowned as victors in the strife on earth, ii. 10, iii. 11 (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8). We might compare with our author's expectation Asc. Isa. ix. 9, where the Seer sees all the righteous from Adam onwards "stript of the garments of the flesh" (= τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐνδυμήματα, cf. *Greek Legend*, ii. 33) and clothed in "their garments of the upper world," and appearing "like angels." 10. "But they sat not on their thrones, nor were their crowns of glory on them. 11. And I asked the angel who was with me: How is it that they have received the garments but not the thrones and the crowns? 12, 13. And he said unto me: Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive till the Beloved" has descended into the world and reascended (17–18). Here, though the time limit differs, the idea is similar. The idea in our text is that of the solidarity of the Church of the Martyrs. That of the entire Church, Jewish and Christian, is well set forth in Heb. xi. 39–40, "These all . . . received not the promise, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect."

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[1] It is noteworthy that this idea of a resurrection body of glory or light is used in a purely spiritual sense in the Odes of Solomon:

Cf. Ode xi. 9–10. "I forsook the folly which is spread over the earth
And I stripped it off and cast it from me:
And the Lord renewed me in His raiment
And formed me by His light."
Ode xxi. 2. "I put off darkness and clothed myself with light,
And my soul acquired a body
Free from sorrow or affliction or pains."
Ode xxv. 7–8. "In me there shall be nothing but light,
And I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit,
And I cast away from me my raiment of skin."

Rendel Harris (*Odes of Solomon*, p. 67) points out that according to Rabbi Meir, Adam was originally clothed with "coats of light" (כתנות אוֹר), but that after the Fall he was clothed with "coats of skin" (כתנות עוֹר).

The *στολὴ λευκή* in vi. 11 is, then, clearly the spiritual bodies which are given by God to the martyrs, and according to our author to the martyrs only at this stage. This phrase used in connection with the glorified martyr host in heaven in vii. 9 (*ὄχλος πολὺς . . . περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς*) and in vii. 13 (*οὗτοι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκάς*) has, of course, the same meaning.

There are two other passages, vii. 14, xxii. 14, in which this phrase occurs, and which at first sight seem to place considerable difficulty in the way of the above interpretation. But the difficulty is more seeming than real. To solve it, however, we must turn to our author's use of *ἱμάτιον*[1] as a synonym of *στολή*, and likewise *βύσσινος*—a second synonym for *στολή*. Faithful discipleship in Christ provides the spirit with a spiritual body: otherwise it is *naked*, as we saw above in 2 Cor. v. 1–5. Now this spiritual body is the joint result of God's grace and man's faithfulness. It is, on the one hand, a divine gift: in iii. 18, where Christ declares in *συμβουλεύω σοι ἀγοράσαι παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ . . . ἱμάτια λευκὰ ἵνα περιβάλῃ καὶ μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητός σου* (cf. 2 Cor. v. 1–5), and most probably in iii. 5, *ὁ νικῶν οὕτως περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς*, and again in xix. 8, *ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάληται βύσσινον λαμπρὸν καθαρόν*. On the other hand, the spiritual body is in a certain sense the present possession of the faithful, and can, therefore, only be preserved through faithfulness: cf. iii. 4, ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν: xvi. 15, μακάριος ὁ . . . τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ. The faithful disciple will walk with Christ in white (ἐν λευκοῖς, *i.e.* will possess a spiritual body, iii. 4). These *promises* are *eschatological* and relate to the future. Christ may come at any hour (iii. 3), and according to the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of His disciples, so will they be clothed or naked hereafter.

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[1] In iv. 4 the *ἱματίοις λευκοῖς* are the spiritual bodies of the Elders, which they have as heavenly beings. In xix. 14, *ἐνδεδυμένοι βύσσινον λευκὸν καθαρόν*, and in xv. 6, *ἐνδεδυμένοι λίθον καθαρὸν λαμπρόν*, the heavenly bodies of the angels are referred to in any case, even if there is a secondary reference to their white garments. In xix. 13, 16 *ἱμάτιον* is apparently used in its literal sense. See footnote on p. 82.

It must be confessed that iii. 4 (ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν) taken in and by itself could be interpreted as relating wholly to the spiritual experience of the Christian in the present; but the clause that follows is against this, being purely eschatological, καὶ περιπατήσουσιν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς, and still more so is the next verse. The being clothed in white garments is the result of faithfulness unto death (ὁ νικῶν). The "nakedness" in iii. 18, xvi. 15, is, as we have seen, the same thing as in 2 Cor. v. 1–5, and denotes the loss of the spiritual body.

Now let us return to vii. 14, xxii. 14 (οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν). If it is possible to defile the heavenly body (iii. 4), or even to destroy it (iii. 18, xvi. 15), it is no less possible to cleanse it (vii. 14, xxii. 14) and make it white (λευκαίνειν, vii. 14) in the blood of the Lamb.

Thus to sum up. The present life of faith has within it the promise and the potency of a blessed immortality of the soul endowed with an organism (symbolized in our author by στολὴ λευκή or ἱμάτιον λευκόν) adapted to its spiritual environment. Every true Christian has potentially and actually this spiritual body, which he can defile (iii. 4) or cleanse (vii. 14, xxii. 14) and make white (vii. 14), or destroy wholly (iii. 18, xvi. 15). Every act of the present life is thus linked up inexorably with the future. Moreover, while it is true on the one hand that God bestows on us the spiritual body (iii. 18, vi. 11), it is equally true on the other that we have our share in the creation of this body (iii. 4, xvi. 15), through the fellowship of our spirit with that of Christ, and can destroy alike its possibilities and itself by unfaithfulness to Christ (iii. 18, xvi. 15).

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. In the preceding three chapters there has been continuous movement, and the Seer has placed before his readers a progressive drama, advancing in a series of visions, dealing in iv. with God the Creator of the world and the Source of all goodness and power and glory therein, and in v. with Christ the Redeemer, who, by undertaking the opening of the seven-sealed book, had thereby taken upon Himself the destinies of the world and the fulfilment of God's purposes; and in vi. with the opening of the first six Seals, which were followed by a succession of social and cosmic woes. But to this divine drama, moving onwards inexorably and ceaselessly, there comes a pause in vii. The preceding Seals (the first four and the sixth) had been purely physical and had affected all men alike; but the three Woes, each heralded by a trumpet blast, were to be of a demonic character and to affect only the inhabiters of the earth—"such men as had not the seal of God on their foreheads" (ix. 4). Hence to secure the faithful against these impending demonic woes a pause is made (vii. 1–3), and during it the living faithful—Jew and Gentile alike—and so far the spiritual Israel, are marked with the seal of the Living God (vii. 4–8). There is thus a pause in the movement of the divine drama in vii. 1–8, but in vii. 9–17 there is more: there is an actual breach in that unity of time which has been so carefully observed in iv.–vii. 8. But this breach (and it recurs under like circumstances later) is purposeful. The faithful have indeed been sealed in vii. 4–8, but since this sealing does not secure them against physical suffering and martyrdom, to encourage and inspire them in the face of these impending evils the Seer recounts that wonderful vision in vii. 9–17 in which, looking to the close of the great tribulation, he beholds those who had been sealed and had died the martyr's death already standing blessed and triumphant before the throne of God.

§ 2. This chapter presents many difficult questions. Owing to the apparently Jewish or Jewish-Christian character of vii. 1–8, and the universalistic character of vii. 9–17, critics have for the most part decided against the unity of the chapter. While Spitta makes vii. 9–17 the immediate sequel and actual close of i.–vi. (*i.e.* of "the original Christian Apocalypse," and assigns vii. 1–8 to J 1 (the first Jewish source), Völter, Vischer, Pfleiderer (1st ed.), Schmidt, regard vii. 9–17 as an interpolation in a Jewish-Christian or Jewish groundwork. Others again seek to reconstruct the original by making certain excisions. Thus Erbes removes vii. 4–8, 13–17, as additions from a Jewish source; while Weyland strikes out certain phrases in vii. 9, 10, 14, 17; and Rauch deletes vii. 13, 14 wholly, as well as certain phrases in vii. 9, 10, as additions of a Christian reviser.

But a more excellent way of dealing with the text is taken by Weizsäcker, Sabatier, Schoen, Holtzmann, Bousset, Wellhausen, Porter, Scott, Moffatt, who maintain the relative unity of the chapter, and regard vii. 1–8 either as the work of our author or as incorporated by him in his text and adapted thereto. Sabatier, Holtzmann, Hirscht, and Bousset interpret vii. 1–8 as referring to Jewish, and vii. 9–17 to Gentile-Christians; while Reuss, Bovon, Schoen, Porter, Wellhausen, and Moffatt interpret the two passages as describing the same body under different conditions. My own studies have led me independently to the same view, though with a difference.

So far we have recorded in briefest form the conclusions of scholars on the critical structure of this chapter. We must now proceed to discuss the questions in detail, and first of all the relation of vii. 9–17 to the rest of the Apocalypse, since this is the easiest.

§ 3. *vii. 9–17 is from the hand of our author.* For (*a*) it proclaims the absolute universalism of Christianity, as does the entire Apocalypse so far as it comes from his hand. (*b*) Its diction and idiom are those of our author. Here the evidence is conclusive.

9. μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδού. So iv. 1 (see note *in loc.*). ὃν . . . αὐτόν—Hebraism. Cf. iii. 8, xii. 6, xiii. 8, 12, xx. 8. ὄχλος πολύς. So xix. 1, 6, in same connection. ἔθνους κ. φυλῶν κ. λαῶν κ. γλωσσῶν. Cf. v. 9. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου (also vii. 15). So iv. 5, 6, 10, vii. 15, viii. 3, etc. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐν. τοῦ ἀρνίου (cf. vii. 10). So xxii. 1, 3. περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς (also vii. 13). So vi. 11 (note).

10. κράζουσι φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. So vi. 10, x. 3, xiv. 15 (xviii. 2), xix. 17. ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ. So xix. 1.

καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. (See exceptional use in 15.) So iv. 2 (see note *in loc.*). The peculiar use of *ἐπί* after the participle is that of our author—*ἐπί* with dative after the dative participle and *ἐπὶ* with the accusative after the nominative participle.

11. κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων. So iv. 4 (note).

ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον. Cf. iv. 10.

ἔπεσαν . . . ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ. So xi. 16 (word for word).

12. ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα κτλ. Seven members. Cf. the doxology addressed to the Lamb in v. 12, with seven members.

13. περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολάς. See under 9.

14. τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης. Cf. ii. 22.

ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν. Here and in xxii. 14 only.

τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου. Cf. xii. 11 (i. 5, v. 9).

15. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. See under 10.

λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ. Cf. xxii. 3.

ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τοῦ θρόνου †. This construction is exceptional—a primitive scribal error (?); see note on iv. 2.

σκηνώσει ἐπὶ αὐτούς. Cf. xxi. 3, *σκηνώσει μετ᾽ αὐτῶν.*

16. καῦμα. Here and in xvi. 9 only in N.T.

17. τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου. Cf. v. 6.

ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων. Cf. xxi. 6 (cf. xxii. 1, 17).

ἐξαλείψει . . . πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. So xxi. 4 (word for word).

From the above evidence it follows that vii. 9–17 is from the hand of our author.

§ 4. We have now to deal with vii. 1–8.

vii. 1–8 is derived from independent Jewish sources, which have however, been recast in the diction of our author.

I. *The diction is that of our author.*

VII. 1.[1] **μετὰ τοῦτο εἶδον** (see iv. 1, note). **ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς . . . γωνίας.** So ἵστημι with ἐπί and acc. in iii. 20, viii. 3 (AP An), xi. 11, xii. 18, xiv. 1, xv. 2; except when followed by ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (on these see next clause): in xix. 17 with ἐν, but in a different sense. **πνέῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπὶ πᾶν δένδρον.** We should expect either accusatives throughout or genitives; but our author uses εἰς τὴν γῆν or uses ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and never ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, except in xiv. 16—an interpolation. Hence this clause exhibits a characteristic usage.

2. καὶ εἶδον. See iv. 1 note. **θεοῦ ζῶντος.** See note on p. 128. **ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου**: cf. xvi. 12. **ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ**—frequent in the Apocalypse, but only in xiv. 15 is it followed as here by the dative of the persons addressed. **οἷς . . . αὐτοῖς**, a Hebraism; see on ὃν . . . αὐτόν, above. **ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι.** For this construction cf. ii. 7, iii. 21, xiii. 7, 15, xvi. 8.

ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν = "to *hurt* the earth." Outside the Apocalypse this use of ἀδικεῖν is not found elsewhere in the N.T. except Luke x. 19, but it is frequent in our text; cf. ii. 11, vi. 6, ix. 4, 10, 19, xi. 5 (*bis*).

3. τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Cf. vii. 10, 12, xii. 10, xix. 1, 5 (θεός μου, iii. 2, 12 (ii. 7 [?])). **ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων.** This phrase is characteristic. Our author uses ἐπί in this phrase with the genitive if the noun is in the plural: cf. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4, but with the acc. if the noun is in the singular: cf. xiii. 16, xvii. 5, xx. 4, except in xiv. 9.

II. *The subject-matter of vii. 1–8 is borrowed from Jewish sources.*

Behind vii. 1–8 there are possibly two independent traditions or documents—the one relating to the four winds and the other to the sealing of the 144,000.

(*a*) *vii. 1–3 from a Jewish source, which has not apparently undergone any essential transformation.* The letting loose by the four angels of these destructive winds[2] was, as the text implies, to take place after the sealing of the faithful had been accomplished, or at all events shortly before the end. And yet these four angels and these four winds are not directly referred to again.[1] Hence we conclude, as already other critics have done, that our author has here used fragmentarily an older tradition. For the existence of the tradition in various forms, later evidence can be adduced.[2] The various elements in our text can be

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[1] κρατεῖν is used in the sense of "holding in check" in 1—a meaning not elsewhere found in the Apocalypse. In ii. 13, 14, 15, 25, iii. 11, it means "hold fast," *i.e.* "keep carefully." **πνέῃ** here only in our author.

[2] Compare the onset of these winds on the sea in the little Apocalypse—Luke xxi. 25, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἠχοῦς θαλάσσης καὶ σάλου.

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[1] I have shown in the note on ix. 14 that there are many grounds for believing that in their original context these winds at the bidding of the four angels brought plagues of natural locusts from the corners of the earth. In ix. 1 sqq., however, a plague, not of natural, but of demonic locusts arises from the pit, and, as such, not subject to the four angels, but to the angel of the abyss. Thus vii. 1–3 prepares the way, though indirectly, for ix. 1–13.

[2] First of all we find analogous situations in Jewish Apocalyptic. In vii. 1–3 we are told that a *pause* in the judgments is commanded in order that during this pause the faithful may be sealed. Similarily in 1 Enoch a like pause takes place before the Deluge for the preservation of Noah and his family. Thus in lxvi. 1–2 it is said, "And after that he showed me the angels of punishment, who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters, which are beneath in the earth, in order to bring judgment and destruction on all who dwell on the earth. 2. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause the waters to rise, but should hold them in check; for those angels are over the powers of the waters." From lxvii. it becomes clear that the object of this pause is to give time for the building of the Ark. For another like pause and, as regards the form of the tradition, a very remarkable parallel, we should compare 2 Bar. vi. 4 sqq., "And I beheld, and, lo! four angels standing at the four corners of the city, each of them holding a torch of fire in his hands." 5. And another angel descended from heaven and said unto them: 'Hold your torches, and do not light them till I tell you.'" Here we have four angels standing at the four corners of Jerusalem, ready to destroy it, and a fifth angel bidding them pause and not destroy it till the sacred vessels of the Temple were secured and hidden away, vi. 7.

Independent developments of traditions relating to the four winds or probably independent traditions are to be found in later Apocalypses, as Bousset has pointed out; but these are not derived from our text. For the purpose of the four winds in our text is *to destroy the earth*, and the life thereon, *before the judgment*, whereas in the later Apocalypses the purpose of the four winds is *to cleanse the earth after the judgment.* Cf. the pseudo-Johannine Apoc. 15, *τότε ἀποβουλλώσω* (="I will unseal") *τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ ἐξέλθωσιν τέσσαρες ἄνεμοι μεγάλοι καὶ ἐκλείψωσιν ἅπαν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, καὶ λευκανθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὥσπερ χιών* (MS F): the Syriac Apoc. Peter: "Therefore I will order the four winds and they shall be let loose one in the direction of the other. And when the sea-wind is let loose, there arises brimstone before it; and when the south wind is let loose, there arises a flaming fire before it; and when the west wind is let loose, the mountains and the rocks are cleft in twain." Cf. also Sibyll. viii. 204 sqq.: *πολλῇ δέ τε λαίλαπι θύων γαῖαν ἐρημώσει· νεκρῶν δ' ἐπανάστασις ἔσται.* (These quotations are from Bousset, p. 280.)

Now these latter passages do not appear to be based on our text, but all seem to be derived from an older tradition, which has its foundation in the O.T. and in 1 Enoch lxxvi. First of all, the sirocco or south-east wind (סערת יהוה, Jer. xxiii. 19, and קדים רוח יהוה, Hos. xiii. 15) was regarded as a special manifestation of God: Nah. i. 3; Zech. ix. 14. It is His chariot, Jer. iv. 13; Isa. lxxvi. 15, it is His breath, Job xxxvii. 10. It rends the satisfactorily explained from the tradition as we see from footnote [2] on preceding page.

The episode in vii. 1–3 is introduced because a new order of plagues is about to ensue, and a pause must be made in order that during it the faithful may be sealed before this new order of plagues, *i.e.* the demonic, sets in.

(*b*) *vii. 4–8 is from a Jewish or Jewish-Christian source.*

(α) *The 144,000 were Jews or Jewish-Christians in the original tradition.*—For since the tribes are definitely mentioned one by one, and the number sealed in each tribe is definitely fixed (even though symbolically), the twelve tribes can only have meant the literal Israel in the original tradition.

Thus Jewish particularism was the central idea of this section.[1]

(β) *This tradition was thus originally a purely Jewish one, and recalls Ex. xii. 7, 13, 23 sq.; Ezek. ix. 3 sq.; but if the order of the tribes in our text is the same as that in the source used by our author, then this source was probably Jewish Christian and a recast of the original Jewish tradition.*—In favour of this view might be adduced the remarkable order in which the tribes are given, Judah being put in the first place and Levi in the eighth.[2]

Now in the twenty different arrangements of the tribes in the O.T. (cf. *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 5207 sqq.; Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 810 sqq.) Judah is found first in two, *i.e.* those in Num. ii., vii., x., and in 1 Chron. ii. 3–viii., xii. But Judah is first in the latter on purely geographical grounds (see Buchanan Gray, *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 5204),

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mountains and the rocks, 1 Kings xix. 11; it withers up the grass, Isa. xl. 7, 24; and dries up the stream and river and sea, Nah. i. 4; Ps. xviii. 15, cvi. 9. Next the sirocco becomes an element in the eschatological expectations of Israel: Ps. lxxxiii. 14; Amos i. 14; Isa. xxxiv. 4: it is to destroy the enemies of God, Jer. xxiii. 19, xxx. 23; Hos. xiii. 14 sq. (See Gressmann, *Isr.-Jüd. Eschat.* 20 sqq.)

This conception of the sirocco prepares us for a similar conception of "the four winds." These are mentioned in a topographical sense in Zech. ii. 6, but in vi. 5 as God's servants which present themselves before Him and execute His vengeance.

In this sense it is already a technical conception; they come as His ministers of judgment from the four ends of heaven, Jer. xlix. 36; they break forth on the sea, Dan. vii. 2. In 1 Enoch xxxiv. 3, lxxvi. 4, they come from the four corners and are bearers of plagues, two from each corner. The winds are conceived as having "spirits," 1 Enoch lxix. 22; Jub. ii. 2.

[1] The omission of the tribe of Dan would also point to the Jewish origin of the tradition. According to a 1st cent. B.C. fragment, *i.e.* Test. Dan v. 6–7, Satan is said to be the prince of Dan. For other evidence on this connection of Dan with the Antichrist see my notes (*op. cit.* v. 6–7).

[2] Buchanan Gray (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 5209) conjectures that 5–6 should be transposed after 8. This transposition makes the text normal (see note under vii. 5–8 (Judah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Zebulun from Leah, etc.)). There are still the two outstanding irregularities to which we have drawn attention, the omission of Dan (Jewish), and the setting of Judah at the head of the list (Jewish-Christian).

and in the former, because of its pre-eminence among the tribes, is assigned this leading position in the camp, Levi being omitted in this warlike disposition of the tribes.[1] But after the return from the Captivity Levi gradually acquired a predominant influence among the tribes, and after the Maccabean rising took the lead even of Judah. While, on the other hand, in Jub. xxviii. 11 sqq. the twelve sons of Jacob are enumerated in accordance with the date of their birth, and in xxxiv. 20 and in the order of the books of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs are grouped according to their respective mothers and the groups arranged in order of birth; on the other hand, in the rest of the Testaments when Judah and Levi are mentioned together, as they frequently are, Levi is *always* placed first, unless in the Christian interpolations and the MSS manipulated by Christian scribes, where Judah is set before Levi (see my note on Test. of XII Patr., p. 13). The reason for this change is obvious from this standpoint: Christ was sprung from Judah. Since, therefore, in our text Judah is placed first, it is to be inferred either that the list of the twelve tribes had undergone a Jewish-Christian transformation, and that it was this Jewish-Christian recension that our author made use of, or that our author made this change himself.

§ 5. *The sealing of the faithful in our text does not mean* (*a*) *preservation from physical evil, nor* (*b*) *from spiritual apostasy, but* (*c*) *from demonic and kindred influences under the coming reign of Antichrist.*

(*a*) *The sealing of the faithful* in the original tradition meant preservation from physical evil and death, as in Ex. xii. 7, 13, 22 sq., and Ezek. ix. 3 sq.[2] This Judaistic conception of preservation from physical evil is found also in the Little Jewish Apocalypse in the Gospels: cf. Mark xiii. 17–20; Matt. xxiv. 20–22.

That it was indeed a current Jewish expectation we see in part from the N.T. references just given, and we know that it was such from a 1st cent. B.C. authority. From Pss. Sol. xv. 8, 10—an eschatological psalm—we learn that "the sign of the Lord is to be upon the righteous unto their salvation" (*τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ δικαίους εἰς σωτηρίαν*), and that accordingly "famine and the sword and pestilence were to be far from the righteous" (*λιμὸς καὶ ῥομφαία καὶ θάνατος ἀπὸ δικαίων μακράν*). The contrast between the expectation in our text and in this psalm could not be greater. In the psalm the sign is placed on the brows of the righteous to secure them from the eschatological woes *that follow*; in our text the sign is not placed *till after these very woes had taken place.* In xv. 6, 7 of the same psalm the righteous are promised immunity from all the evils which are sent against the ungodly in the last days. Moreover, as the psalmist expected a sign to be impressed on the brows of the saints, so he declares, xv. 10, that "the sign of destruction will be set on the foreheads of the sinners" (τὸ γὰρ σημεῖον τῆς ἀπωλείας ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτῶν), and that accordingly "famine and the sword and pestilence" "would pursue and overtake the sinners" (xv. 8, 9), and that they would "perish in the day of judgment of the Lord for ever" (xv. 13).

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[1] Except Num. ii. 17, where the Levites encamp in the centre.

[2] In Shabbath, 55^a, we have an haggadic interpretation of this verse: "God said to Gabriel: Go and impress on the forehead of the righteous a mark of ink, רשום על מצחו של צדיקים תיו של דיו שלא ישלטו בהם מלאכי חבלה, that the destroying angels may have no power over him; and on the foreheads of the godless a mark of blood, that the angels of destruction may have power over them."

If preservation from physical evil had been intended by our author, the sealing should have taken place before the first Seal[1] and not in the midst of the cosmic catastrophies of the sixth. Vitringa feels this so strongly that he maintains that vii. 1–8 belongs essentially before vi. 12–17, while Hengstenberg would place it before vi. Holtzmann (3rd ed., p. 449), while maintaining that "die furchtbaren Plagen der Endzeit sie (die Versiegelten) nicht treffen, und sie daher vom Verderben verschont bleiben," yet gives away his cause by admitting: "unerledigt bleibt allerdings die Frage, warum diese Versiegelung nicht vor das sechste Siegel . . . verlegt worden sei."

Yet Bousset (287 sq.) interprets the sealing in this sense, but admits the possibility of (*b*) being right, or indeed of both being alike right.[2]

(*b*) Now the consciousness of the wrongness of this interpretation led Düsterdieck to propound the view that *it is not from physical evil but from spiritual apostasy* under the last and greatest trials that should befall the world, *that the sealing is designed to secure the faithful.* But that this is not the immediate object of the sealing appears to follow from ix. 4, where the implication of the text is that it is from demonic agencies that the sealed are secured and not from physical evil in any form, from the visitations of nature, even the greatest at the end of the world. This last passage suggests the right interpretation of the text which follows in (*c*).

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[1] From the fact that the sealing does not take place before the first Seal, Erbes (p. 52) concludes that the first four Seals belong to the past and present, and that the sixth deals with the future. But even in that case the sealing should have taken place before the *sixth* Seal, if the sealing were intended to preserve from physical evil.

[2] The view that the 144,000 are Jewish Christians, can only be advocated on the ground that our author, as a Jewish Christian, believes profoundly in the spiritual prerogatives of this nation. But since our author holds also that martyrdom is the highest consummation of the Christian faith, and that the highest place in the future life awaits the martyrs, and that none but martyrs share in Christ's reign of 1000 years, he cannot at the same time entertain the belief that the elect 144,000 Jewish Christians are to be excluded from the supreme privilege of the faithful. On these and other grounds (see section 5) we conclude that the sealing does not exclude the possibility of martyrdom, and that the 144,000 include Gentile as well as Jewish Christians.

(*c*) *The sealing in our text secured the faithful against demonic agencies in the coming reign of Antichrist.*—As this reign, so full of superhuman horrors, was about to begin, the sealing was carried out just then and not earlier or later. This sealing did not secure against social or cosmic evils, nor yet against martyrdom, xviii. 24, but only against diabolic or demonic powers, as we see from ix. 4.[1] It is the special help that the faithful needed against the coming manifestation of Satanic wickedness linked with seemingly supreme power. With this help the weakest servant of God need not dread the mightiest of his spiritual foes. The seal of God engraven on his brow marked him as God's property, and as such ensured him God's protection. But it did not in itself secure him against spiritual apostasy. Against this Christ warns the elect in Matt. xxiv. 24, and requires of them unfailing endurance: Mark xiii. 13, ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται. If the elect bear with patience the natural trials incident to their faithful discipleship of Christ, then He will preserve them from the superhuman trials which are about to come on the whole world, as He promises in iii. 10 of our text: ὅτι ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, κἀγώ σε τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς μελλούσης ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης. The reasonableness of this view appears clearly from another standpoint. In the O.T., with its belief in a heathen Sheol, the righteous had to be recompensed on earth if they were to be recompensed at all—hence a long and happy life was the natural prerogative of the faithful. But in later times, and above all in the N.T., when the doctrine of a future life was fully and finally established, the centre of interest passed from things material to things spiritual. *Protection not from physical death*, *but from the demonic and Satanic enemies of the spirit*, became the supreme aim of the faithful. So far is it from being true that the faithful were secured by the sealing from physical death, that *it is distinctly stated that they should all suffer martyrdom* (xiii. 15).

The idea in another form appears in a contemporary writer, Clem. Rom. *ad Corinth.* lix. 2: αἰτησόμεθα, ἐκτενῆ τὴν δέησιν καὶ ἱκεσίαν ποιούμενοι, ὅπως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν κατηριθμημένον τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διαφυλάξῃ ἄθραυστον ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἁπάντων.

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[1] As the sealing of the faithful secured them against demonic agencies and temptations, so the seal of the Beast on the brow of his followers made them the inevitable victims of the deceit of the second Beast: see xix. 20.

The above interpretation has apparently been lost to Christendom for 1600 years or more.[1] The reason seems in part to have been that at a very early date the term σφραγίς was associated with baptism (cf. Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 16. 2–4). To baptism there is, of course, no allusion in our text, but baptism combined the two ideas here present: (1) it marked the baptized as God's (or Christ's property); (2) it secured the baptized against demonic powers. A very significant passage is to be found in the Acts of Thomas, 26, Δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν σφραγῖδα· ἠκούσαμεν γάρ σου λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ θεός . . . διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγῖδος ἐπιγινώσκει τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα. Here baptism is a seal: it is also the mark which distinguishes the believer from the unbeliever. For the passages designating baptism as σφραγίς—see 2 Clem. vii. 6, viii. 5–6; Acts of Thomas (p. 68, ed. Bonnet), τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ . . . πάρασχέ μοι σφραγῖδα καὶ . . . τὸ λοῦτρον λάβω τῆς ἀφθαρσίας: Acts of Paul, 28 = Martyrdom of Paul, 7; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 3. Other passages combine the ideas of a means of recognition and defence: Clem. *Eclog. Prophet.* 12, πληρωθέντων γὰρ τῶν κενῶν τότε ἡ σφραγὶς ἐπακολουθεῖ ἵνα φυλάσσηται τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἅγιον. *Excerpt ex Theod.* 80, διὰ γὰρ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος σφραγισθεὶς ἀνεπίληπτός ἐστι τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει: *ibid.* 86; Cyrill. *Cat.* i. 3, ἐκεῖ τὴν σωτηριώδη δίδωσι σφραγῖδα, τὴν θαυμασίαν, ἣν τρέμουσι δαίμονες καὶ γινώσκουσιν ἄγγελοι, ἵνα οἱ μὲν φύγωσιν ἐλασθέντες, οἱ δὲ περιέπωσιν ὡς οἰκεῖον: *ibid.* iii. 12. See Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, p. 334. In Lactantius the entire meaning attaching to the sealing in our text is attributed to Christian baptism. Thus in his *Instit. Divin.* iv. 26 he speaks of "Christ being slain for the salvation of all who have written on their foreheads the sign of blood—that is, the sign of the cross" ("signum sanguinis, id est crucis"). The presence of Christians bearing this sign when attending on their masters at a heathen sacrifice put to flight the gods of their masters, *i.e.* the demons (iv. 27: "cum enim quidam ministrorum nostri sacrificantibus dominis assisterent, imposito frontibus signo, deos illorum fugaverunt"). "But since (the demons) *can neither approach those in whom they have seen the heavenly mark*, nor *injure those whom the immortal sign* as an impregnable wall *protects*, they harass them by men and persecute them by the hands of others" ("sed quoniam neque accedere ad eos possunt, in quibus coelestem notam viderint, nec iis nocere, quos signum immortale munierit, tanquam inexpugnabilis murus, lacessunt eos per homines et manibus persequuntur alienis"). Here the sign of the cross discharges the very same function as the seal affixed to the forehead of the faithful in our text. This passage thus indirectly attests the right interpretation of the sealing in the Apocalypse.

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[1] J. Weiss (*Schriften des NTs.*^{2} ii. 634, 1908) might at first sight appear to have rediscovered this ancient and true interpretation ("der mit dem göttlichen Namen Geweihte ist mit ihm gefeit, geschützt gegen alle Feinde, gegen Dämonen und Teufel"); but this is not so. On the next page he writes: "Ihre Versiegelung bedeutet . . . sie sollen . . . von dem Martyrium bewahrt bleiben." Thus even J. Weiss holds that the sealing secures against physical death.

An inroad of diabolic agencies on Israel and a special strengthening of Israel against this invasion by Michael is predicted in Test. Dan vi. 1, 5, *προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων αὐτοῦ . . . αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης ἐνισχύσει τὸν Ἰσραὴλ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος κακῶν.* Cf. 2 Bar. xxvii. 9, where it is said that the final tribulation is to embrace "a multitude of portents and incursions of Shedim" (*i.e.* evil spirits).

The idea of sealing plays a large rôle in the Apocalypse. In vii. 2 sq., ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4 (here all the righteous are sealed) it is the servants of God who are sealed; but in xiii. 16 sq., xiv. 9, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4, the followers of the Beast, where the mark is engraven on the brow or right hand of the latter. This practice was apparently frequent among the earliest Christians. But it was current also in Judaism, as we have already seen from the Pss. of Solomon (see above, and compare Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 132 sqq., 143 sqq., 153, 174, 234), and also in O.T. times: cf. Isa. xliv. 5, "Another shall write on his hand: Unto the Lord"; Ezek. ix. 4. Even Yahweh Himself the prophet represents by an anthropomorphism as engraving Zion on the palms of His hands (Isa. xlix. 16). Yet this custom was strictly forbidden by the Law. Cf. Lev. xix. 28, xxi. 5, 6; Deut. xiv. 1. Clearly Isa. xliv. 5, xlix. 16, Ezek. ix. 4, saw no evil in it, if used in connection with the right persons. See Gal. vi. 17.[1]

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[1] This practice was prevalent in heathenism. Slaves were branded occasionally (see Wetstein's note on Gal. vi. 17), and soldiers sometimes branded themselves to show that they were in service and under the protection of their lords. But the true analogy to the practice in our text is that of slaves attached to some temple (*ἱερόδουλοι*), or individuals devoted to the service of some deity, whose persons were so branded. Thus Ptolemy IV. Philopator had the Alexandrian Jews branded with an ivy leaf, the sign of Dionysus, 3 Macc. ii. 29; and Philo, *De Monarch*, i. 8, reproaches apostate Jews for allowing their persons to be so branded, *ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν . . . καταστίζοντες.* There was a temple of Heracles at one of the mouths of the Nile, from which a fugitive slave who had once been branded with the sacred stigmata could not be reclaimed: cf. Herod. ii. 113, *Ἡρακλέος ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ ἢν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεῳ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἱρὰ ἑωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἅψασθαι*: Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* § 59, *στίζονται δὲ πάντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πάντες οἱ Ἀσσύριοι στιγματηφορέουσι*: Plutarch, *Lucull.* p. 507, *Βόες . . . Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν μάλιστα θεῶν οἱ πέραν βάρβαροι τιμῶσιν . . . χαράγματα φέρουσαι τῆς θεοῦ λαμπάδα.* See Wetstein and Lightfoot on Gal. vi. 17; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 334; Spencer, *Leg. Rit. Heb.* ii. 14. Heitmüller (*op. cit.* 184 sq.) points out how closely related were such beliefs in Babylon, Egypt, and Judea; and Giesebrecht (*Schätzung*, 86) regards the former as distinctly operative on Jewish beliefs (see Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des NT*, 184). Heitmüller

Finally, we find references to this sign on the forehead in the *Odes of Solomon* (ed. Rendel Harris, 1909), iv. 7, "For who is there that shall put on Thy grace to be hurt?" iv. 8, "For Thy seal is known, and Thy creatures know it, and Thy hosts rejoice (emended) in it; and the elect archangels are clad with it"; viii. 16, "Before they came into being I took knowledge of them, and on their faces I set My seal." The seal here does not seem to be used in an eschatological sense, but simply marks its bearer as God's property.

§ 6. *Chapter vii. refers only to the present generation of believers, first as militant on earth, vii. 1–8, and next as triumphant in heaven, vii. 9–17.*

It is obvious that vii. 1–8 deals only with the present generation of the faithful; for in the thought of the Seer it is only this generation that has to endure the last and greatest tribulation. To preserve it against the superhuman evils that are about to burst on the world, the progress of the plagues is stayed and the faithful are secured against such as are of a demonic character, being sealed as God's own possession.

It is no less obvious that the great host in vii. 9–17 does not embrace the whole Church, but *only those who had come* ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης. Not only on account of the definite article and the distinctive epithet τῆς μεγάλης, but also on account of the whole vision and its relation to the rest of the book, it is wholly inadmissible to interpret "the great tribulation" quite generally as any or every tribulation that is incident to the life of faithful discipleship.[1] "The great tribulation" is about to fall upon the present generation, and in vii. 9–17 are represented the great multitude which had come through it faithfully.

§ 7. *The 144,000 in the present context are* (*a*) *Christians belonging not to Israel after the flesh, but to the spiritual Israel,* (*b*) *and are in this respect the same as the 144,000 in xiv. 1–5.*

(*a*) We have seen above, § 4, II. (*b*), that these 144,000 were

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(*op. cit.* 333 sq.) connects the ideas of baptism and sealing. The name of Jesus marked the baptized as the property of Jesus, placed him under His protection, and assured him against alien powers. The name in this significance is a σφραγίς. Thence it becomes easy to designate baptism itself as a seal, though in this development the influences of the Greek Mysteries may have co-operated. But there is no reference to baptism in our text, although σφραγίζειν here and βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομά τινος in the N.T. have practically the same meaning. The design of "the sealing" and "the baptizing into the name of" is to show that the person so affected was the property of God or Christ.

[1] The scribe of A may have been conscious of the difficulty of the text and so read ἀπὸ θλίψεως μεγάλης. But ℵPQ and all the cursives agree in reading as above. Cf. Hermas, *Vis.* II. ii. 7, μακάριοι ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην—which is based partly on vii. 14 and iii. 10 of our book, and which testifies to the form of our text between 110–140 A.D.

Jews or Jewish Christians in the original tradition. That they are Jewish Christians in their present context is maintained by Düsterdieck, Holtzmann, Bousset, and others. These scholars hold that the 144,000, vii. 4–8, and the countless host, vii. 9–17, are not to be identified; for in the one case we have a definite number, in the other an indefinite one; in the one a multitude of all nations and peoples, in the other a definite number of Jewish Christians; in the one case the last great woe is still impending, in the other it is already surmounted and left behind. Now the last objection is of no weight. The vision in vii. 9–17 is proleptic. It prophesies the outcome of the present strife, and therefore the two visions presuppose different conditions—the one a phase of the Church militant, the other a phase of the Church triumphant. From this standpoint no objection can be maintained against the identity of the two groups under different conditions of time and place.

The other objections, when considered in the light of the thought which underlies the sealing of the faithful, lose forthwith any force they seemed to have. For since we have already seen that "the great tribulation" was about to come upon *the whole world* (iii. 10), that the essential danger connected with this tribulation was its demonic character, and that the sole object of the sealing was to preserve the faithful against demonic powers, it follows inevitably that *the sealing must be coextensive with the peril*, and must therefore embrace the entire Christian community, alike Jewish and Gentile. For the *necessary* grace of preservation from demonic influence cannot be accorded to the faithful descended from Israel according to the flesh and withheld from the faithful descended from Israel according to the spirit, in a work of so universalistic import as the Apocalypse. In other words, the 144,000 belong not to the literal but to the spiritual Israel, and are composed of all peoples and nations and languages.[1] From this standpoint the number 144,000 presents no difficulty. It is merely a symbolical and not a definite number. The real explanation of its appearance here is that it is a part of a tradition taken over by our author, and a part to which he attaches no definite significance in its new context. The part of the tradition with which he is concerned is the sealing. This element is of overwhelming significance. It is the measure adopted by God to secure His servants against the manifestation and for the time victorious self-assertion of the Satanic world. The other elements of the tradition, though taken into the text, are of the slightest concern, or of none at all, to our author. This is frequently his practice. We have already seen it in vii. 1–3, where the main idea is the *pause* which is commanded in the succession of the plagues in order to effect this sealing. As regards the four winds—another element in the tradition there used—our author never again refers directly to them.

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[1] Here the spiritual Israel is intended, as in 1 Pet. i. 1. Cf. i. 14, 18, ii. 9, 10, iv. 3, 4, and Jas. i. 1. This was the view of Hippolytus, *περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου*: vi. *ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριος σφραγῖδα τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν, καὶ αὐτὸς* (= *ὁ Ἀντίχριστος*) *δώσει ὁμοίως*. Here all the faithful are saved. In his commentary, however, on this passage preserved only in the Arabic (see articles, Hippolyt's *Kleinere Schriften*, p. 231, ed. Achelis) he takes the 144,000 to be Jewish Christians.

(*b*) *The 144,000 in vii. belong to the spiritual Israel as do the 144,000 in xiv. 1–5.*—If what we have above contended is valid, there can be no question as to the identity of the two bodies—at least as regards their origin. This identity of spiritual origin helps to confirm the conclusion arrived at on other grounds.

§ 8. *vii. 9–17 is the work not of a redactor, but of our author; for every verse and nearly every phrase is related in point of diction and meaning to the rest of the Apocalypse.*—Since we have shown in our commentary an overwhelming amount of evidence in support of the above statement, we must refer the reader to the notes in question.

§ 9. *The ὄχλος πολύς in vii. 9–17 is identical with the 144,000 in vii. 4–8.*—In § 6 we have seen that the ὄχλος πολύς embraces not the Christians or faithful of all time, but only the Christian contemporaries of the Seer—the faithful of the present generation. Since the 144,000 refer to the same body, it is clear that the ὄχλος πολύς and the 144,000 are identical qualitatively if not quantitatively.

§ 10. *In the original form of the vision of vii. 9–17 the ὄχλος πολύς* (*a*) *represented the entire body of the blessed in heaven after the final judgment, but does not do so in its present context; but* (*b*) *represents the martyrs of the last tribulation serving God in heaven before the final judgment, or rather before the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom in chap. xx.*

(*a*) The *original* form of this vision represented *the entire body of the blessed* in heaven or in the New Jerusalem on the new Earth (as in xxi. 1–4) after the final judgment. (α) For the same phraseology is used of God and the blessed (cf. vii. 15 and xxi. 3, xxii. 3; vii. 17 and xxi. 4) after the final judgment in the New Jerusalem. (β) There is no phrase in the section which in itself definitely limits the description to the martyrs. The phrases that demand such a limitation are, as we shall see, of an indirect though cogent character, and are due to our author's adaptation of one of his independent visions to a new context. (γ) The clause ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο cannot be rightly used of a section of the blessed, but fittingly describes the countless hosts of all the blessed. (δ) Apart from the phrases *οἱ ἐρχόμενοι*, *ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης*, and *ἐν τῷ ναῷ* (not in xxii. 3), the whole impression of the vision is that it deals with the final condition of the blessed in heaven, in which they render perfect and ceaseless service to God, and all the sorrow and pain of the earthly life are in the past (vii. 17). (ε) After the final judgment *all* the faithful are to be clothed in white.

(*b*) But this cannot be the meaning of the vision in its present context. (α) For in § 6 above, we have seen that the *ὄχλος πολύς* embraces not all the faithful, but *only the faithful that are to issue victoriously from the great tribulation.* (β) Next, if we take *οἱ ἐρχόμενοι*[1] strictly as an imperfect participle, *the great tribulation is still in progress*,[2] the end of the world is not yet come, and all who belong to the great multitude are *martyrs*, for all are already clothed in white (vi. 9, 11). This vision in vii. 9–17 is proleptic, like that in xiv. 1–5. In both cases the multitudes are martyrs and martyrs only; for they are clothed in white, and the final judgment is not yet come. (γ) Our interpretation receives support from the general theme of the Book—the glorification of martyrdom, and especially from the place of this section in the Book; for the time which it deals with forms the very eve of the last and greatest tribulation.

Hence we conclude that the vision in its present form refers to the martyrs of the great tribulation, though it exhibits survivals of ideas and statements which show that originally it bore a very different meaning. One such is the clause ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο.

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[1] In the sentence, *οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν*, the *καὶ ἔπλυναν κτλ.* is to be taken along with *οἱ ἐρχόμενοι* as the predicate of the sentence: *i.e.* "these are those who come through the great tribulation and washed," etc. So the ancient Versions—the Vulgate, Syriac ($^{1.2}$), Ethiopic—rightly rendered the Greek. So also the A.V.; but the R.V. is quite wrong in making *καὶ ἔπλυναν κτλ.* a coordinate sentence with *οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι*, and translating: "these are they which have come out of the great tribulation, and *they* washed," etc. The R.V. always and the A.V. generally mistranslate this idiom in our author. We have here a Hebraism, in accordance with which Hebrew writers after using a participle or infinitive added other clauses not with participles or infinitives as we should logically expect, but with finite verbs. (See Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*^{3}, § 117.) This Hebraism is occasionally reproduced in the LXX. Thus Jer. xxiii. 32, הנני על נבאי חלמות שקר . . . ויספרום = LXX, *ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ πρὸς τοὺς . . . προφητεύοντας ψευδῆ ἐνύπνια . . . καὶ διηγοῦντο αὐτά.* The same construction both in the Hebrew and the LXX will be found in Amos v. 7; Gen. xlix. 17; Ps. xcii. 8, cv. 12 sq. (*ἐν τῷ εἶναι . . . καὶ διῆλθον*), etc. The Hebraism, therefore, which appears in our text (*οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ ἔπλυναν*) = אלה המה הבאים , . . . וַיְכַבְּסוּ. We have already had the same Hebraism in i. 5, 6, where see note.

[2] The question in vii. 13, *πόθεν ἦλθον*, might imply that the number is complete. In that case *οἱ ἐρχόμενοι* would strictly = *οἱ ἐλθόντες*, and we should expect *ἐκ θλίψεως μεγάλης* as in A (a mere correction). The text would then refer to all the blessed, whether martyred or not. So the text may have stood in the original vision.

§ 11. *Whereas vii. 4–8 refers to the living faithful, vii. 9–17 and xiv. 1–5 are proleptic and refer to the martyrs. They embrace both men and women.*

The martyrs are represented in vii. 9–17 as arriving in heaven straight from the scene of martyrdom. In xiv. 1–5 the martyrs are represented as following the Lamb on the earthly Mount Zion during the reign of 1000 years. This latter vision thus anticipates the scene described in xx. 4.

Since the martyrs are alike men and women, παρθένοι in xiv. 4 must be taken metaphorically. This passage, therefore, deals with spiritual fornication. This is independent of the fact that our writer could not have spoken of Christians as having *defiled* themselves (ἐμολύνθησαν: cf. iii. 4) by holy matrimony.

VII. 1–8.—A pause in the succession of the plagues. The destroying winds are to be held in check in order that during the pause the 144,000 of the spiritual Israel may be sealed. The plagues introduced by the four winds seem to be of a demonic character, since the faithful must be sealed before they are let loose.

1. μετὰ τοῦτο εἶδον τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τῆς γῆς, ἵνα μὴ πνέῃ ἄνεμος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπί τι δένδρον. The words μετὰ τοῦτο εἶδον introduce a new and important division of the sixth Seal (see note on iv. 1). The angels of the winds, like those of fire, xiv. 18, and of water, xvi. 5 (cf. John v. 7), belong to the lower orders of angelic beings. They are set over the works of nature, and, as such, they could not keep the Sabbath as the highest orders do according to Jub. ii. 18 sqq. They were called the angels of service (מלאבי השרת) in the Talmud, and were said to be inferior in rank to righteous Israelites (Sanh. 93^a). For other angels of this nature see 1 Enoch lx. 11–21, lxv. 8, lxix. 22; Jub. ii. 2. An angel of this class might be described as στοιχεῖον—a "spirit," "demon," or "genius." See Deissmann, *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 1261; Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, 317. On the destructive winds and the plagues introduced by them see the introduction to this chapter, p. 192. ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας. On ἵστημι with ἐπί and acc. see p. 191 sq. Our author regarded the earth as τετράγωνος, as Isa. xi. 12, Ezek. vii. 2 (כנפות הארץ), which the LXX render οἱ πτέρυγες τῆς γῆς. The idea recurs in xx. 8 and in xxi. 16, where the heavenly Jerusalem is described as a cubiform city, whose length and breadth and height are equal. Ultimately this view may go back to a Babylonian cosmogony. On this question see Warren, *The Earliest Cosmologies*, 38 sq., 46 sq.

κρατοῦντας. There is here the idea that at the end of the world (the) four destructive winds would be let loose to injure the earth and the sea and the trees. No reference is made to this expectation in the rest of the Apocalypse in this form, but vii. 1–3 serves in part to introduce the plague of demonic locusts. See note on ix. 4. For this use of *κρατεῖν* as "holding in check," cf. Luke xxiv. 16, where it is followed by *τοῦ μή*. Its meaning in Acts ii. 24; John xx. 23 is related but not the same, while still another holds in Rev. ii. 13, 14, 15, 25, iii. 11, and yet another in ii. 1.

τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους. These four winds came from the four angles or corners of the earth, which was regarded as an actual square, if not a cube. They came from the four angles and not from the four sides; for according to Jewish conceptions the winds that blew from the four quarters, *i.e.* due north, south, east, and west, were favourable winds, whereas those that came from the angles or corners, as N.E.N. and E.N.E., N.W.N. and W.N.W., etc., were hurtful. The subject is dealt with at length in 1 Enoch lxxvi. and xxxiv. 3. There are two differences between the conceptions in our text and that in Enoch. The first is on the surface and not essential. Enoch represents *two* hurtful winds as issuing from each corner, whereas our text reduces each pair to a single wind. This difference may be accounted for by the fact that whereas 1 Enoch lxxvi. represents an attempt at being full and scientific from the standpoint of the time, our text exhibits the same views in a popular and less precise form. The more important difference is that the winds which were characteristically injurious are here in our text assigned a special rôle of destruction at the world's close. But the way for this development was already prepared in the O.T., and Christian literature attests its further developments. See above, p. 191 sq.

πνέῃ . . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . μήτε ἐπί τι δένδρον. On the cases with *ἐπί* here see above, p. 191, § 4

2. καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου, ἔχοντα σφραγῖδα θεοῦ ζῶντος. Why the angel ascends from the east cannot be determined. Corn. a Lap., Hengstenberg, Ebrard, De Wette, Volkmar, Düsterdieck think that it is because the life-bringing sun comes from the east; Völter, iv. 24, because the revelation of divine salvation and glory were expected from the east (Ezek. xliii. 2): so also Swete; similarly Holtzmann, quoting Isa. xli. 2. Erbes (p. 51, note) refers to the last passage and Sib. Or. iii. 652, and implies that it is because the Messiah comes from the east.

θεοῦ ζῶντος. This is a very familiar expression in the N.T. Thus it is found once in Acts, six times in the Pauline Epistles, four times in Hebrews, and twice in Matthew in the form τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος. In the Apocalypse θεοῦ ζῶντος does not recur, but we have the related forms, τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων, iv. 9, v. 10, x. 6, and a combination of the two in xv. 7, τοῦ θεοῦ τ. ζῶντος εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων (see note on iv. 9 *ad finem*). The Hebrew is אל חי. Cf. Josh. iii. 10; Ps. xlii. 3; Hos. i. 10 (ii. 2); 2 Kings xix. 4, 16; Dan. iv. 19 (LXX), v. 23 (*bis*), vi. 26; Jub. i. 25, xxi. 4; 3 Macc. vi. 28. In 2 Macc. vii. 33, xv. 4 we have the form ὁ ζῶν κύριος, and in Sibyl. Or. iii. 763 simply τῷ ζῶντι. The expression in all its forms brings out the contrast between the one eternal God and the numberless ephemeral gods of the heathen.

καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀγγέλοις οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

οἷς . . . αὐτοῖς. On this Hebraism in our text see p. 87. On the construction, ἐδόθη . . . ἀδικῆσαι see p. 54. The angels injured the earth by letting loose the winds under their charge. The idea that the angels cause injury to the earth by withholding the winds, as Bengel, Herder, and Wellhausen maintain, is contrary not only to the text, but to the tradition regarding these winds which blow from the *corners* of the earth; see p. 204.

3. λέγων Μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν μήτε τὴν θάλασσαν μήτε τὰ δένδρα, ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν. On the meaning of ἀδικεῖν in our text see xxii. 11, note.

σφραγίσωμεν. The sealing is to secure the servants of God against the attacks of demonic powers coming into open manifestation (see ix. 4, note). The Satanic host is about to make its final struggle for the mastery of the world. In the past their efforts had in the main been restricted to attacks on man's spiritual being, and had therefore been hidden, invisible, and mysterious, but now at the end of time they are to come forth from their mysterious background and make open war with God and His hosts for the possession of the earth and of mankind. The hidden mystery of wickedness, the secret source of all the haunting horrors, and crimes, and failures, and sins of the past was about to reveal itself—the Antichrist was to become incarnate and appear armed, as it were, with all but almighty power. With such foes the faithful felt wholly unfit to do battle. With the rage and hostility of man they could cope, but with their ghostly enemy and his myrmidons about to manifest themselves with soul- and body-compelling powers they dared not engage. And so just on the eve of this epiphany of Satan, God seals His servants on their foreheads to show that they are His own possession, and that no embodied (or disembodied) spirit of the wicked one can do them hurt. In its deepest sense this sealing means the outward manifestation of character. The hidden goodness of God's servants is at last blazoned outwardly, and the divine name that was written in secret by God's Spirit on their hearts is now engraved openly on their brows by the very signet ring of the living God (σφραγῖδα θεοῦ ζῶντος). In the reign of the Antichrist goodness and evil, righteousness and sin, come into their fullest manifestation and antagonism. Character ultimately enters on the stage of finality.[1]

τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. On the phrase τ. δ. τ. θεοῦ cf. i. 1, ii. 20, xix. 2, 5, xxii. 3, 6; and on τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν cf. vii. 10, 12, xii. 10, xix. 1, 5 (θεός μου, iii. 2, 12, ii. 7). By the addition ἡμῶν the angel acknowledges that angels and men are fellow-servants in the service of God; cf. xix. 10, xxii. 9.

ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν. Our author always uses ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων when he uses the plural: cf. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4, and ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον; cf. xiii. 16, xvii. 5, xx. 4, when he uses the singular (except in xiv. 9, ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου). The idea in σφραγίσωμεν . . . ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν goes back ultimately to Ezek. ix. 4. See note on xiii. 16 with regard to the mark on the foreheads and right hand of the followers of the Beast.

4. καὶ ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐσφραγισμένων, ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. The Seer does not witness the sealing which is completed during the pause in the plagues, but he hears the number of the sealed and their description. The number of the sealed is purely symbolical. The number connotes perfectness and completion, being 12 × 12 taken a thousandfold (Alford). But it is not an infinite number; for it gives the number of the faithful *in the present generation only* (see p. 199, 209 sq.).

πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. It is not believers descended from the literal Israel (1 Cor. x. 18) (though this was the original meaning of the tradition), but from the spiritual Israel that are here referred to (see p. 200). This transformation of meaning is found also in our text in xviii. 4. Cf. Rom. ii. 29, ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος: Gal. iii. 29, εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ

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[1] Logically, or perhaps historically, we may connect the thought in Rom. viii. 19 with that in our text. The sealing, which shows outwardly that the faithful are God's sons, marks the first stage of their manifestation as such (τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, Rom. viii. 19). They, too, shall be manifested as their Divine Master (Luke xvii. 30, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται: 2 Thess. ii. 8, τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας). Opposed to this we have the manifestation of the Antichrist (2 Thess. ii. 3, ἀποκαλυφθῇ: ii. 6, ἀποκαλυφθῆναι: ii. 8, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται). There is also the manifestation of his followers—at all events the first stage of it—in the sealing of the followers of the Beast (Apoc. xiii. 16 sq., xiv. 9, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4).

The manifestation of the Messiah was a familiar expectation in Jewish Apocalyptic about this time and earlier: cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 32; 2 Bar. xxxix. 7.

σπέρμα ἐστέ: vi. 16, *τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ*; Phil. iii. 3, *ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή, οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*; 1 Pet. 1; Jas. i. 1; Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 17.

5. ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰούδα δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι,
ἐκ φυλῆς Ῥουβὴν δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Γὰδ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,

6. ἐκ φυλῆς Ἀσὴρ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Νεφθαλὶμ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Μανασσῆ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,

7. ἐκ φυλῆς Συμεὼν δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Λευῒ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰσσαχὰρ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,

8. ἐκ φυλῆς Ζαβουλὼν δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰωσὴφ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμεὶν δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι.

5–8. In the above list there are several irregularities. (*a*) Judah is placed first. (*b*) Dan is omitted. (*c*) Manasseh is given, though Manasseh is included in Joseph. (*d*) The rest of the tribes are enumerated in a wholly unintelligible order.

(*a*) Judah is mentioned first, because from him is sprung the Messiah (see p. 193 sq.).

(*d*) Before we discuss the difficulties in (*b*) and (*c*) we must examine that under (*d*), since if this can be solved the rest come easier. Now the present unintelligible order of the tribes cannot be explained by any such irrelevancy as that of Grotius: "Nullus servatur ordo, quia omnes in Christo pares." The text *is* unintelligible as it stands, and it is unintelligible because it is dislocated. This dislocation Buchanan Gray has recognized (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 5208 sq.; *Expositor*, 1902, p. 225 sqq.) and set right by transposing vii. 5^c–6 after vii. 8. By this transposition, sanity is restored to the text. The order then becomes intelligible and illuminating: first the sons of the first wife Leah—Judah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Zebulun; next, the sons of Rachel the second wife—Joseph and Benjamin; next, the the sons of Leah's handmaid—Gad and Assher; and, finally, we should have the sons of Rachel's handmaid—Naphtali and Dan; but we have on certain grounds Naphtali and Manasseh instead.

Thus we have first Leah's sons, then Rachel's, then the sons of Leah's handmaid, and finally, those of Rachel's handmaid. Let us now proceed to deal with the remaining difficulties, and to make these the more obvious we shall transcribe the list arrived at through Buchanan Gray's suggestion.[1]

Judah
Reuben
Simeon
Levi
Issachar
Zebulun
Joseph
Benjamin
Gad
Assher
Naphtali
Manasseh.

The first difficulty (*a*) in this list arises from Judah being placed at the head of the list. But the reason for this order is obvious, as we have already seen (see p. 193 sq.). Christ is descended from Judah, therefore Judah comes first. The next difficulty (*b*) arises from the omission of Dan and the insertion of Manasseh (*c*) in his place. Here again the answer is, I think, of no questionable character. Manasseh is obviously *de trop* here, since Manasseh is already included in Joseph; and Joseph is original, since the list obviously aims at giving the sons of Rachel, as it has given the sons of Leah, and not two of her sons and one grandson as it does in its present form. Manasseh then has been substituted for Dan, the missing son of Rachel's handmaid. The substitution has, as we have remarked, made the list illogical. We have now to ask, Why was Dan omitted? and by whom? Various explanations of the displacement of Dan by Manasseh have been offered. Gomarus, Hartwig, Bleek, Züllig, and Spitta propose that *Δάν* stood originally in the text, but was early corruptly written *Μάν*, and that hence Manasseh arose. But such abbreviations are highly improbable, and very seldom occur in Uncial MSS. and the corruption of *Δάν* into *Μάν* is unlikely in the case of such a well-known list as that of the twelve tribes. Others, as Grotius, Ewald, De Wette, and Düsterdieck are of opinion that Dan was omitted because the tribe had long ago died out. But the same statement might be made of many of the tribes. Others think the omission due to the fact that Dan early fell into idolatry; but this in itself would not distinguish Dan from the rest of the tribes.

There is, however, another explanation, and that at once the most ancient and most satisfactory of all, which was first propounded by Irenaeus. According to this explanation Dan was omitted because the Antichrist was to spring from his tribe. Irenaeus writes, v. 30. 2: "Hieremias . . . tribum ex qua veniet manifestavit dicens . . . et propter hoc non annumeratur tribus haec in Apocalypsi cum his quae salvantur." Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, 14, ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ὁ Χριστὸς γεγέννηται, οὕτως καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δὰν φυλῆς ὁ ἀντίχριστος γεννηθήσεται. Andreas, ἡ φυλὴ τοῦ Δάν, ὡς ἐκ αὐτῆς τικτομένου τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου, ταῖς λοιπαῖς οὐ συντέτακται. That this tradition of the origin of Antichrist is pre-Christian and Jewish I have shown in the notes on Test. Dan v. 6–7, in my edition of the Test. XII Patriarchs; and Bousset (*The Antichrist Legend*, 171 sq.) has proved at length that this interpretation of our text was that which was generally accepted in the early Christian Church, *i.e.* by Eucharius, Augustine, Jacob of Edessa, Theodoret, Arethas, Bede, etc. This interpretation is maintained by Erbes (77–79), Bousset, Holtzmann^3, J. Weiss, Swete, Anderson Scott, etc.

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[1] Another possible restoration of the text could be effected by transposing 5^c–6 after 8^a. We should then have Leah's sons, the sons of Leah's handmaids, the sons of Rachel's handmaid, Rachel's sons. But the other restoration is better.

9–17. *Proleptic vision of the martyrs from the last great tribulation, blessed and triumphant in heaven.*

In the preceding chapters, iv.–vii. 8, the order of time has been observed in the visions recounted. There has been no breach of unity in this respect; no anticipation of the far distant future followed by a return to the more immediate. But to such a proleptic vision we have now come. The visionary gaze of the Seer leaves for the moment the steady, progressive unveiling of the events of the future, and beholds the more distant destinies of the faithful, triumphant and secure before the throne of God in heaven. These are they who had been sealed in the vision just recounted, and had already by martyrdom won the martyr's privilege of the immediate blessedness and perfection of being clothed in their spiritual bodies before the throne. They do not represent the entire Church of the redeemed, but only those who had come forth as martyrs from "the great tribulation." Their number is still incomplete: their host is still growing with fresh accessions of the martyred saints. The time to which the vision points is still prior to the final judgment. (On all these questions see pp. 200–202, and notes below.) When the last martyr joins the throng of the blessed, the roll of the martyrs (vi. 11) will be complete, and the hour of the final judgment have struck.

120
120
14400
12000
12
144000

The vision is recounted to encourage and inspire the present generation, and confines itself to the destinies of the martyrs belonging to it; for the great multitude is composed of those who come from the last great tribulation (vii. 14) which, according to the belief of the Seer, is about to come upon the earth. The phrase τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης (vii. 14) cannot be taken loosely as meaning any or every tribulation that befalls the faithful in this life, but only as the final and greatest tribulation that was to come on mankind (see pp. 44, 212). Since there is no legitimate means of evading this conclusion, the clause ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο seems unjustifiable in its present context. And so indeed it is; but the explanation, as we have already seen (p. 201 sq., note), is that this clause belonged to the vision in its original form, in which its subject was the whole Church of the redeemed, triumphant in heaven *after the final judgment.*

We might perhaps recover the original form of the vision, with its reference to all the redeemed after the final judgment, by reading in 14,

> οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐλθόντες ἐκ θλίψεως μεγάλης
> καὶ ἔπλυναν κτλ.,

instead of οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης κτλ., and omitting ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ in 15.

9. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον
καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄχλος πολύς, ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο,
ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν,
ἑστῶτες ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου,
περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς, καὶ φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν
αὐτῶν.

ὃν . . . ἐδύνατο. On this clause see the close of the preceding note, and p. 202, note.

The Seer is not looking here to the final blessedness of the faithful of all times, peoples, and countries, but, before the horrors of the last tribulation burst upon the faithful of his own generation, he shows them by way of encouragement the blessedness that awaits those who fall as martyrs in the great and closely impending catastrophe.

No contrast with the 144,000 is intended; for our author there is making use of traditional material, and is only concerned with the main thought of vii. 4–8, *i.e.* the sealing, and here he is adapting to a new context an earlier vision of his own which had originally a different meaning.

ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους κτλ. See note on v. 9. **ἑστῶτες.** The plural refers to ὄχλος. The construction is κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cf. xix. 1.

περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς. Since this vision relates to the faithful before the final judgment (see p. 209), and since they are nevertheless clothed in white raiment, they are to be regarded not as the faithful generally, but as the martyrs who immediately received their white robes (cf. vi. 11) and entered on perfect blessedness. The faithful who died a peaceful death were not to receive these robes till after the final judgment. See note on iii. 5. The acc. περιβεβλημένους is best explained as a slip on the part of our author for περιβεβλημένοι. There are similar slips, which would have been removed if he had had the opportunity of revising his MS. **φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν.** The palm branches are a symbol of victory and joy after war. Cf. 2 Macc. x. 7, *φοίνικας ἔχοντες ηὐχαρίστουν*: 1 Macc. xiii. 51, *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὴν* (*i.e.* Ἰερουσαλήμ) . . . *μετὰ αἰνέσεως καὶ βαΐων* . . . *ὅτι συνετρίβη ἐχθρὸς μέγας ἐξ Ἰσραήλ*: also John xii. 13. Tertullian, *Scorp.* 12, "palmis victoriae insignes revelantur scilicet de Antichristo triumphantes" (Swete). There is no ground for seeing in the text a reference to a heavenly Feast of Tabernacles —a season of eternal harvest joy—with Vitringa, Eichhorn, Hengstenberg, and others; nor for discovering, with Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, 368–369), traces of the influence of the Greek cultus in the neighbouring Ephesus, a suggestion which betrays a complete misconception of our text.

10. καὶ κράζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες
Ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ
τῷ ἀρνίῳ.

κράζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες: cf. vi. 10, xviii. 2, xix. 17 (vii. 2, x. 3, xiv. 15). **ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ**: cf. ליהוה הישועה, Ps. iii. 9, where the LXX has *τοῦ κυρίου ἡ σωτηρία.* The phrase recurs in xii. 10, xix. 1. Elsewhere (v. 13, xii. 10, xix. 1, etc.) there are many themes of praise; but here one theme only is dwelt on—victory, deliverance, salvation—by those who have just emerged in triumph from the strife; for though in one sense they have through martyrdom wrought out their own salvation, and now appear as victors before the throne, in another and deeper they know and proclaim that the victory, the deliverance (*ἡ σωτηρία*), is not their own achievement, but that of God and of the Lamb.

On **τῷ θεῷ ἡμων**: cf. note on vii. 3; on *τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ*, note on p. 113; and on *τῷ ἀρνίῳ*, note on v. 6.

11. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἱστήκεισαν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ. In this verse the Seer enumerates the various concentric ranks of spiritual beings, beginning from without: first the angels, then the Elders, then the four Living Creatures (see note on iv. 4). We are possibly to infer that the great multitude of Martyrs (vii. 9) forms the outermost circle. *ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον*: cf. iv. 10, v. 8. *ἔπεσαν . . . ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν*: cf. xi. 16. **ἔπεσαν . . . καὶ προσεκύνησαν**: cf. iv. 10, v. 14, xi. 16, xix. 4, 10, xxii. 8. **προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ.** *προσκυνεῖν* takes the dative when it means "to worship." Thus it is followed by *τῷ θεῷ* in iv. 10, vii. 11, xi. 16, xix. 4, 10, xxii. 9; by *τῷ δρακόντι*, xiii. 4. In xix. 10 (an interpolation) when the Seer falls down to worship the angel (*προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ*) the angel forbids him. On the other hand, *προσκυνεῖν* takes the acc. when it means "to do homage to": cf. xiii. 4, *τὸ θηρίον* (A 79), xiii. 12 (ACQ min plq 30). In xiv. 9, 11, xx. 4, it is followed by *τὸ θηρίον καὶ τ. εἰκόνα.* We should, therefore, read *τὴν εἰκόνα* in xiii. 15 (with A and some cursives), and in xix. 20. In xvi. 2, where it is followed by the dative, the clause is an interpolation. *προσκυνεῖν* with the acc. is the older and more classical usage, but it takes the dative as the regular construction in the LXX. In his use of this verb our author differs from that in the Fourth Gospel: see Abbott, *Johannine Vocabulary*, 138–142. In the Fourth Gospel the two constructions with the acc. and dat. appear, but in exactly the opposite meanings to those which they have in our author.

12. λέγοντες Ἀμήν· ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν. By the first *ἀμήν* the angels adopt as their own and solemnly confirm the thanksgiving of the martyrs. On this doxology see note on v. 12.

13–17. Interpretation of the foregoing vision.

13. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἷς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγων μοι Οὗτοι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκὰς τίνες εἰσὶν καὶ πόθεν ἦλθον;

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη . . . λέγων = לֵאמֹר . . . ויען. This form of diction, which is very frequent in the Fourth Gospel, is found only here in the Apocalypse. *Ἀποκρίνεσθαι* has been regarded as answering to the unexpressed question on the part of the Seer, but it is better to take it as a response to a certain fresh occasion or circumstance, as in Judg. xviii. 14; 2 Kings i. 11; Cant. ii. 10. On the dialogue form which the text assumes cf. Jer. i. 11; Zech. iv. 2, 5, *καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μέ· τί σὺ βλέπεις; . . . καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μὲ λέγων Οὐ γινώσκεις τί ἐστιν ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπα Οὐχί κύριε*: 4 Ezra ii. 44, "Tunc interrogavi angelum et dixi; Qui sunt hi, domine?" This form of dialogue is very frequent in the Shepherd of Hermas.

τίνες . . . ἦλθον: cf. Josh. ix. 8, "Who are ye, and whence do ye come?" (LXX, *πόθεν ἐστέ, καὶ πόθεν παραγεγόνατε*); Jonah i. 8. In classical literature see Virg. *Aen.* viii. 114, "qui genus? unde domo?" See other parallels in Wetstein. The *ἦλθον* does not necessarily imply that the number is yet complete. Hence the *οἱ ἐρχόμενοι* in the next verse may be taken in its natural sense, "who are coming."

14. καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῷ Κύριέ μου, σὺ οἶδας. *εἴρηκα* seems to be used as an aorist here. Cf. v. 7, viii. 5, xix. 3. See Moulton, *Gram.* 145. In iii. 3, xi. 17, the perfects retain their proper force. This aoristic use of the perfect is not found in the Fourth Gospel. *κύριος* is used in addressing an angel in Gen. xix. 2; Dan. x. 16 sq.; Zech. i. 9, iv. 4, 13; and in addressing a man, Gen. xxiii. 6, xxxi. 35; John xii. 21. *σὺ οἶδας* (cf.

Ezek. xxxvii. 3, *καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μέ . . . Εἰ ζήσεται τὰ ὀστᾶ ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπα Κύριε, σὺ ἐπίστῃ ταῦτα*) expresses the speaker's ignorance and his desire for information (Bengel, De Wette, Swete, etc.), and herein it differs from *σὺ οἶδας* in John xxi. 15 sqq. The response of the elders is in verse:

καὶ εἶπέν μοι
οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης
καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν
καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου.

We have already seen that *ἐρχόμενοι* is to be taken here as an imperfect participle. The martyrs are *still* arriving from the scene of the great tribulation. **ἡ θλίψις ἡ μεγάλη** is the last and final tribulation which the present generation is to experience. Cf. Dan. xii. 1; Mark xiii. 19, *θλίψις οἵα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως* = Matt. xxiv. 21. It is quite wrong to take it as meaning generally the tribulation that the faithful must encounter in the world. This great tribulation is still in the future. It consists first and chiefly in the actual manifestation of the Satanic powers on earth, and only in a secondary degree in social and cosmic evils. Against the first the faithful are secured, being sealed as God's own. The latter they had, like the rest of mankind, to endure.

These blessed ones are martyrs who are coming from the great tribulation: martyrs—not the ordinary faithful—for the tribulation is still in progress and yet they have already received their white garments (see next verse and vi. 11), their spiritual bodies—a grace vouchsafed only to the martyrs. The rest of the faithful do not receive their white robes till or after the final judgment.

That this verse read originally *οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐλθόντες ἐκ θλίψεως μεγάλης* we have seen reason to believe (see p. 202, n. 2), though it would be possible to take *ἐρχόμενοι* as = *ἐλθόντες* by a Hebraism.

οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ ἔπλυναν. On the Hebraism here and in i. 5, 6, ii. 20, see note on ii. 20.

The *στολαί* (cf. vi. 11, and Add. Note on vi. 11 at the close of that chapter) are the heavenly bodies which the martyrs receive immediately after death. On the one hand, it can be said that Christ or God gives the faithful *ἱμάτια λευκά* (iii. 5) or *στολαὶ λευκαί* (vi. 11); for a man's reception of the spiritual body is due not to works but to grace; yet, on the other hand, the faithful have their share in the acquisition or creation of this spiritual body; for they co-operate with God: to their faithfulness is it owing that they have spiritual bodies at all. They "wash their garments and make them white through the blood of the Lamb."

The two ideas of God's grace and man's work are combined in the Pauline words: Phil. ii. 12 sq., *τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε, θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν.* *ἐλεύκαναν* is taken by some interpreters as an explanation of *ἔπλυναν*: by others *ἔπλυναν* is referred to man's justification, and *ἐλεύκαναν* to his sanctification. "The aorists," as Swete observes, "look back to the life on earth when the cleansing was effected."

ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου. This phrase has been taken as (*a*) "in the blood of the Lamb." In this case the text refers to the forgiveness of sins through faith in the sacrifice of Christ. Cf. 1 John i. 7; Rom. iii. 25, v. 9; Heb. ix. 14; 1 Pet. i. 2. The expression *ἐλεύκαναν . . . ἐν τῷ αἵματι* is then strongly paradoxical. "The O.T. is familiar with the idea of soiled garments (Isa. lxiv. 6; Zech. iii. 3) as well as of the symbolism of the washing of the garments (Ex. xix. 10, 14), and the *λευκαίνειν* recalls especially Isa. i. 18. As here also for the judgment of the saving worth of Christ's death the Pauline category of sacrifice is adopted, so it lies specially at the foundation of 1 Cor. vi. 11, *ἀπελούσασθε*, as well as of 1 Cor. vi. 20" (Holtzmann). By such interpreters the great multitude is taken to include all the faithful and not merely martyrs, after the final judgment and before. (*b*) *ἐν τῷ αἵματι* is to be rendered "through the blood." So Bousset, who holds that the parallel expression, xii. 11, *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου*, demands this rendering. The great multitude is composed only of martyrs, who through the sacrifice of Christ have become endowed with power to become martyrs. Ewald and J. Weiss from different standpoints uphold the reference of the text (in its present form) to the martyrs. But, even if "through the blood" is the only right rendering of *ἐν τῷ αἵματι*, I do not see that this expression necessarily implies that the faithful here referred to are martyrs. The grounds for such a conclusion have been already given (see pp. 186 sqq., 213).

15. διὰ τοῦτό εἰσιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ
καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς.

διὰ τοῦτο. The preceding verse explains their fitness for God's service.

With *λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ* cf. xxii. 3. This *λατρεύειν* (=עבד almost universally in the LXX) denotes the service rendered to Yahweh by Israel as His peculiar people: cf. Phil. iii. 3, *οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες*: Acts xxvi. 7, *εἰς ἣν τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ νύκτα κ. ἡμέραν λατρεῦον*: Rom. ix. 4; Heb. ix. 1, 6. "It is," as Lightfoot (on Phil. iii. 3) observes, "the service not of external rites, but of spiritual worship": see also Rom. xii. 1, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν. As such it belongs to the whole people, and is distinct from the priestly service. For the latter the appropriate word is λειτουργεῖν (= שׁרת). This priestly service was rendered not only in the earthly temple, Ex. xxviii. 31, xxix. 30 and *passim*, but also in the temple in heaven, according to Jewish conceptions: cf. Test. Levi iii. 5 (on which see my notes), where the priestly office is discharged by the archangels. But in the Christian heaven no such exclusive priestly functions are discharged, and there is no room for any exclusive priestly caste. All the blessed are priests unto God, and it is their part λατρεύειν not λειτουργεῖν.[1]

ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός. Cf. iv. 8 on the never-ceasing praise of the angels. This time division exists only for earth dwellers: cf. xxii. 5. **ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ.** On the combination of the ideas of the throne of God and the Temple in heaven, see note on iv. 2. This heavenly Temple stands in the existing heaven (xi. 19), but there will be no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 22, καὶ ναὸν οὐκ εἶδον ἐν αὐτῇ. In the *original* form of the vision, vii. 9–17, which dealt with the whole body of the blessed after the final judgment, the phrase ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ was probably absent. Cf. xxi. 22, iii. 12. God was their real temple.

ὁ καθήμενος ἐπί. See note on iv. 2. **σκηνώσει ἐπʼ αὐτούς** = "His Shekinah shall abide upon them," or "He shall cause His Shekinah to abide upon them." This construction appears unexampled. Cf. Num. rab. sect. 13, 218, הצדיקים השׁבינו שׁכינה בארץ; also Shabb. 22^b 30^b, etc., where the Shekinah is said to rest on the faithful Israelites. In xxi. 3 we have σκηνώσει μετʼ αὐτῶν. In using the future σκηνώσει and those that follow, the Seer passes from the sphere of the visionary to the actual. σκηνοῦν is confined to Johannine writings in the N.T. Cf. John i. 14; Rev. vii. 15, xii. 12, xiii. 6, xxi. 3, and is always used of God or of heavenly beings. The Shekinah, or the immediate presence of God, is here promised. The Shekinah primarily means the manifestation of God amongst men either in the Tabernacle or Temple, or in Jerusalem, or amongst His people Israel. But the word is also used where God is spoken of as dwelling in heaven, Targ. Jon. on Isa. xxxiii. 5; Deut. iii. 24, iv. 39. Indeed the Shekinah only exceptionally came down to the earth. (See *Jewish Encyc.* xi. 258 sq.)

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[1] J. Weiss (*Offenbarung des Johannes*, 68 sq.), while maintaining that vii. 9–17 in its present form refers only to the martyrs, asserts that the phrase διὰ τοῦτο proves that this cannot have been its original meaning. It would, he writes, contradict the teaching of i. 6 to hold that only the martyrs could become priests of God. But as we have seen, it is not for any exclusive priestly function, but for God's worship and service that their redemption from sin had fitted them.

16. οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι,
οὐδὲ μὴ παίσῃ ἔτι αὐτοὺς ὁ ἥλιος οὐδὲ πᾶν καῦμα,
17. ὅτι τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς,
καὶ ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων·
καὶ ἐξαλείψει ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

The first four lines are for the most part derived from Isa. xlix. 10, but hardly from the LXX, which runs:

οὐ πεινάσουσιν οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν,
οὐδὲ πατάξει αὐτοὺς καύσων οὐδὲ ὁ ἥλιος,
ἀλλ' ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτοὺς παρακαλέσει,
καὶ διὰ πηγῶν ὑδάτων ἄξει αὐτούς.

16 is a translation of Isa. xlix. 10, and a translation independent of the LXX. *παίσῃ* is an equally good rendering with *πατάξει* of יַכֵּם, and *καῦμα* is probably a better one than *καύσων*. Our author has inverted the order of *καῦμα* and *ἥλιος* and inserted *ἔτι* three times. These slight changes have greatly enhanced the wonderful beauty of the original. It will be observed that I read *παίσῃ ἔτι*—a suggestion of Swete, who thereby improves on the earlier suggestion of Gwynn (*Apoc. of St. John in Syriac*, p. 17) that we should read *παίσῃ*. *πέσῃ ἐπί* is here quite impossible. The same conception is found in ix. 5, where the Uncials and many of the Cursives read *πέσῃ* (for *παίσῃ*) *ἄνθρωπον*, which s^1 corrects into *πέσῃ ἐπὶ ἄνθρ.* With *παίσῃ . . . ὁ ἥλιος* cf. Ps. cxxi. 6.

The thirst here spoken of means the pain of unsatisfied desire, just as in John iv. 14. It is satisfied at the springs of living water to which the Lamb leads the blessed (17). He that drinketh of this water shall never suffer the torments of thirst: God Himself is the fountain of life. Cf. Ps. xxxv. (xxxvi.) 10; 1 Enoch xlviii. 1. The blessed thereby win a satisfaction which is independent of all that is less than the divine. And yet in another sense their hunger and thirst will never cease; for they will never know satiety, but be ever reaching forward; for their object is nothing less than God Himself and His perfections. On the distinction carefully observed by our author between "the water of life" and "the tree of life," see note on ii. 7, xxii. 14.

But 17 has very little connection with Isa. xlix. 10. First of all the line *ὅτι τὸ ἀρνίον . . . αὐτούς* is altogether different from Isa. xlix. 10^c. The diction of this line is wholly that of our author with the seeming exception of *ποιμαίνειν*, which elsewhere in the Apocalypse has an unfavourable meaning and is used with reference to the heathen nations, ii. 27, xii. 5, xix. 15. Its use here, however, recalls John x. 11, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός*,

x. 14; Heb. xiii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 25; and in the O.T. Isa. xl. 11, *ὡς ποιμὴν ποιμανεῖ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ*, Ezek xxxiv. 23, where it is said of the Messiah, *ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς . . . καὶ ἔσται αὐτῶν ποιμήν* (cf. xxxvii. 24). If we take this line along with the next we have an excellent parallel in Ps. xxiii. 1, 3, *Κύριος ποιμαίνει με . . . ὁδήγησέν με*. Since the rest of 17^{a} is wholly in the diction of our author, and as the idea was a familiar O.T. and N.T. one, we may regard *ποιμαίνειν* in the favourable sense as undoubtedly belonging to his vocabulary here. *ἀνὰ μέσον = ἐν μέσῳ*, v. 6: cf. Ex. xxvi. 28; Josh. xix. 1 (= בתוך). For its use = "between," cf. Josh. xxii. 25; 1 Cor. vi. 5.

Next as regards 17^{b} we see that it differs in several respects from Isa. xlix. 10^{d}. *ὁδηγήσει* is not a rendering of ינהל but of ינחה or ינהג, while the LXX *ἄξει* implies ינהג. Moreover, our author transposes the verb to the beginning of the verse. The phrase *ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων* is in part explicable from Isa. xlix. 10^{d} מַבּוּעֵי מים, but still more from Jer. ii. 13, מקור מים חיים, LXX, *πηγὴν ὕδατος ζῶντος*. Cf. Ps. xxxv. (xxxvi.) 10, *παρὰ σοί πηγὴ ζωῆς*. We have a remarkable parallel to our text in 1 Enoch xlviii. 1, where in the new heaven and earth (xlv. 4, 5) Enoch sees "a fountain of righteousness which was inexhaustible: around it were many fountains of *wisdom*, and all the thirsty drank of them, and were filled with wisdom." The plural *πηγάς* may refer to some such conception; for men's hunger and thirst seek satisfaction in the life of God, in His wisdom, righteousness, and other perfections. But the most immediate parallels are in John iv. 14, *τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*: vii. 38, *ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ . . . ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος*. The emphasis, as Swete observes, is given to the idea of life by the unusual order *ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων* (with which 1 Pet. iii. 21, *σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου*, may be compared; but the parallel is imperfect). The phrase recurs in its more natural order in xxi. 6, *τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς*. With the expression cf. also xxii. 1, *ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς*, and xxii. 17, *ὕδωρ ζωῆς*.

17^{b} then is not a translation of Isa. xlix. 10^{d}, but merely based upon it. So far as it is a translation it differs in order and largely in diction from the LXX.

καὶ ἐξαλείψει . . . ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. This line is a translation of Isa. xxv. 8^{b}, where the LXX reads *καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖλεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου*. Since the Peshitto and Vulgate agree with the LXX in this rendering of מחה we must here again maintain our author's independence of the LXX. The rendering *ἐξαλείψει* is found in Symmachus, but the version of Symmachus was at the earliest seventy years later than our Book. The *πᾶν* before *δάκρυον* may point to some dependence on the LXX, or there may be here simply a transposition of the כל in the Hebrew. Here and in xxi. 4, where the line recurs, our author writes ὀφθαλμῶν and not προσώπων or προσώπου.

CHAPTER VIII.–IX.

§ 1. *The first six Trumpets—but originally the first two Woes or Demonic Plagues—Original order and thought of viii.–ix.*

These two chapters present as they stand insuperable difficulties. These will be duly discussed in turn, but for the sake of clearness I will at once lay before the reader the results of this criticism.

Results of present criticism.—(*a*) The first four Trumpets, viii. 7–12, are not original, but a subsequent addition, and deal only with cosmic phenomena; whereas the sealing in vii. 4–8 prepares the reader to expect not cosmic but demonic Woes.

(*b*) The last three Trumpets are the three Woes announced by the Eagle in viii. 13, and deal with the demonic and Satanic plagues, against which the faithful are sealed in vii. 4–8.

(*c*) viii. 2 is an intrusion in its present context and not original in its present form. If it is original it probably stood immediately after viii. 5, and read καὶ εἶδον ἀγγέλους τρεῖς, καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς σάλπιγγες τρεῖς.

(*d*) viii. 6 should then follow in the form καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς τρεῖς σάλπιγγας ἡτοίμασαν αὐτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσι, and then viii. 13 as it stands, save that λοιπῶν should be omitted (see note *in loc.*).

(*e*) In ix. 1 πέμπτος should be πρῶτος, and in ix. 13 ἕκτος should be δεύτερος, and in x. 7 ἑβδόμου should be τρίτου, and in xi. 15 ἕβδομος should be τρίτος.

(*f*) In ix. 16–19 there are certain redactional additions.

Original order of text and thought.—Thus we shall have viii. 1, 3–5, 2 (restored), 6 restored, 13, ix. By the excision of viii. 7–12 and the restoration of viii. 2, 6 to their original form and context, the chief difficulties of the text are overcome, the natural order in the development recovered, and the meaning of the hitherto dark sayings in viii. 1 brought to light. There was silence in heaven for half an hour, viii. 1, even the praises and thanksgivings of all the orders of angels were hushed, until the prayers of the saints should be presented before God, viii. 3–5. Thus assurance is given that God is mindful of His own. The prayers of the faithful on earth take precedence of the praises of the blessed hosts in heaven. Thereupon the Seer beholds three angels being given three Trumpets (viii. 2), wherewith they prepared to sound, viii. 6; and, as they were doing so, he beheld another vision, even an angel flying in the midst of heaven and proclaiming woe, woe, woe to the inhabiters of the earth because of the voices of the trumpets which the three angels were about to sound, viii. 13. Thereupon the first angel sounded and there followed the first Woe—the plague of demonic locusts, ix. 1–11; and these tormented for five months all those who had not received the seal of God in their foreheads, ix. 4. And when the first Woe was over, the second angel sounded, ix. 12, and the 200,000,000 demonic horsemen, which were bound in the river Euphrates, were let loose, and by them one-third of the heathen and idolatrous world was destroyed, ix. 18, 20 sqq.

§ 2. *Grounds for preceding Conclusions.*

viii. 7–12—a later addition. I. They conflict with the expectation created by vii. 4–8. From vii. 4–8 we learn that after the six social and cosmic evils that followed on the opening of the six Seals, the faithful were sealed in order to secure them from the coming demonic and Satanic attacks. After the sealing—the right understanding of which is the key to what follows—the expectation is natural and inevitable that the next plagues to befall the inhabitants of the earth should be demonic. But so far is this from being the case that we find a fresh series of colourless cosmic visitations following on the first four Trumpets, viii. 7–12, whereas the demonic plagues do not begin till the fifth Trumpet. Thus the former not only arrest the natural development of the Book, but they also introduce an element that is alien at this stage. Something must be wrong here, and we are thus *a priori* disposed to doubt the originality of the first four Trumpets.

II. And when we come to examine these four Trumpets, our doubts are transformed into convictions,[1] and we discover that whereas the heptadic structure of the Seals and of the Bowls is fundamental and original, the heptadic structure of the Trumpets is secondary and superinduced.

i. The first four Trumpets are conventional and monotonous. One-third of the chief things mentioned is destroyed in each except in viii. 11,[2] where instead of *τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων*—

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[1] I am glad to find myself at one with J. Weiss (74 sqq.) in the view that viii. 7–12 is secondary, though this writer has not recognized the fact that vii. 4–8 imply the immediate sequel of demonic plagues.

[2] In viii. 7 we have *πᾶς χόρτος* instead of *τὸ τρίτον τοῦ χόρτου*. Certainly *τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων καὶ τοῦ χόρτου τοῦ χλωροῦ* would be more natural than the present text. Besides, the stanza in viii. 7 would then have four lines as the next two stanzas.

clearly the original phrase,—even in viii. 9 τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων is destroyed—we have the strange phrase, πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (see note *in loc.*). But the reason for this redactional change is manifest. Since the invasion of the earth by the 200,000,000 demonic horsemen results in the destruction of the third of mankind, ix. 18 (sixth Trumpet = second Woe), the same result cannot here fittingly be ascribed to the third Trumpet.

ii. The first Trumpet conflicts with the fifth, for πᾶς χόρτος χλωρός is burned up (κατεκάη) in viii. 7, and yet it is presupposed to be unhurt (μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς) in the fifth Trumpet in ix. 4.

iii. The first four Trumpets are, as J. Weiss has observed, described as objective events, but the visionary nature of the fifth and sixth is clearly marked: ix. 1, εἶδον: ix. 13, ἤκουσα.

iv. When compared with the Seals that precede, and the Bowls that follow, the four Trumpets are colourless and weak repetitions. Thus contrast the darkening of the third part of the stars and the falling of two, viii. 12, 8, 10, with the falling to the earth of all the stars as unripe figs when shaken of the wind, vi. 13; the darkening of the third of the sun, viii. 12, with intensification of its fires, xvi. 8 sq.; the change of one-third of the sea into blood, and the embittering of one-third of the rivers, viii. 8–11, with the turning of the entire sea and rivers and springs into blood, xvi. 3–4.

v. But a comparison of the first four Trumpets and the first four Bowls shows that the former are clearly modelled on the latter. Thus, while the visitations in the first four Bowls are directed respectively against the land (xvi. 2), the sea (xvi. 3), the rivers and fountains of waters (xvi. 4), and the sun (xvi. 8–9), so likewise are the visitations introduced by the first four Trumpets. The correspondence in this respect is exact in each case, save the fourth, where, instead of only the sun being affected by the pouring forth of the fourth Bowl (xvi. 8–9), both the sun and moon and stars are to some extent darkened after the fourth Trumpet. But this difference is trifling. Hence this close correspondence can hardly be accidental.

vi. The first four Trumpets exhibit a somewhat different diction and style.[1] In viii. 8 we have πυρὶ καιόμενον, but elsewhere καίω is followed by πυρί, or a like substantive : cf. xix. 20, xxi. 8. In viii. 7 μεμιγμένα ἐν, but the ἐν is omitted in xv. 2. In vii. 12 σκοτίζειν, but σκοτοῦν in ix. 2, xvi. 10.

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[1] In viii. 9, however, we have one syntactical irregularity found elsewhere in the Apocalypse; *i.e.* τῶν κτισμάτων . . . τὰ ἔχοντα. See note on ii. 13. Also in viii. 8 we have ὡς ὄρος μέγα, "the likeness of a great mountain," but this is a common use of ὡς in Apocalyptic. See notes on i. 10, iv. 6. The phrases βάλλειν εἰς, viii. 7, and πίπτειν ἐκ, viii. 10, are used elsewhere in the Apoc., but they are not distinctive. Of course it is possible that viii. 7–12 may be a fragment of an independent vision of our author added subsequently by a scribe who did not understand the Book as a whole. But this is most improbable.

vi. While in viii. 1, 3–5, 13 the order is purely Semitic, the verb in all cases beginning the sentence except in viii. 3, where the subject once precedes the verb for emphasis, in viii. 7–12 the subject precedes the verb three times[1] in viii. 7, once in viii. 8, once in viii. 9, twice in viii. 11, and once in viii. 12. This fact points at all events to a different style.

viii. 2, 6, 13 redacted and transposed.—Having shown the secondary character of viii. 7–12, we have now to deal with the changes made in the text with a view to introducing viii. 7–12.

viii. 2 is an intrusion in its present position. — 1. For, as J. Weiss (p. 7 n.) has observed, the mention in viii. of the seven angels to whom the seven trumpets were given comes as an interruption between the opening of the seventh Seal and the offering of the prayers of the saints, and yet the angels do not take any part in the action till viii. 6. This, it is true, would not in itself constitute a valid objection against the originality of viii. 2 and its present position, but there are other and stronger objections not hitherto observed.

2. viii. 2 in its present position is against the structure of the book in analogous situations elsewhere. Thus it is to be noted that the *introduction* to the events following on the seventh Trumpet (which embraces the third Woe), xi. 15, is closed by salvoes of thunderings and lightnings, xi. 19, and the *introduction* to the events following on the seventh Bowl, xvi. 17, by a series of like phenomena, xvi. 18 ; and that between the sounding of the seventh Trumpet and the thunderings, etc., and the pouring forth of the seventh Bowl and the like phenomena, there is no intrusive reference to any *further fresh visitation*.

In like manner we infer that between the opening of the seventh Seal and the salvoes of heaven which followed in viii. 5, there was originally no intrusive reference to any fresh visitation such as those of the Trumpets or Woes.

3. But viii. 2 not only comes as an interruption and conflicts with the structure of the book in analogous passages elsewhere, but it has also by its intrusion here debarred the recognition of the meaning of the solemn silence for half an hour in heaven, viii. 1. The prayers and thanksgivings of all the mighty hierarchies of heaven are hushed in order that the prayers of the suffering saints on earth may be heard before the throne of God.

4. *Immediately* after the seventh (*i.e.* the third) Trumpet and the seventh Bowl we hear what is done, not on earth, but in

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[1] Account is not here taken where the ordinals precede the verbs as their subjects in viii. 7, 8, 10, 12.

heaven: in the former instance a song of thanksgiving; in the latter a voice from the temple and throne saying, "It is done." In like manner *immediately* after the opening of the seventh Seal should be recorded what took place in heaven—*i.e.* the silence enjoined on all the heavenly hosts that the prayers of the suffering saints on earth might be heard before the throne.

5. Finally, the pouring out of the seven Bowls is prepared for by an announcement made in heaven: thus in xvi. 1 we read, "And I heard a great voice from the temple saying to the seven angels: Go and pour forth the seven bowls of the wrath of God upon the earth." Similarly, the opening of the seven Seals is heralded in heaven by the song of the four and twenty Elders; v. 9, "Worthy art Thou to open the book, and to open its seals." Now, on the ground of analogy we should expect some like announcement preparing for the blowing of the Trumpets; and there is such an announcement, but it is found not before the first four Trumpets, where it should appear if these were original, but before the last three. Thus in viii. 13 we find: "And I saw and heard an eagle flying in the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe to the inhabiters of the earth because of the voices of the trumpets of the angels which are about to sound."

viii. 2, then, is an intrusion in its present position and in its present form. It probably stood after viii. 5, and together with viii. 6 read as follows: *καὶ εἶδον ἀγγέλους τρεῖς καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς σάλπιγγες τρεῖς. καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς τρεῖς σάλπιγγας ἡτοίμασαν αὑτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσι.*

Thereupon follows viii. 13, wherein an eagle proclaims to the inhabitants of the earth the three coming Woes. No change further than the omission of *λοιπῶν* is needed here.

ix. In ix. 1 for *πέμπτος* we should read *πρῶτος*, and in ix. 13 *δεύτερος* for *ἕκτος*. There are numerous glosses in this chapter. First we have the prosaic gloss *ὁ βασανισμὸς . . . ἄνθρωπον* in ix. 5, where also it is to be observed that *βασανισμός* has an active meaning though elsewhere in the Apocalypse it has a passive one; see xiv. 11 n.: probably *καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ . . . Ἀπολλύων* in ix. 11: almost certainly *ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . ὁράσει* in ix. 16–17, and *καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς . . . κεφαλάς* in ix. 19, since this directly conflicts with ix. 17^{e}–18.

It is more than probable that in ix. 13–20 we have a mutilated recast of an older vision of our author.[1] Wellhausen has already remarked that *καὶ ἤκουσα . . . τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους*, ix. 13–14, is a redactional addition; but, as frequently, he gives no grounds for the assertion. If it is a redactional addition, the addition is wholly in the style of the Apocalypse. Thus we have *φωνὴν . . . λέγοντα* and *ἀγγέλῳ, ὁ ἔχων* in ix. 13, 14, constructions which are characteristic of our author.

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[1] On the other hand, *ἀπό* (ix. 18) is not elsewhere used in the Apocalypse after *ἀποκτείνειν*, but *ἐν*. Cf. ii. 23, vi. 8, ix. 20, xi. 13, xiii. 10, xix. 21. But this fact in itself would not militate against the vision in its original form being from the hand of the Seer.

καθημένους †ἐπ᾽† αὐτῶν in ix. 17 is against the use of our author (see iv. 2, note) but may be due to the scribe who introduced 17ᵃᵇ. On the other hand the four angels (*τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους*) in ix. 14 are not to be identified with those in vii. 1–3, since they are distinct from them in every particular save that there are four in each case. Yet the article presumes them to be known. Again in ix. 16 we have hosts of horsemen introduced and presupposed to be known through the use of the article. If both elements are original, the original vision spoke of four angels in command of the hosts of horsemen on the Euphrates. Our author only partially reproduces his written vision. Part of this vision may possibly be recovered in its original form. It seems to have been written in tristichs. Thus

17. καὶ οἱ καθήμενοι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες θώρακας . . . θειώδεις
καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἵππων . . . λεόντων
καὶ ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν . . . θεῖον

18. ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν . . . ἀνθρώπων
ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ . . . ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν.
ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἀδικῆσαι.

VIII. 1, 3–5. *The seventh Seal.*—When the seventh Seal was opened there was an arrest of the praises and thanksgivings in heaven, viii. 1, in order that the prayers of all the suffering saints on earth might be heard before the throne of God, viii. 3–5. In vii. 1–3 there was an arrest of the judgments on earth until the faithful had been sealed against the coming demonic plagues: here is a further and fresh pledge that the cause of the faithful is one with that of God and the heavenly hosts.

Ver. 2 is an intrusion here, and belongs to the three Trumpets or Woes, if it is original. Its form here is secondary. See Introduction to this Chapter, p. 221 sq., and also *in loc.*

1. καὶ ὅταν ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν ἑβδόμην, ἐγένετο σιγὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς ἡμίωρον. On *ὅταν* with the indicative see Robertson, *Gram.* 973. On the meaning of the *σιγή* see preceding paragraph. An analogous idea is found in Judaism: cf. Chag. 12ᵇ, מעון שבו כיתות של מלאכי השרת שאומרות שירה בלילה וחשות ביום מפני כבודן של ישראל. That is, "in the maʿôn (or fifth heaven) are companies of angels of service who sing praises by night, but are silent by day because of the glory of Israel," *i.e.* that the praises of Israel may be heard in heaven. But the idea in our text is infinitely nobler. The praises of the highest orders of angels in heaven are hushed that the prayers of *all* the suffering saints on earth may be heard before the throne. Their needs are of more concern to God than all the psalmody of heaven.

ἡμίωρον is a *ἅπ. λεγ.* *ἡμιώριον* is the ordinary form.

2. καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλους οἳ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἑστήκασιν, καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς ἑπτὰ σάλπιγγες· That this verse stood originally after viii. 5 and referred to three angels who received three Trumpets to announce the three Woes, I have sought to prove in the Introduction to this Chapter, see p. 221 sq. The position of *ἑπτά* before *σάλπιγγες* and without the article is suspicious. For *ἑπτὰ* when not preceded by the article stands after the noun in i. 16, v. 1 (*bis*), 6 (*bis*), xii. 3 (*bis*), xiii. 1 (*bis*), xv. 1*a*, xviii. 3 (*bis*). It can stand before the noun when the noun is followed by another noun in the genitive, iv. 5, or an adjective that is the equivalent to a noun in the Hebrew, i. 12, *ἑπτὰ λυχνίας χρυσᾶς* = שׁבע מנרות זהב, xv. 7. Only in four cases does *ἑπτά* stand without the article before a noun that is otherwise undefined, *i.e.* in i. 20, viii. 2, xii. 3*b*, xvii. 9. Now the two last passages are suspicious on other grounds—possibly also i. 20—and we have found that viii. 2 is likewise.[1] This verse, therefore, may have read as follows: *καὶ εἶδον ἀγγέλους τρεῖς καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς σάλπιγγες τρεῖς.*

But when the three Woes heralded by three Trumpets were transformed into the seven Trumpets, the nameless three angels were transformed into the well-known seven archangels, *οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι*.

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[1] The same rule holds good of *δέκα*. When anarthrous it is placed after the noun, ii. 10, xii. 3, xiii. 1^{a}, xvii. 3, except in xiii. 1^{b} where the clause in which it occurs is probably a gloss. *δώδεκα* is also postpositive when anarthrous, xii. 1, xxi. 12, 14^{a}, xxii. 2, except in xxi. 21, but can precede its noun when this noun is followed by another noun in the genitive, xxi. 14^{b}. In vii. 5 sqq., xxi. 16, where it precedes numerals, it is necessarily prepositive. In John *δώδεκα* is prepositive when anarthrous. *εἶς* is always prepositive unless in ix. 13. *δύο* is twice anarthrous—once prepositive in ix. 12 and once postpositive, xiii. 11. *τρεῖς* when anarthrous is postpositive, xi. 9, xvi. 13, xxi. 13 (*quater*), but prepositive in vi. 6 where its noun is followed by another noun in the genitive: exception, xvi. 19. *τέσσαρες*, on the other hand, is prepositive even when anarthrous, iv. 6, vii. 1, because of the participles that follow the noun. *πέντε* when anarthrous is postpositive in ix. 5, 10; *ἕξ* postpositive in iv. 8. In Biblical Aramaic numbers over 10 are always postpositive: between 1 and 10 the postpositive order is much more frequent than the prepositive, 1, 2, and 6 are always postpositive, 7 always prepositive (five times), 3 nine times postpositive and twice prepositive, 4 three times postpositive and four prepositive, 10 three times postpositive and once prepositive: the numbers 5, 8, and 9 are not found in Biblical Aramaic. This is practically what we find in the Apocalypse except in regard to *εἷς*. One other usage of our author is to be noticed. In the case of *ἑπτά* (i. 20, viii 2^{b}, xii. 3^{b}, xvii. 9), *δέκα* (xiii. 1, xvii. 12), *δώδεκα* (xxi. 21), when a phrase or clause which contains any of these numerals preceded by the article is followed by a noun and the same numeral, the latter numeral precedes the noun, as in the above passages. But several of these passages are interpolated.

This conception is already found in Tob. xii. 15, *ἐγώ εἰμι Ῥαφαὴλ εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων οἳ παρεστήκασιν καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ Ἁγίου* (א).

They are designated "archangels" in 1 Enoch xx. 7 (Greek), and their names are, xx. 2–8, Οὐριήλ, Ῥαφαήλ, Ῥαγουήλ, Μιχαήλ, Σαριήλ, Γαβριήλ, Ῥεμειήλ. These seven are referred to in 1 Enoch xc. 21, 22, Pirke R. El. iv. and Hekalot iv., and most probably in Ezek. ix. 2, Test. Levi viii. 2. There are good grounds for assuming the original identity of the seven angels and the seven spirits, i. 4 note. But in our Apocalypse they are distinct and independent conceptions.

οἳ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἑστήκασιν. These angels are "Angels of the Presence": cf. Isa. lxiii. 9, מַלְאַךְ פָּנָיו. *ἑστάναι ἐνώπιον* means "to attend upon," "to be the servant of." Cf. Luke i. 19, *ἐγώ εἰμι Γαβριὴλ ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*. It is the translation of the Hebrew עמד לפני, 1 Kings xvii. 1, xviii. 15; 2 Kings iii. 14, v. 16; Jer. xv. 19, where it is used of the servants of God. The phrase is used in the same sense of service or worship in vii. 9, but has merely a local signification in xi. 4, xx. 12.

ἐδόθησαν . . . σάλπιγγες. The trumpet is used already in an eschatological sense in the O.T. Cf. Isa. xxvii. 13; Joel ii. 1, *σαλπίσατε σάλπιγγι ἐν Σειών . . . διότι πάρεστιν ἡμέρα Κυρίου*: Zeph. i. 16; in Zech. ix. 14, Pss. Sol. xi. 1 it heralds the glorious return from the Dispersion; in 1 Cor. xv. 52, 1 Thess. iv. 16, Mt. xxiv. 31, 4 Ezra vi. 23 ("et tuba canet cum sono, quam cum omnes audierint subito expavescent"), Ps. Apoc. Johannis ix. (*ἐξέλθωσιν ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ σαλπίσουσιν Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ μετὰ τῶν κεράτων ἐκείνων . . . καὶ . . . ἀναστήσεται πᾶσα φύσις ἀνθρωπίνη*), it announces the final judgment. See Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 247 sq.

3. καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἦλθεν καὶ ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἔχων λιβανωτὸν χρυσοῦν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα πολλά, ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. As we have already shown, viii. 3–5 should follow immediately on viii. 1.

ἄλλος ἄγγελος. Before the recasting of the text and the interpolation of the first four trumpets, the angel here referred to may have been Michael or possibly the angel of peace (see next paragraph). According to 1 Enoch lxxxix. 76, Michael prays for Israel; and he may possibly be the angel who mediates between God and man, Test. Dan vi. 2. These mediatorial functions are presupposed in 1 Enoch lxviii. 3, 4. In 1 Enoch xl. 9, he is called "the merciful and long-suffering." According to Rabbinic tradition he offered sacrifices in heaven, even the souls of the righteous: see my note on Test. Levi iii. 5; Lueken, *Michael*, 30–32, 91–100. For like views in later Christian speculation see note on v. 8 of this text.

But as the text stands at present, Michael is one of the seven angels mentioned in 2, and he cannot therefore be the ἄλλος ἄγγελος in 3. If the present text could on any grounds be held to be original, we should have to inquire into the identity of the ἄλλος. Is he to be identified with one of the four and twenty Elders whose functions were of a priestly nature (see note on p. 128 sqq.)? This is unlikely; for when an Elder is mentioned singly elsewhere we have the phrase v. 5, vii. 13, εἷς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Since this nameless angel is neither one of the seven archangels, if viii. 2 is original, nor yet one of the Elders, it is possible that we have here "the angel of peace" referred to in Test. Dan vi. 5, whose office is to "strengthen Israel that it fall not into the extremity of evil." In my notes on Test. Levi v. 6–7, I have shown that these verses give probably a further description of this angel who "intercedeth for the nation of Israel and *for all the righteous*." Again in Test. Dan vi. 2 it is probably he and not Michael that is described as "the mediator between God and man," and one who "for the peace of Israel shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy." The angel of peace and Michael are referred to as distinct angels in 1 Enoch xl. 8, 9. The nameless angel in Dan. x. 5–6, 11ª, 12–14, 19–21 may then be this "angel of peace" (though he is generally identified with Gabriel).

The office of the angel of peace was pre-eminently that of an intercessor and mediator in Judaism. He could therefore in a Christian Apocalypse be naturally assigned the duty of presenting the prayers of the faithful to God. This great angel is nameless in 1 Enoch and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and if I am right also in Daniel. Here, too, he is nameless: he is simply ἄλλος ἄγγελος in the present form of the text and was probably εἷς ἄγγελος originally. But whether this nameless angel is Michael or the angel of peace, the final clause in v. 8 is with Spitta and Völter to be rejected as a gloss. Michael or the great nameless angel—and not the Elders—presents the prayers of the faithful, censing them as he presents them. The Elders offer incense in the natural course of their priestly functions in heaven.

With ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (=נצב על־המזבח) cf. Amos ix. 1, εἶδον τὸν Κύριον ἐφεστῶτα ἐπὶ (=על) τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. The angel stands by or upon the altar. In favour of the former meaning cf. Gen. xxiv. 13, 43. What this altar is we have now to investigate.

An altar[1] in heaven is mentioned seven times in the Apocalypse,

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[1] Outside Apocalyptic the term "the altar," הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, generally means the altar of burnt-offering, but not in Apocalyptic.

vi. 9, viii. 3 (*bis*), 5, ix. 13, xiv. 18, xvi. 7. Most interpreters[1] agree that the two altars—the altar of burnt-offering and the altar of incense—are referred to in our text. But if we assume a complete heavenly Temple with a holy place, a holy of holies, two altars, etc., we are forced to conclude (1) with Züllig and Hengstenberg, that the curtain of the holy of holies is closed in iv. and viii. 3 sqq. and not opened till xi. 19; or (2) with Hofmann, that the roof of the Temple was removed in order to make possible the vision of God on His throne of Cherubim and yet not that of the ark; or (3) with Ebrard, that in the vision in iv. the whole scene was disclosed without the Temple, and that later in vi. 9 and viii. 3 sqq. a heavenly Temple appeared on a terrace below the height on which the throne stood; or (4) with Bousset and Porter, that the conceptions in iv., vi. 7, viii. 3 sqq. referring to the throne scenery and the temple scenery—are wholly irreconcilable.

Now all these attempts at explanation or confessions of incapacity to explain proceed, in our opinion, on a wrong hypothesis. We have here to do with the conceptions of the heavenly Temple in *Apocalyptic*, and it is wholly unjustifiable to conclude that every characteristic part of the earthly Temple has its prototype in the heavenly Temple as conceived in Apocalyptic. What we have now to do is to try and discover what views were entertained in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses as to the altar or altars in heaven.

As a result of my research I would at once answer: *there is no definite evidence in Jewish or Christian Apocalyptic of two altars in heaven.*

Thus in Isa. vi. 6 a seraph takes a live coal from off *the* altar (המזבח). The altar is within the Temple, and therefore presumably the altar of incense. There is only one altar presupposed in the vision.[2]

In the second cent. B.C. only one altar is implied in Test. Levi iii. 6, where the archangels are described as προσφέροντες τῷ Κυρίῳ ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν.

Now, passing to Christian and Gnostic writings we find mention of only one altar. Cf. Hermas, *Mand.* x. 3. 2, λυπηροῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ ἔντευξις οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. also 3. *Sim.* viii. 2. 5, ἐὰν δέ τίς σε παρέλθῃ, ἐγὼ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον δοκιμάσω. We might perhaps cite here Irenaeus, iv. 18. 6, "Est ergo altare in caelis, illuc enim preces nostrae et oblationes nostrae diriguntur"; Apoc. Pauli, 44 (ed. Tischendorf), *καὶ ἴδον τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα.* In the Gnostic work preserved in the Excerpts from Theodotus in Clement of Alexandria (Dindorf, iii. 437), the soul is said to lay down its body *παρὰ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος, παρὰ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς τῶν ἀναφερομένων εὐχῶν ἀγγέλους* (quoted from Lueken, *Michael*, p. 97).

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[1] Ebrard and Bousset are of opinion that the altar of burnt-offering is referred to in vi. 9, viii. 3^a, 5, xvi. 7, and the altar of incense in viii. 3^b, ix. 13. Swete, that the former is referred to in vi. 9, and the latter in viii. 3, 5, ix. 13, and that there is no determining which is referred to in xiv. 18, xvi. 7. The altar in xi. 1 was in its original context the altar in the earthly Temple.

[2] Some scholars regard the Temple here as the earthly one.

In later Judaism the same view prevails. According to *Aboth R.N.*, A 26 (12) (2nd cent. A.D.), the souls of the righteous rest under the heavenly altar. There is only one altar presupposed here, and if we may take with this statement another of the 2nd cent. (R. Eleazar's), found in Shabbath, 152^b, to the effect that "the souls of the righteous are preserved under the throne of glory" (כסא הכבוד), we may reasonably conclude that the altar in question is close to the throne of God, and therefore within the heavenly temple. In any case there is only one altar in question. Finally, in Chag. 12^b we find: "In Zebul (*i.e.* the fourth heaven) are Jerusalem and the Temple and a built altar (מזבח בנוי), and Michael the great prince standing and offering an offering thereon." The same statement is made in Zebach. 62^a relative to a built altar and Michael, and also in Menachoth, 110^a.

According to Jewish Apocalyptic, therefore, and kindred literature, there is only one altar in heaven. This altar has all but universally the characteristics of the altar of incense. Such sacrifices as are offered thereon (Test. Levi iii. 6) are *λογικαὶ καὶ ἀναίμακτοι.* In the last three passages cited from the Talmud, however, we have an epithet that seems to recall the altar of burnt-offering, *i.e.* "built."

However this may be, there was, according to Jewish Apocalyptic, only one altar in heaven; and since there could be no animal sacrifices in heaven, only bloodless sacrifices and incense could be offered thereon.

Let us now examine the passages in our text where an altar is mentioned, and see if the Apocalypse herein diverges from other apocalyptic literature.

First of all we remark, that as in other Apocalypses so here the phrase used is always "the altar" (*τὸ θυσιαστήριον*). Sometimes it is more nearly defined as *τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου*, viii. 3^b, or as *ἤκουσα φωνὴν μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστ. τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντα*, ix. 13.[1] That these two references are to the altar conceived as an altar of incense (already presupposed in v. 8), there can be no question.

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[1] These expressions belong to the O.T. as applied to the altar of incense: cf. Lev. iv. 18, *τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου . . . ὅ ἐστιν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου*: xvi. 12, *τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ ἀπέναντι Κυρίου* (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ מִלִּפְנֵי יהוה): Ex. xl. 5, *τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν . . . ἐναντίον τῆς κιβώτου.*

Next as regards viii. 5, our author has two O.T. passages before him, Isa. vi. 6 and Ezek. x. 2, and, since the former explicitly states that the coal was taken from the altar (*i.e.* the altar within the *ναός*) and the latter states that the coals were taken from between the Cherubim (*i.e.* in closest proximity to the throne of God), we infer that viii. 5, *ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*, refers also to the altar conceived as an altar of incense. From this we conclude that the altar mentioned in viii. 3^a is also the altar of incense. Both are simply designated "the altar," though it is more fully described as "the altar of gold before the throne" in viii. 3^b. The altar is referred to in only three other passages, vi. 9, xiv. 18, xvi. 7. In xiv. 18 (*ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*) the evidence is indecisive unless taken in connection with the rôle that the altar plays throughout the rest of the Apocalypse. There can be no doubt that the interpolator of xiv. 15–17 conceived the altar to be the altar of incense, since the two angels in xiv. 15, 17 come forth from the Temple. There remain now only vi. 9, xvi. 7. xvi. 7 (*ἤκουσα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγοντος . . . ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου*) might refer to the altar conceived as in vi. 9, under which had reposed the souls of the martyrs; but it can just as well, and indeed more reasonably, be conceived as referring to the altar on which the prayers of the saints were censed and offered, and which is described in ix. 13 as ordering the infliction of judgment, just as in xvi. 7 it is represented as vindicating the righteousness of God's judgment. Only one passage now remains that seems to presuppose the existence of an altar of burnt-offering as well as an altar of incense. But there is not the slightest necessity for this presupposition. According to Shabbath, 152^b, the souls of the righteous are (said by R. Eliezar, 2nd cent.) to be preserved underneath the throne of God;[1] and according to *Aboth R.N.* (2nd cent.), they rest beneath the heavenly altar. In Debarim rabba, 11, the soul of Moses is bidden to dwell under the throne of Glory. The conception therefore in vi. 9 is Jewish, save that our author represents *the martyrs*, and *not the righteous generally*, as resting beneath the altar; and herein it is possible that our text represents the older form of the conception, just as under vi. 11 we have shown that our text again represents the older and not the later Jewish view.

The souls of the righteous, then, according to Judaism, rest under the altar that is beneath or near the throne of God, *i.e.* the one altar that is within the heavenly Temple. This altar has the characteristics of the earthly altar of incense, and in part those of the earthly altar of burnt-offering; for the souls of the martyrs, as later the souls of the righteous generally, were conceived as being offered thereon—but as a living sacrifice. See note on vi. 11.

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[1] In the same context Rabbi Abbahu (3rd cent.) is represented as defending this view.

This idea of the offering of the souls of the martyrs on the heavenly altar is implied in our text (vi. 9 sqq.) for the first time in literature. The genesis of this idea can hardly be earlier than the 1st cent. B.C.; for before that period the souls of the faithful were conceived as going to Hades at death; but towards the close of the 1st cent. B.C. the belief that the soul ascends forthwith to heaven is found in Philo, 4 Macc., and probably in Wisdom (see my *Eschatology*^{2}, 310, 314, 322).

λιβανωτόν. This word elsewhere means "frankincense," as in 1 Chron. ix. 29; 3 Macc. v. 2. The scholiast on Aristoph. *Nubes*, writes: *λίβανος . . . αὐτὸ τὸ δένδρον, λιβανωτὸς δὲ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ δένδρου*, and Ammonius, *λίβανος μὲν γὰρ κοινῶς τὸ δένδρον καὶ τὸ θυμιώμενον, λιβανωτὸς δὲ μόνον τὸ θυμιώμενον* (quoted from Grotius). The word appears to mean "censer" in our text = הַמַּחְתָּה: cf. Lev. x. 1, xvi. 12. But this Hebrew word means not only *τὸ θυμιατήριον*, but also *τὸ πυρεῖον*, "fire-pan": cf. Ex. xxvii. 3, xxxviii. 3, Num. iv. 14. The fire-pan was used for conveying coals from the altar of burnt-offering to the altar of incense. In Ex. xxxviii. 3 it is composed of copper, but of gold in 1 Kings vii. 50; 2 Chron. iv. 22; 2 Kings xxv. 15. Spitta (321, 323) and Bousset interpret *λιβανωτός* in the latter meaning here; but this interpretation rests on the view that the two altars are referred to in this passage,—a view which appears to be controverted by all existing Apocalyptic. In viii. 3 it is first used for the reception of incense; the coals are already in it before the incense is placed in it.

ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα. Spitta (325) remarks that the ritual here is analogous to that of the Great Day of Atonement, where the person who brought the coals also offered the incense, though not analogous to the usual O.T. ritual. But the analogy is only partial, since the priest on the Day of Atonement offered the incense, not on the altar of incense but before the Ark: cf. Lev. xvi. 12; Num. xvi. 46.

ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων. On the intercession of angels in the O.T. see note on v. 8; Test. Levi iii. 5 (my edition); Lueken, *Michael*, 67 sq.

After *δώσει* we should understand *θυμιάματα.* Thus the clause practically means "that he might cense the prayers, and so make them acceptable before God." (See note on 4.) The prayers are those of *all* the faithful, vii. 4–8, and not of the martyrs only (vi. 9 sqq.).

τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. This phrase recurs in ix. 13, save that for *θρόνου* we find *θεοῦ.* The expression belongs to the O.T. See Lev. iv. 18, המזבח אשר לפני יהוה (cf. Lev. iv. 7, xvi. 12; 1 Kings ix. 25), but our author has not used the LXX. The earthly altar of incense was of gold, Nu. iv. 11. The single heavenly altar is naturally conceived as being of gold also.

Porter thinks that this was the first mention of an altar in heaven, and Bousset appears to be of the same opinion, and both agree in holding that the author has introduced irreconcilable contradictions by combining the temple scenery and the throne scenery. That contradictions exist to some extent it is true, but not at all to the extent these scholars maintain, when once the right interpretation of the altar is recognized. Besides, the combination of these two sceneries did not originate with our author, but are as old as the 2nd cent. B.C. and most probably Isa. vi.—see note on iv. 2, p. 111 sq.

4. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. With the diction Swete compares Ezek. viii. 11, ἕκαστος *θυμιατήριον αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ χειρί, καὶ ἡ ἀτμὶς τοῦ θυμιάματος ἀνέβαινεν.*

ταῖς προσευχαῖς is here the *dativus commodi.*

The incense went up for the benefit of the prayers (Blass, *Gramm.* p. 111). The prayers are made acceptable by being offered with incense on the altar. All access to heaven lies through the avenue of sacrifice. Whether it be the prayers of the faithful or the martyrs themselves, both alike must be presented or offered on the heavenly altar that they may be cleansed thereby from the last taint of self, and be made acceptable to God. On the former idea cf. Hermas, *Mand.* x. 3. 2: *πάντοτε γὰρ λυπηροῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ ἔντευξις οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.* 3. . . . *μεμιγμένη οὖν ἡ λυπὴ μετὰ τῆς ἐντεύξεως οὐκ ἀφίησιν τὴν ἔντευξιν ἀναβῆναι καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.*

5. καὶ εἴληφεν ὁ ἄγγελος τὸν λιβανωτόν, καὶ ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐγένοντο † βρονταὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ † καὶ σεισμός.

On *εἴληφεν* see note on v. 7. After censing the prayers the angel had laid down the censer, while the smoke of the incense was ascending, 4; now he takes it up again for a different purpose. It is not now to be used for the office of intercession but for judgment—a function that does not rightly belong to this sacrificial vessel. We might here compare Ezek. x. 2, *πλῆσον τὰς δράκας σου ἀνθράκων πυρὸς ἐκ μέσου τῶν χερουβεὶν καὶ διασκόρπισον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.* The Seer in Ezekiel is in the earthly Temple, but the Seer in the vision before us is in heaven. This is clear from *ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν*: cf. viii. 7, xii. 4, 9, 13, xiv. 19. The casting of the fire on the earth is followed by *βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ* κτλ. On the first three elements, where the lightning naturally precedes the thunder, see note on iv. 5. The lightnings, thunders, voices, and an earthquake are not the precursors of the plagues that are about to ensue in connection with the Trumpets, as has been assumed, but form the close of the introduction to the Seventh Seal, as they likewise do to the Seventh (*i.e.* Third) Trumpet or Third Woe, xi. 19, and to the Seventh Bowl, xvi. 18.

Corn. a Lapide and Düsterdieck point out that 5 represents the fulfilment of the prayers offered by "all the saints" in 3–4 and vi. 9, and that this connection is indicated by the fact that part of the fire on the altar that consumed the incense is cast on the earth and becomes an instrument of judgment to punish their enemies.

6. καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ σάλπιγγας ἡτοίμασαν αὑτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσιν. *σαλπίσω, ἐσάλπισα* belongs to Biblical and late Greek.

This verse forms the immediate sequence of viii. 2, and probably read originally as follows: *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς τρεῖς σάλπιγγας ἡτοίμασαν αὑτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσιν.* On this verse viii. 13 should follow without break, viii. 7–12 being an intrusion in the text. It is noteworthy that *ἄγγελοι ἡτοίμασαν αὑτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσιν* and *ἀγγέλων τῶν μελλόντων σαλπίζειν* in viii. 13 could represent exactly the same Hebrew, the former = מלאכים התעתדו לתקע, and the latter מ״ העתידים לתקע.

7–12. *The first four Trumpets.*—A later addition, since the text originally recounted three Woes, or three Woes introduced by the three Trumpets. See Introduction to this Chapter, p. 219 sq. Individual incongruities are dealt with in the notes that follow.

These four Trumpets form a closely connected group. They are of a conventional character. Of the fifteen things affected by the plagues, *one-third* is injured or destroyed in twelve instances. Of the three exceptions, that in viii. 11, *πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, is most probably a redactional correction from *τὸ τρίτον τ. ἀνθ.*, seeing that the latter is the result of the sixth Trumpet (*i.e.* the second Woe) in ix. 18. The second in viii. 10, *ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς*, is probably a corruption of *τῶν πηγῶν*, or possibly a mistranslation of a Hebrew original (see note *in loc.*). The third deviation from the conventional uniformity is in viii. 7, *πᾶς χόρτος χλωρός* instead of *τοῦ χόρτου χλωροῦ*. This, no doubt, was the original form, but it is strange that it escaped correction, seeing that it conflicts with ix. 4. But, if it were not the original form, the change cannot have been made by the editor that transformed the three Trumpets or Woes into the seven Trumpets; for we cannot conceive of his deliberately multiplying contradictions between the added section, viii. 7–12, and the original context.

7. καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἐσάλπισεν,
καὶ ἐγένετο χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα ἐν αἵματι,
καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν·
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων κατεκάη,
καὶ πᾶς χόρτος χλωρὸς κατεκάη.

χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ . . . ἐν αἵματι. These words recall Ex. ix. 24, *ἦν δὲ ἡ χάλαζα καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλογίζον ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ*, save that there is a heightening of the terrors of the plagues by the substitution of *ἐν αἵματι* for *ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ*. But this new feature is probably due to an actual experience of the Seer. Blood red rain is a phenomenon well known to science. Swete draws attention to a similar occurrence in Italy and the South of Europe in 1901—"the result, it is said, of the air being full of particles of fine red sand from the Sahara." Volcanic eruptions could account for the same phenomenon. In Or. Sibyll. v. 377 there is a reference to some such phenomenon, *πῦρ γὰρ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανίων δαπέδων βρέξει μεροπέσσιν.*

πῦρ . . ἐν αἵματι. The combination of fire and blood as an eschatological feature is found already in Joel ii. 30, *δώσω τέρατα . . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ*: and that this passage was familiar to the early Christians appears from Acts ii. 19.

μεμιγμένα ἐν αἵματι. In xv. 2, where *μίγνυμι* recurs, it is not followed by the *ἐν*.

χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα. This phrase is almost certainly based upon Ex. ix. 24 (quoted above), but instead of *μεμιγμένον* the LXX has *φλογίζον* as a rendering of מִתְלַקַּחַת; and the Targums and Peshitto support this rendering. The Vulgate, on the other hand, reads *mista*, and so supports the independent rendering of the Hebrew word given by our text.

τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη. Since in xviii. 8 we have *κατακαυθήσεται*, we might expect *κατακαήσεται* (as in 1 Cor. iii. 15; 2 Pet. iii. 10) there, or *κατεκαύθη* here, if both passages were from the same author. *τὸ τρίτον* (*μέρος*) with a genitive following is found twelve times in viii. 7–12: elsewhere in this book three times, ix. 15, 18, xii. 4. Cf. Babba Mezia, f. 59^b: "Then was the world smitten—a third of its olives, and a third of its wheat, and a third of its barley . . . there was great war on that day; for wherever Rabbi Eliezer looked the fire burned."

The use of fractions to express relative proportions is already found in Zech. xiii. 8, 9, *τὰ δύο μέρη αὐτῆς ἐξολεθρευθήσεται καὶ ἐκλείψει τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπολειφθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ*. Cf. Ezek. v. 2.

τῶν δένδρων. Cf. vii. 1, 3. **πᾶς χόρτος . . . κατεκάη.** This is absolutely at variance with ix. 4, where the locusts are bidden not to destroy the grass. See preceding note on viii. 7–12.

8. καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ὡς ὄρος μέγα πυρὶ καιόμενον ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἷμα.

At the second blast a fiery mass like a mountain was hurled into the sea. The figure of a burning mountain is probably derived from 1 Enoch xviii. 13, *ἴδον ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα καιόμενα.* But the parallel is clearer in xxi. 3, *ἐκεῖ τεθέαμαι ἑπτὰ τῶν ἀστέρων . . . ἐρριμμένους ἐν αὐτῷ ὁμοίους ὄρεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ ἐν πυρὶ καιομένοις.* Cf. also cviii. 4.

ἐγένετο αἷμα. There is obviously here an allusion to the first Egyptian plague. Ex. vii. 20, *μετέβαλεν πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ εἰς αἷμα*: Ps. lxxviii. 44. As there the Nile was turned into blood, so here is the sea—at least a third part of it. Cf. xvi. 3.

9. καὶ ἀπέθανε τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχὰς καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων διεφθάρησαν. Cf. Ex. vii. 21. On the destruction of the fish of the sea as an act in the eschatological drama, cf. Zeph. i. 3. With *κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ* cf. v. 13, *πᾶν κτίσμα ὃ . . ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα.* The phrase *τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχάς* stands as a nominative in apposition to *τῶν κτισμάτων*, as in i. 5, iii. 12, ix. 14, but against Greek syntax. For similar syntactical incongruities cf. ii. 13; Ezek. xxiii. 7, 12 (LXX).

διεφθάρησαν. Understand *τὰ πλοῖα* from *τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων.* The diction *ὡς ὄρος . . . πυρὶ καιόμενον . . . διεφθάρη̄σαν*, though not the thought, recalls Jer. xxviii. (li.) 25, *τὸ ὄρος . . . τὸ διαφθεῖρον* (הַמַּשְׁחִית) . . . *δώσω σε ὡς ὄρος ἐμπεπυρισμένον* (הַר שְׂרֵפָה).

10. καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀστὴρ μέγας καιόμενος ὡς λαμπάς,
καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ † ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς † τῶν ὑδάτων.

A omits the entire clause *καὶ ἐπὶ . . . ὑδάτων*, but I think wrongly. Instead of *ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς* we should expect *τῶν πηγῶν.* The accusative may be due to a mistranslation of על שלישית הנהרות ומעיני המים. As the sea was smitten in the second plague, the fresh waters are smitten in the third. The two clauses recur in xvi. 4. We have no real parallel in Jewish Apocalyptic to the fall of a star of this nature. That all the stars of heaven were to fall before the end we have already seen in vi. 13, and this expectation goes back to the O.T.

But in none of the many references to this expectation is there any intention of an accompanying evil like that in our text.

Hence there is no real parallel in the fall of the star Gôkîhar in Zend eschatology (Bundahish, *S.B.E.* xxx. 18, 31) except in so far as it is a sign of the end. The fall of individual stars in viii. 8, 10 is very weak over against the vivid overwhelming vision of the stars falling from heaven as unripe figs fall from the fig-tree when shaken by the wind, vi. 13.

πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων is a frequent expression in the LXX = מַעְיְנֵי הַמַּיִם.

11. [καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται ὁ Ἄψινθος]
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῶν ὑδάτων † εἰς † ἄψινθον,
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων [ὅτι ἐπικράνθησαν].

In this verse I have bracketed two clauses as glosses. The first interrupts the steady development of thought in the stanza. The expression *τὸ ὄνομα . . . λέγεται* is unique in the Apocalypse. See note on ix. 11. The latter gloss is explanatory. By the omission of the first gloss we recover in 10–11 a stanza of four lines as that in 8–9 and also in 12.

That such an expectation as that in our text was current in Palestine as to the waters becoming bitter or salt, is clear from 4 Ezra v. 9, "in dulcibus aquis salsae invenientur." This expectation may have arisen from such statements as we find in Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 15, that Jahweh would chastise his people for their idolatry by feeding them with wormwood and giving them water of gall (רֹאשׁ, a poisonous herb) to drink. Though not itself poisonous, yet wormwood (לַעֲנָה) is found as a parallel of ראש, which is poisonous, in Deut. xxix. 17; Lam. iii. 19; Amos v. 7, vi. 12, as well as in the two passages already referred to in Jeremiah. It was, therefore, conceived as having poisonous effects. Its bitter taste, which is referred to in our text, *ἐπικράνθησαν*, is mentioned in Prov. v. 4 and implied in Lam. iii. 15 where its parallel is מרורים, "bitterness." From these passages we can partly understand the genesis of the above expectation and the name given to the star. We shall observe also that in 4 Ezra v. 9 only a part of the waters is affected as in our text.

The word לענה, "wormwood," is rendered by Aquila by *ἀψίνθιον* in Prov. v. 4; Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 15, but in the LXX by a variety of words—*ἀνάγκη, ὀδύνη, πικρία, χολή*. *ἄψινθος* is regularly feminine, but it is made masculine here probably because *ἀστήρ* is so.

The reading *ἐγένετο . . . εἰς ἄψινθον* (though in itself good enough Greek: cf. xvi. 19; Acts v. 36; John xvi. 20; Theognis, 164) is most probably corrupt. The waters do not become wormwood, but, *remaining waters*, are made bitter (*ἐπικράνθησαν*). Hence we should read ὡς with h s^1 Prim., and render "and the third of the waters became like wormwood," *i.e.* "bitter." If, indeed, the writer of viii. 7–12 had wished to express the idea that the waters became wormwood he would probably have used the same idiom as he has in 8, *ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἷμα.* In xvi. 19 *ἐγένετο . . . εἰς* is found. If *εἰς* is original and *ὡς* a correction, then we have an additional ground for assuming a Hebrew original. *εἰς ἄψινθον* = ללענה, corrupt in that case for כלענה. The expression *πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* has no parallel in the Apocalypse. It is used here for *πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι.* When *πολλοί* is followed by a genitive, the genitive is either a proper noun, John xii. 11, xix. 20, Acts xviii. 8, or a definite collective expression, Acts viii. 7, xix. 18. Here *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* stands for mankind as a whole. The use of *πολλοί* in this connection is therefore peculiar, and it is probable that instead of *πολλοί* the original form of the vision had *τὸ τρίτον.* This would be analogous to what followed on the second Trumpet: a third of the sea became blood, and accordingly a third of the creatures in it perished, and even a third of the ships with their crews. So here one-third of the fresh water of the world became of a poisonous nature, and a third of mankind died. But not only is the analogy of the second Trumpet in favour of *τὸ τρίτον* having stood in the original vision, but also every statement in 7–12 where the proportion affected in every (?) case is one-third. Besides, if already a third of the earth is burnt up, viii. 7, it is strange that it is not till after the second Woe, ix. 18, that the third of mankind is destroyed. Furthermore, the change of *τὸ τρίτον* into *πολλοί* was apparently due to the fact that in ix. 18 after the sixth Trumpet it is stated that one-third of mankind was destroyed by the three plagues of fire, smoke, and brimstone.

ἀπέθανον ἐκ. Cf. ix. 18, and M.-W.'s *Gram.* 460. ὅτι ἐπικράνθησαν : cf. Ex. xv. 23. This clause I have bracketed as a gloss.

12. καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ἐπλήγη τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἡλίου
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων,
ἵνα σκοτισθῇ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν
καὶ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν μὴ φάνῃ† ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νὺξ † ὁμοίως.

The last verse is prose, and apparently corrupt, at all events it is unintelligible. For literary parallels see notes on vi. 12, 13. It is to be observed how weak the phenomena here are in comparison with those already described in vi. 12, where the entire sun is darkened and the moon ensanguined. The stars in vi. 13 have already fallen from heaven. Here only a third of them are darkened.

The limitation of the *τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν* is obviously to the time of shining (cf. Amos viii. 9, one-half), not to the intensity of brightness. There is no intelligible connection between the obscuration of the third part of the sun, moon, and stars and this limitation of their time of giving light.

The text is corrupt. The original is either preserved by the Bohairic Version only, or to be recovered by a happy conjecture. The text clearly meant originally that, since the third part of the sun, moon, and stars was smitten, this third part was darkened and did not shine either by day or night. But somehow instead of *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός* the oldest Greek form of the text read *ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ*—the first stage in the corruption of the text. This rendered the text ungrammatical and unintelligible, and yet a considerable body of cursives (see crit. note) held fast to it. But the ancestor of Q and a larger body of cursives changed *τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν* into *τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς*, and yet still retained the primitive order of the words. This made the text grammatical but unmeaning. This constitutes the second stage of the corruption of the text. Finally, ℵAP vg give the same text as Q, but change the order of the words. Here we have the third stage. It is possible that the original error is due either to a mistranslation of a Semitic source, or rather to a loss of a letter in that text. *καὶ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν μὴ φάνῃ ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νὺξ ὁμοίως* = ושלישיתם לא תאיר יום ולילה כן. Here יום is a corruption of יומם = "by day." Hence read with the Bohairic as in note.[1]

This partial obscuration of the luminaries corresponds in a modified degree to the ninth Egyptian plague of darkness; Ex. x. 21–23, *σκοτισθῇ*. Elsewhere in this Book *σκοτοῦν* is used (ix. 2, *ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ἥλιος*, xvi. 10), and not *σκοτίζειν*. The latter, however, is used in the Little Apocalypse: cf. Mark xiii. 24; Matt. xxiv. 29; Luke xxiii. 45.

13. This verse, which should follow immediately on viii. 2, 6, proclaims the immediate coming of the Woes.

καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἀετοῦ πετομένου ἐν μεσουρανήματι λέγοντος φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Οὐαὶ οὐαὶ οὐαὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῶν [λοιπῶν] φωνῶν τῆς σάλπιγγος τῶν τριῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν μελλόντων σαλπίζειν.

For *καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα* cf. v. 11, vi. 1. *ἑνός* is here equivalent to the indefinite article, as in ix. 13 (note), xviii. 21; cf. Blass, *Gram.* 144. The eagle appears (as a messenger also in 2 Bar. lxxvii. 19 sqq.) in the zenith, where the sun stands at midday: cf. xiv. 6, xix. 17. The threefold "Woe" should introduce three visitations after the fifth, sixth, and seventh (*i.e.* first, second, and third) Trumpets. In ix. 12 it is declared that the first Woe is past, and that two are yet to come. Then at the close of the interlude (x. 1–xi. 13) that separates the sixth and seventh

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[1] Here Boh. either recovers the original by a happy conjecture or preserves it: it = *και το τρ. αυτων μη φανη ημερας και ομοιως νυκτος.*

Trumpets, it is stated that the second Woe is over and that the third is yet to come. This Woe, however, is not recounted, unless with Erbes, p. 60, and Bousset we recognize it as the descent of Satan to the earth in xii. 12.

οὐαὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The dative generally follows *οὐαί*: the acc. occurs in xii. 12. On the exceptional construction with the nom. see note on xviii. 10. The Woes are directed against the heathens or pagans. See note on xi. 10 for this meaning of the phrase, and § 4 of the Introd. to xiii. on the Hebrew underlying it. These Woes, which are of a demonic character, cannot affect those who have received the seal of God on their brows (see note on vii. 3). Thus viii. 13–ix. should follow immediately on viii. 6, without the intervention of viii. 7–12. See p. 218 for original order of viii.–ix. We have seen that the first four Trumpets are weak and otiose.

τῶν [λοιπῶν] φωνῶν τ. σάλπιγγος τ. τριῶν ἀγγέλων. In the original vision these words stood as they are here save for the addition of λοιπῶν. λοιπός is not used elsewhere in the Apocalypse as a mere epithet. Together with the art. it forms a noun, as in ii. 24, iii. 2, ix. 20, xi. 13, xii. 17, xix. 21, xx. 5. Moreover, its position before the noun is against the usage of the writer with regard to epithets in viii. 1, 3–5, 13, ix. With the exception of ἄλλος, viii. 3, and εἷς, viii. 13, which always precede the noun in the Apocalypse save in ix. 13 (*μίαν*), epithets always follow after the noun, as in viii. 3 (*ter*), 13, ix. 2, 5, 9, 10, 13 (*bis*), 20 (*quinquies*).

IX. 1–12. THE FIFTH TRUMPET, or rather *the first Trumpet, introducing the first demonic plague designed to torment those who were not sealed with the seal of God.*

1. **καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·**
καὶ εἶδον ἀστέρα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκότα εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ κλεὶς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου.

For πέμπτος we should read πρῶτος. See Introduction, p. 218.

The star is conceived as a personal being here, *i.e.* as an angel. See note on i. 20. The participle πεπτωκότα does not convey when connected with ἀστέρα the idea of a fallen or lost angel, as very many expositors have taken it. Its use here is due to the fact that ἀστήρ is used, and the text means essentially no more than that the Seer saw an angel descend (*i.e.* a star fall). Cf. 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 1, lxxxviii. 1. Possibly πεπτωκότα should be taken strictly as describing a completed action, as πίπτοντα would describe an incomplete action; in other words, the Seer saw the angel just alighting: cf. viii. 13, x. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 6, etc. As we see from 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 3, stars can also be said to "descend." Thus "to fall" (1 Enoch lxxxvi. 1 and lxxxviii. 1) and "to descend" (1 Enoch lxxxvi. 3) are synonymous expressions when applied to stars symbolizing angels. It is different, however, when the subject of *πίπτειν* is not a star but an angel. Good or bad angels "descend" (1 Enoch vi. 6), but only bad angels "fall" (Luke x. 18) or are "cast down" (Apoc. xii. 9).

When angels descended they were conceived of as assuming human forms in the O. and N.T.

In 1 Enoch lxxxvi. the fallen angels are described as assuming the forms of bulls; but this is only due to the symbolical imagery of the Dream Vision, where the descendants of Seth are symbolized by various kinds of oxen. Hence there is no actual transformation in question.

While in apocalyptic language the Seer saw *ἀστέρα . . . πεπτωκότα*, in language free from symbol he would say as in xx. 1, *εἶδον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα . . . ἔχοντα τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου.* Hence the star here represents an angel. This angel is sent down by God to execute one of the last judgments on the faithless. The key of the Abyss is here committed to him. This he retains in xx. 1.

Who is this angel who descends? He may be Uriel, if it is legitimate to compare 1 Enoch xx. 2, according to which he was the angel set over the world and Tartarus (*ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου*). In 1 Enoch, Tartarus is the nether world generally, cf. xxi.–xxii.; but in the N.T. Tartarus is, as we shall see presently, the intermediate abode of fallen spirits, just as the abyss is so conceived in our text.

ἐδόθη αὐτῷ. There is no angel who keeps the key of the abyss in the Apocalypse as in 2 Enoch xlii. 1. This key is committed to one angel for a special purpose for the time being: cf. xx. 1.

ἡ κλεὶς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου. In the Apocalypse the abyss is conceived of as the *preliminary* place of punishment of the fallen angels, of demons, of the Beast, and the false Prophet, and the prison for 1000 years of Satan. It is referred to in ix. 1, 2, 11, xi. 7, xvii. 8, xx. 1, 3. As the abode of demons it is mentioned in Luke viii. 31, and possibly in Rom. x. 7, though in this last passage it has been universally taken as meaning Sheol. In our text, ix. 1, 2, it is a place of fire. It is referred to in 2 Pet. ii. 4 (*ταρταρώσας*).[1]

The *final* place of punishment, alike for Satan, the Beast, the false Prophet, and all not written in the Book of Life, is the *λίμνη*

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[1] Tartarus was originally the place of punishment for Titans in the *Iliad* and in Hesiod. Hence there is a certain fitness in the use of the words in 2 Peter. Later it designated the nether world generally (1 Enoch xx. 2, Greek), or the abode of the damned.

τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ θείου, xx. 10, 14, 15. Gehenna,[1] which was essentially a place of punishment for man, is not referred to in the Apocalypse, save possibly in xiv. 10. Its place is taken by the *λίμνη τοῦ πυρός*. This "lake of fire," as we shall see presently, was conceived originally as a place of punishment, *not for men*, but for Satan and the fallen angels. Thus the *λίμνη τοῦ πυρός* agrees exactly with the idea in Matt. xxv. 41, where the wicked are sent into *τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ*.

Now, turning to the earlier history of the word we find that *ἄβυσσος* is used about thirty times as a rendering of תהום in the LXX. 1. The *tehôm* in the O.T. is the ocean that once enfolded the earth but is now shut up in a subterranean abyss (Ps. xxxiii. 7), which was closed and sealed, and to which there was no access save through a shaft (Prayer of Manasses, 3), *ὁ πεδήσας τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ προστάγματός σου, ὁ κλείσας τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὴν τῷ φοβερῷ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματί σου*. So far as the *ἄβυσσος* is conceived as a surging, imprisoned flood, it has no connection with our text. 2. But there is another sense in which the ancient myth has influenced the thought of our author. The deep was conceived as the abode of Yahweh's enemy, Amos ix. 3 (Job xli. 24 (LXX), *τὸν τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου*). Yahweh had cut Rahab in pieces and pierced the dragon, Isa. li. 9, yea He had broken the head of the dragon in the waters, Ps. lxxiv. 13. (See, further, Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 91–98.) Henceforth he can do nothing without God's permission (see Cheyne on "Dragon," in *Ency. Bib.* i. 1131–34). The abyss, then, is the abode of God's enemy. So much of the ancient idea has survived in the O.T. 3. But it is not the abyss conceived as a subterranean flood, but as a great chasm in the earth, that the idea has made its way into later literature. Possibly the transformation may be in part due to Isa. xxiv. 21–22, where it is said that God will punish the heavenly powers as well as the kings of the earth, and imprison them in the pit (בור) as a place of *intermediate* punishment. We observe that as yet there is no idea of a fiery place of punishment.

We now proceed to the consideration of the conception of the *ἄβυσσος* in 1 Enoch. Here we find a great development on the ideas of the O.T. The term *ἄβυσσος* is used of the abyss of waters in 1 Enoch xvii. 7, 8; but, so conceived, it has no connection of any kind with the prison of the fallen angels or Satan. Turning aside then from ἄβυσσος in this sense, we find that in other passages it is conceived as an intermediate and a final place of punishment for the fallen angels and demons.

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[1] Gehenna was originally regarded as a fiery and final place of punishment for men; and this meaning it retained in Judaism, so far as the Gentiles were concerned. Sheol, which was originally a dark, cheerless, non-fiery abode of the departed, began as early as 100 B.C. to acquire the fiery character of Gehenna, and in Luke xvi. 23 it acquires another characteristic of Gehenna, *i.e.* the departed in Hades are punished in the presence of the righteous.

1. *Intermediate place of punishment for the fallen angels.*—This abyss is referred to or described in 1 Enoch xviii. 12–16, xix. 1–2, xxi. 1–6. It is waterless, birdless, chaotic, horrible, fiery, and is situated beyond the confines of earth and heaven, xxi. 2, xviii. 12, 15, xxi. 3. It is the temporary place of punishment for the fallen angels, the stars and hosts of heaven, xviii. 12–16, and for the women who sinned with the angels, xix. 1–2.[1] This place is somewhat differently described in the Noah sections of 1 Enoch. Thus the fallen angels are cast into valleys of utter darkness *in the earth*, x. 12, lxvii. 7, and covered by rocks, x. 5. These valleys, however, are traversed by streams of fire, according to lxvii. 7.[2]

2. *Final place of punishment for fallen angels and demons.*—This inferno is referred to or described in 1 Enoch xxi. 7–10, x. 6, 13, xviii. 11, liv. 6, lvi. 4, xc. 24, 25. It is beyond the bounds of earth and heaven, xviii. 11, xxi. 7. It is called τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρός, x. 13; the ἄβυσσος, xxi. 7 (xc. 24?), and communicated with the world of space above by a great shaft—διακοπὴν εἶχεν ὁ τόπος ἕως τῆς ἀβύσσου, xxi. 7 (cf. φρέαρ in our text, ix. 2); the χάσμα μέγα, xviii. 11, which was πλήρης στύλων πυρὸς μεγάλων καταφερομένων, xxi. 7, xc. 24; "the chasm of the abyss of the valley,"[3] lvi. 3; "the burning furnace," liv. 6.

3. *Final place of punishment for Satan, angels, demons, and wicked men.*—In 1 Enoch cviii. 3–6 a chaotic fiery wilderness is described as the final abode alike of fallen spirits and wicked men. This place is not Gehenna; for it is beyond the bounds of earth, cviii. 3. To this conception is very nearly related the λίμνη τοῦ πυρός in our text. This λίμνη τοῦ πυρός appears, like all the places of punishment just described in Enoch, to be outside the bounds of heaven and earth. If we could accept the present order of the text in xx.–xxii. we should have to conclude that it persists (xxi. 8), though a new heaven and a new earth have taken the place of the old, xxi. 1.

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[1] The demons, who according to 1 Enoch are the spirits that went forth from the slain children of the angels and the daughters of men, xv. 8, are not punished till the final judgment, xvi. 1, lvi. 4. Such appears to be the view behind Matt. viii. 29. But in the N.T. Apocalypse the demons are confined in a fiery abyss unless set free by the special permission of God, ix. 1 sqq.

[2] A special place of punishment is assigned to Azazel, *i.e.* Beth Chaduda, the wilderness of jagged rocks, twelve miles from Jerusalem, where the scapegoat was cast down from a rough mountain cliff and destroyed, Yoma, 67^b; Targ. Jer. on Lev. xiv. 10.

[3] This looks like a conflation of two distinct conceptions.

From the last paragraph it appears to follow that the conception of Gehenna as a place of punishment *for mankind exclusively*, is absent from the Apocalypse,[1] and that its place is taken by the *λίμνη τοῦ πυρός* (cf. xx. 14–15), which, though originally quite different from Gehenna, has become fused with it in xiv. 10 (cf. also Matt. xxv. 41). The final place of punishment prepared for the fallen angels has thus become also the final abode of wicked men. Cf. Matt. xxv. 41, also 4 Ezra vii. 36 ("the furnace of Gehenna . . . and over against it the Paradise of delight"). This is all the more remarkable since the conception of Gehenna is current in the Gospels and in 1 Enoch.

2. καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου,
καὶ ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου μεγάλης,
καὶ ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ τοῦ φρέατος.

ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος κτλ. Cf. Ex. xix. 18, *ἀνέβαινεν ὁ καπνὸς ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου*: Gen. xix. 28, *ἀνέβαινεν φλὸξ τῆς γῆς ὡσεὶ ἀτμὶς καμίνου.* The sun is not eclipsed here, but darkened by the volume of smoke rising from the abyss. Cf. Joel ii. 10, where, owing to the plague of locusts, "the sun and the moon were darkened."

3. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ ἐξῆλθον ἀκρίδες εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐταῖς ἐξουσία ὡς ἔχουσιν ’ξουσίαν οἱ σκορπίοι τῆς γῆς.

The locusts do not form the cloud, but come forth from it. Locusts were the eighth of the Egyptian plagues. But these locusts are unlike the ordinary earthly locust; for they had stings like scorpions in their tails. It was with these that they did hurt, and not as did the locusts with their mouths, for, indeed, they are forbidden to touch the trees or any green thing.

οἱ σκορπίοι τῆς γῆς. Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 540) points out that according to ancient writers (Lucian, *De Dipsadibus*, iii. p. 236, ed. Reiz) there were two kinds of scorpions, *τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἐπίγειόν τε καὶ πεζόν . . . θάτερον δὲ ἐναέριον καὶ πτηνόν.*

4. καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς
οὐδὲ πᾶν χλωρὸν οὐδὲ πᾶν δένδρον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων.

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[1] In xiv. 10 one characteristic of Gehenna seems to be given—the punishment of sinners in the presence of the angels and of the Lamb. Gehenna is referred to 1 Enoch xxvii. 1, xlviii. 9, liii. 3–5, liv. 1, lxii. 12, lxxxi. 6, xc. 26, 27.

If the first four Trumpets belonged to the original, the present verse would stand in contradiction with viii. 7, as we have already pointed out.

οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφραγῖδα κτλ. The relative *οἵτινες* defines the special class of men. See Blass, *Gram.* 173. The statement here made is full of significance. It explains the meaning of the sealing of the 144,000 in vii. 4–8, where see notes. The sealing of the faithful secures them—not against physical evil, but—against the demonic world which is now coming into actual manifestation. The manifestation of the Antichrist and his demonic followers is the counterpart of the manifestation of Christ and His Church. God marks the faithful with His own seal to show that they are His. Thus the true sons of God are revealed. Character must ultimately attain to manifestation and finality.

vii. 4–8 is referred to in ix. 4. As regards vii. 1–3, it not only serves to provide a pause for the sealing of the faithful in vii. 4–8, but forms a sort of prelude to ix. 1–12, though the connection is one of the slightest. See note on ix. 14.

5. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτούς,
ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα βασανισθήσονται μῆνας πέντε· [καὶ ὁ βασανισμὸς
αὐτῶν ὡς βασανισμὸς σκορπίου, ὅταν παίσῃ ἄνθρωπον].

For *ἵνα* followed by fut. ind., cf. iii. 9, vi. 4, viii. 3, xiii. 12. The locusts are commissioned not to slay men, but to torment them. The wound inflicted by scorpions is rarely fatal. The period of the visitation of these demonic locusts is limited to five months. This limitation is due to the fact noticed by Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 339), that the natural locust is born in the spring and dies at the end of the summer, and thus lives about five months in all. On the various types and natures of locusts see the "Excursus" in Driver's *Joel and Amos*, p. 82 sqq.

παίσῃ. This word and *πλήσσω* are used occasionally as translations of הכה in the O.T., though it is commonly rendered by *πατάσσω.*

6. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ζητήσουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν
θάνατον
καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρωσιν αὐτόν,
καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσιν ἀποθανεῖν
καὶ φεύγει ὁ θάνατος ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν.

The writer has here passed from the rôle of the Seer to that of the prophet. As regards the thought we might compare Job iii. 21, *ὁμείρονται τοῦ θανάτου καὶ οὐ τυγχάνουσιν*, and Jer. viii. 3, *εἵλοντο τὸν θάνατον ἢ τὴν ζωήν.* Wetstein compares Ovid, *Ibis* 123, "Desit tibi copia lethi: Optatam fugiat vita coacta necem"; Seneca, *Troad.* 954, "mors miseros fugit";

Cornelius Gallus, *Eleg.* i. "mors optata recedit. Est omni pejus vulnere velle mori, Et non posse tamen"; Soph. *Electr.* 1014, etc. A worse degree of despair is attested in Eccles. iv. 2–3, 2 Bar. x. 6, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1220, Theognis, 425, where not to be born at all is deemed a superlative blessing. Düsterdieck aptly contrasts the Pauline words, *Phil.* i. 23, *τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι.*

φεύγει is the present of habitual avoidance, as Alford observes. It not merely predicts; it affirms a certainty (Robertson, *Gram.* 870).

> **7. καὶ τὰ ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἀκρίδων ὅμοια ἵπποις ἡτοιμασμένοις εἰς πόλεμον,**
> **καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὡς στέφανοι ὅμοιοι χρυσῷ,**
> **καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὡς πρόσωπα ἀνθρώπων.**

The first clause is a free rendering of Joel ii. 4 (where the prophet describes a plague of locusts), כמראה סוסים מראהו, where the LXX has *ὡς ὅρασις ἵππων ἡ ὄψις αὐτῶν.* Though *ὁμοίωμα* is a bad rendering of מראה, we cannot suppose that it represents any other word. Hence we should perhaps translate, "And the forms of the locusts were like the forms of horses" = ומראה הארבה כמראה סוסים. *ὁμοίωμα* is the general rendering of דְמוּת in Ezekiel. On the other hand, our author may have deliberately abandoned the original in Ezekiel here and chosen the word *ὁμοιώματα* to express a much less definite idea than מראה = *ὅρασις* does. Then the text would mean: "the semblances" or "the likenesses" (in the vision) of the locusts were, etc. This resemblance between the head of the locust and that of the horse was early observed, as the text of Joel proves. This resemblance, as it has been pointed out, has given birth to the names Heupferd in German and Cavalletta in Italian. An Arabian poet (Muhammiaddin Assarhuriensis) writes: "Habent femur camelorum, crura struthionis, alas aquilae, pectus leonis. Cauda iis ut viperarum terrae: et decorans eas equorum species in capite et ore" (quoted by Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 308, ed. Rosenmüller). Bochart also quotes Theodoret's commentary on Joel: *εἰ γάρ τις ἀκριβῶς κατίδοι τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς ἀκρίδος σφόδρα τῇ τοῦ ἵππου ἐῳκυῖαν εὑρήσει· ἔστι δὲ ἰδεῖν καὶ πετομένην αὐτὴν κατ᾽ οὐδὲν τῆς τοῦ ἵππου ταχύτητος ἐλαττουμένην.*

ἡτοιμασμένοις is also an independent rendering of Joel ii. 5, ערוך מלחמה; LXX, *παρατασσόμενος εἰς πόλεμον.*

ὡς στέφανοι . . . ὡς πρόσωπα ἀνθρώπων. Our author does not say that these demonic locusts had crowns on their heads, as in iv. 4, vi. 2, xii. 1, xiv. 14, but the semblance of crowns. It has been suggested that the phrase refers to the yellow greenish colour of their breasts. But their faces resembling those of man and the semblance of crowns on their heads appear to belong to them not as natural, but as demonic locusts, *i.e.* demons.

8. **καὶ εἶχαν τρίχας ὡς τρίχας γυναικῶν,**
καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὡς λεόντων ἦσαν,
9. **καὶ εἶχαν θώρακας ὡς θώρακας σιδηροῦς,**
καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν ὡς φωνὴ ἁρμάτων
ἵππων πολλῶν τρεχόντων εἰς πόλεμον.

The antennae of the locusts are said to be like a maiden's hair in an Arabic proverb given by Niebuhr, *Beschrieb vom Arab.* iii. 172. *καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες . . . λεόντων*, from Joel i. 6, *οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ὀδόντες λέοντος*. Observe the insertion of the *ὡς* by our author. In the next clause the breast of the locust is compared to an iron cuirass. *φωνὴ ἁρμάτων ἵππων . . . τρεχόντων εἰς πόλεμον.* We have a combination of two distinct statements in Joel. The first is Joel ii. 4, *ὡς ἱππεῖς οὕτως καταδιώξονται* (וכפרשים כן ירוצון. Here *καταδιώκω* is a bad rendering of רוץ, but *τρέχω* is a good one). The writer here is quite independent of the LXX. The second, Joel ii. 5, is *ὡς φωνὴ ἁρμάτων*.

10. **καὶ ἔχουσιν οὐρὰς ὁμοίας σκορπίοις καὶ κέντρα**
καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν
ἀδικῆσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μῆνας πέντε.

ὁμοίας (PQ and nearly all cursives) *σκορπίοις* = *ὁμ. ταῖς οὐραῖς τῶν σκορπίων*. This may be a condensation like that in xiii. 11, *κέρατα ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ* (for *ἀρνίου κέρασι*: cf. Matt. v. 20). De Wette, Winer, and others reject this explanation, and hold that the tails of the locusts are compared to scorpions, just as the tails of the horses in ix. 19 are compared to snakes (see W.-M., 307, 778).

11. **ἔχουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν βασιλέα τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου.**
ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀβαδδών, [καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα
ἔχει Ἀπολλύων].

Ἑβραϊστί is found also in John v. 2, xix. 13, 17, 20, xx. 16; Apoc. xvi. 16. For *ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ* (*sc. γλώσσῃ*), *Ἑλληνιστί* is used in John xix. 20; Acts xxi. 37.

We have no means of identifying the angel of the abyss beyond the statement here. In fact, as a person he does not exist outside this verse.[1] The Hebrew word אֲבַדּוֹן is found almost exclusively in the Wisdom literature, Job xxvi. 6, xxviii. 22, xxxi. 12; Prov. xv. 11, xxvii. 20; Ps. lxxxviii. 11. Etymologically it means "destruction," and is always rendered by *ἀπώλεια* in the LXX except in Job xxxi. 12. It is parallel to Sheol in Job xxvi. 6, xxviii. 22; Prov. xv. 11, xxvii. 20. In the Emek hammelech, f. 15. 3, it is the lowest part of Gehenna.

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[1] It is true that in Shabbath, 89^a, we find the words אברון ומות. These words are surely a quotation from Job xxviii. 22, and there is no real personification here; since the words Abaddon and Death are parallel with the earth, the sea, and the abyss (as in Job), from all of which Satan makes inquiry as to the abode of the Law.

ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλύων. This construction, where the proper name stands in apposition to *ὄνομα*, is found only here in our author (=מָוֶת שְׁמוֹ). That in xiii. 17, *ἔχειν . . . τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου*, is different, and likewise that in xiv. 1, *ἔχουσαι τὸ ὄνομα . . . γεγραμμένον*, xvii. 5, xix. 12, 16. On the other hand, the construction *ὄνομα αὐτῷ . . . Ἀβαδδών* is already found in vi. 8 (John i. 6, xviii. 10). Here we might call attention to another construction only found once in the Apoc. viii. 11, *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται ὁ Ἄψινθος*. But more important still is the exceptional order *ὄνομα ἔχει*. We should expect *ἔχει ὄνομα* as in xiii. 17, xiv. 1, xix. 12, 16, xxi. 14. The latter part of the verse looks like a gloss. First, there is the unusual phrase *ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπ.*, to which we have already called attention.[1] Next, the form *Ἑβραϊστί* here and in xvi. 16 would lead us to expect *Ἑλληνιστί*, as in John xix. 20, instead of *ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ*. Finally, the excision of this clause leaves a vigorous distich. Thus we should have *ἔχουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν βασιλέα [τὸν] ἄγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστί Ἀβαδδών*. It is possible that the original was Hebrew: observe *ᾧ . . . αὐτῷ* in ℵ s$^{1.2}$ vg., and the omission of *τὸν* before *ἄγγελον* in Q min ^{30}. In that case *Ἑβραϊστί* would be due to an addition: and *βασιλέα*[2] possibly due to a dittograph in the Hebrew, ועליהם מלך מלאך התהום.

Thus we should have

> **ἔχουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄγγελον τῆς Ἀβύσσου**
> **ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἀβαδδών.**

Ἀπολλύων. Grotius writes here: "Poterat dixisse . . . *ἐξολοθρεύων*: sed maluit alludere ad nomen Apollinis, quod velut proprium numen Caesaribus." The name *Ἀπόλλων* was derived by the Greeks (Aesch. *Ag.* 1082; Archil. 23) from *ἀπόλλυμι*. Erbes (p. 60, note) has supported this allusion by showing that the locust together with the mouse and the lizard was a symbol of the cult of Apollo: Preller, *Grieschische Mythologie*², i. 183, 195, 225. This is possible but not probable. *ἀπολλύων* is a natural rendering of אבדון. Völter, iv. 31, on the other hand, identifies Apollyon here with the Persian Ahriman, who, when, according to Bundehesh iii. 26, he sought to storm the heavens, was cast down to the earth, and had then (*op. cit.* xi. 17) bored for himself a hole in the earth and leapt into it (Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 121). There in the abyss he dwelt as lord of all the evil spirits and hurtful beasts, scorpions, and snakes (Saussaye. *Lehrb. der Religionsgeschichte*², ii. 183–192). See xiii. 11, where *ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων* appears to represent an original corruption in the Hebrew, which probably = *ἦν ἀπολλύων ὡς ὁ δράκων.*

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[1] On the other hand, it has been urged that the idea of the king of the locusts is already found in the LXX of Amos vii. 1, *ἰδοὺ ἐπιγονὴ ἀκρίδων ἐρχομένη . . . καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἷς, Γὼγ ὁ βασιλεύς*. But there is no thought of Gog here, and where our author draws upon Joel we have seen that he uses the Hebrew directly and not the LXX.

[2] Possibly *ᾧ* is an addition. *ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἀβαδδών* would then=אֲבַדּוֹן שְׁמוֹ. Cf. vi. 8.

12. ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται ἔτι δύο οὐαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.[1]

See note on viii. 13. On *ἀπῆλθεν* see note on xi. 14. The feminine *ἡ οὐαί* is generally explained by its similarity to *ἡ θλίψις*, or *ἡ ταλαιπωρία* (Thayer *in loc.*).

ἡ μία is a Hebraism. *ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία* (see note on vi. 1) = הַהֹוָה הָאַחַת. Cf. Ezek. vii. 26, where *οὐαί* is a rendering of הֹוָה. Only twice is *οὐαί* used in the LXX as a noun: in Ezek. vii. 26 and in Prov. xxiii. 29, where it renders אוֹי (only here used as a noun). Perhaps the gender of *οὐαί* may be influenced by הֹוָה.

13–21. *The sixth Trumpet*, or rather *the second Trumpet, introduces the second demonic plague which destroyed one-third of the unfaithful.*

13. καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ,
14. λέγοντα τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀγγέλῳ, ὁ ἔχων τὴν σάλπιγγα,
Λῦσον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῷ
ποταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ.

For **ἕκτος** we should read **δεύτερος**. See Introduction, p. 218.

μίαν is here the indefinite article (cf. viii. 13, xviii. 21), as occasionally in Hebrew (Dan. viii. 3, etc.) and frequently in Aramaic. It is true that this use of the article is found in the Papyri (Moulton, *Gram.* 97), but in a book like the Apocalypse the usage is best accounted for by the Semitic style of the writer.

θυσιαστηρίου. See note on viii. 3. See crit. note. **λέγοντα.**

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[1] The text of ℵ s^1 me may be original. Archetype of AP etc. trans. *μετα ταυτα* to 12 and added *και* at the beginning of 13. But the feeling that *μετα ταυτα* belonged to 13 led 110, 385, 2016, etc., to begin 13 with *μετα ταυτα και*. This reading Q 69 emended into *και μετα ταυτα* and Eth Prim. into *και*. The fact that *ετι . . . μετα ταυτα* (AP etc.) is tautological is in favour of the reading of ℵ s^1 me. Though *ετι* occurs elsewhere twenty times in the Apoc. it is never used tautologically. Further, *μετα ταυτα* is never used tautologically and never appears at the close of a sentence in the Apoc. except in i. 19, iv. 1, and there in a quotation from Dan. ii. 29. On the other hand, none of the other Trumpets, and none of the Seals or Bowls, is so introduced.

See note on λέγων in iv. 1. **ὁ ἔχων.** We have here the same anomalous construction as in ii. 20 (see note), iii. 12, xiv. 12, where, however, the irregularity could be explained as a translation of the Hebrew article and participle.

We have already observed that in vii. 4–8 measures were taken to secure the faithful against the two demonic plagues which were about to ensue, *i.e.* the fifth and sixth Trumpets. The interlude, therefore, of the four Trumpets, viii. 7–12, which refer wholly to natural phenomena, seems wholly unmotived. These show, moreover, signs of redaction, elements in contradiction with adjoining statements in the Seals and Bowls, and a general weakness and ineffectiveness as compared with the parallel plagues in the Seals and Bowls.

But to return. The saints have already been secured against the first demonic plague, which was to inflict not death but torment on the unfaithful, and against the second demonic plague, which was to destroy one-third of the unfaithful. This second demonic plague seems in some way to be connected with or to result from the prayers of the faithful; for the voice which commands its infliction arises from the altar, whereon the prayers of the faithful were offered, viii. 3–4.

These prayers, therefore, are of the same character as those offered by the martyrs beneath the altar, vi. 10. Thus chapters vi. 10, viii. 3–5, ix. 13 are linked together by this underlying fundamental idea.

The irregularity of ix. 13, where the sixth (*i.e.* the second) angel not only sounds the trumpet but also is bidden to take an active part, is due to the need of connecting viii. 3 sqq., *i.e.* the prayers of the faithful with the divine answer to them in ix. 13 sqq.

Λῦσον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους κτλ. The presence of the definite article here is noteworthy. It points to a current tradition, not elsewhere referred to in the Apocalypse. They are not to be identified with the four angels in vii. 1; for the angels there are at the four corners of the earth, whereas here they are in the river Euphrates: there they are actively restraining the destructive winds of heaven, here they are themselves in restraint, till the hour of their action arrives. In one point both classes of angels are alike. They are both angels of divine wrath.

Now we might perhaps have expected that these two quaternions of angels would have introduced the two demonic plagues, that the first quaternion, vii. 1, would have brought in the plague of demonic locusts; and that the second quaternion would introduce, as in point of fact it does, the plague of demonic horsemen, ix. 15 sqq. The ground for the former expectation is found in vii. 1, where the first quaternion is represented as holding in restraint the destructive winds. Now, according to 1 Enoch lxxvi., the destructive winds from *three* corners of the earth (see note on vii. 1 of our text) bring with them, amongst such inorganic evils as rain, frost, snow, *only one organic evil*—plagues of locusts. Since the destructive winds *from the four corners of the earth* are really the same in vii. 1–3 (see note *in loc.*) and 1 Enoch lxxvi., it is not unreasonable to suppose that these winds were conceived in both passages as exerting on the whole the same powers of destruction and in introducing plagues of locusts.[1]

The words, vii. 3, μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν . . . μήτε τὰ δένδρα may point to the latter, which devour every blade of grass and every leaf on the trees. Now is it a pure coincidence that, when the demonic plagues are introduced in ix., the first plague should be that of locusts? It is true, indeed, that the locusts are no longer natural locusts—for they are monsters, having as it were the heads of men, the hair of women, the teeth of lions, and the tails of scorpions; and their mission is not to destroy the vegetation of the earth and the trees, but to torment those who had not the mark of God on their foreheads. Even in Joel i.–ii. the description of the plague of natural locusts, on which our author has drawn, shows elements which appear to spring from a mythological tradition.[2] For there the locusts are said to come from the north, ii. 20. Now, though such might possibly be the case (see Driver on *Joel* ii. 20), the recorded locust plagues appear always to have invaded Palestine from *the S. and S.E.* Here the Gog-Magog expectation seems to have influenced the prophet. In 1 Enoch lxxvi. 1 sqq. we have signs of this influence, seeing that the locusts are said to come from the N.E.N., the N.W.N. and the S.W.S. And finally, in the LXX of Amos vii. 1, where the locust plague is explicitly identified with the host of Gog, though there is not a hint of this in the Massoretic: καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἷς Γὼγ ὁ βασιλεύς. Now it is not improbable that the same combination of natural and mythological elements was reproduced in the original lying behind vii. 1–3 of our text. But in ix. 1–12 a further development of the tradition is attested, where it appears enriched and transformed under the influence of supernatural conceptions, and thus the plague of natural and semi-mythological locusts coming from the N.E. and N.W. quarters becomes *a plague of demonic locusts coming from the pit*, and thereby the four angels from the corners of the earth, which had control of the destructive winds that carried the locusts, had of necessity to give place to Abaddon, *the angel of the abyss*, who was set over this demonic tribe. The fact that we find the same transformation of a natural visitation into a supernatural in the sixth Trumpet is in favour of our exegesis of the plague under the fifth.

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[1] Locusts have but little power of flight, and are in the main dependent on the wind.

[2] See Gressmann, *Ursprung d. Israel.-Jüd. Eschat.* 187 sq.

τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ. The last phrase is familiar from Gen. xv. 18; Deut. i. 7; Jos. i. 4. On the Euphrates lay the border province that was the subject of continual strife between the Romans and Parthians.

Who are these four angels? We have seen that the descriptive epithets applied to them in our text manifestly discriminate them from the four angels in vii. 1–3. We have shown grounds also for associating the four angels at the four corners of the earth with natural and semi-mythological plagues of locusts, and have therefore naturally treated vii. 1–3 as a sort of prelude to the demonic locusts in ix. 1–12. We shall see that it is possible to explain in like manner, though partially, the genesis of the description in ix. 13–21. These verses describe four angels at the head of 200,000,000 demonic horsemen coming from the Euphrates to attack the pagan world. Now there can hardly be a doubt that the older form of this tradition is found in 1 Enoch lvi. 5, "And in those days the angels shall return and hurl themselves to the East upon the Parthians and Medes. They shall stir up the kings so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them. . . . 6. And they shall go up, and tread under foot the land of His elect ones." Here we have a recast of the Gog prophecy of Ezekiel. The Parthians and the Medes are for the time the historic representatives of the hosts of Gog, and their objective, as in Ezekiel, is Palestine; and they set out against it at the instigation of certain angels. In our text we have a further development of this tradition. The Euphrates is still the storm centre, but the hosts stationed there are no longer Parthians or even men, but demons[1] under four angels, whose objective is not Palestine, but the pagan, unbelieving, idolatrous world. These four angels, therefore, are angels of punishment. They are "bound" until the hour for their services arrives. Now the idea of angels of punishment is a very familiar one in preceding Apocalyptic; cf. 1 Enoch xl. 7, liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1; Test. Lev. iii. 3; 2 Enoch x. 3. Even the very diction in our text is already found 1 Enoch lxvi. 1, where, in reference to the first world judgment or the Deluge, the writer speaks of "*the angels* of punishment *who are prepared* to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth." Cf. ix. 15, ἄγγελοι οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι.

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[1] According to Mazdeism, *Bahman—Yasht* ii. 24, Persia was to be assailed by hordes of demons and idolators *from the East.* See Böklen, *Verwandschaft d. Jüd-Christl. mit der Persischen Eschatologie*, p. 88.

We thus know some of the traditions from which the Seer drew his materials. The necessity for the transformation of a natural visitation into a supernatural is likewise manifest, even if the expectation of an invasion from the East by demonic hordes were not already current (see note, p. 249). For the Seer is concerned with the punishment not of nations as such, but of individuals as unbelieving and idolatrous. The agents, therefore, must be supernatural.

There is one element in the description for which no explanation or even parallel can be offered. We cannot discover "the four angels" in other apocalyptic writings, nor can we even conjecture why the number is "four." Yet the presence of the article points either to the previous mention of the tetrad in our text or the existence of a current tradition.[1]

15. καὶ ἐλύθησαν οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι
οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἐνιαυτόν,
ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

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[1] Iselin (*Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz*, 1887, i. 64) quotes a passage from a late Christian Apocalypse of Ezra, chap. vi., published by Baethgen in the *Z.A.T.W.*, 1886, 193 sqq., from the Syriac MS Sachau 131 in the Royal Library in Berlin: "And I saw an adder which came from the East, and it . . . went up into the land of promise, and there was a quaking upon the earth, and a voice was heard: Let these four kings which are chained in the great river Euphrates be loosed, which shall destroy one-third of mankind. And they were loosed." From this passage Iselin thinks that the original sense of our text is to be recovered, and that the presence of "Kings" in the Ezra Apocalypse over against *ἄγγελοι* in our text points to the fact that the author of the former found מלכים in the Hebrew original of the N.T. Apoc., but that the Christian redactor of the latter found מלאכים. But that the author of a very late Christian Apocalypse, which dealt with the duration of the sovereignty of Islam, and which is derived from our text notwithstanding the objections of Schoen (p. 70), should have had such a Hebrew original before him is wholly wanting in probability as Spitta, p. 98, has shown. Spitta's own proposal (p. 99) to read *ἀγέλαις* is just as improbable, and is of no service in the interpretation of the text.

Another explanation is offered by Bousset. He holds that at the base of ix. 13 sqq. lies the older tradition of the four destructive winds, which is actually preserved in its original form in vii. 1 sqq., and that the transformation of the four angels in command of the four winds at the four corners of the earth into the four angels chained in Euphrates, is due to the fears of the Parthian invasion that prevailed at the time throughout the Roman world. This transformation, he states, is already effected in 1 Enoch lvi. 5, which he cites as follows: "In jenen Tagen werden 'die' (sic) Engel sich versammeln," etc. But in the original there is no article before Engel. Certain angels are here, in keeping with the transcendent views of later times, assigned the task of stirring up the Eastern hordes—a task which in Ezek. xxxviii. 3–7 is ascribed to God Himself. Thus there is no ground of any kind for the statement that "the four angels" are set at the head of the Parthian hosts in Enoch. Who these angels are, or how many, there is no means of determining: no more can we as yet explain the origin of "the four angels" in our text.

On *ἡτοιμασμένοι* see note on ix. 14. On *ἡτοιμασμένοι . . . ἵνα*, cf. viii. 6. To the peculiar order of the divisions of time here we find parallels in Num. i. 1; Zech. i. 7; Hag. i. 15; and in 2 Enoch xxxiii. 2, "A time when there is no computation . . . neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours." Cf. also lxv. 7.

The clause defines the actual fixing of the time in a definite hour of a definite day, in a definite month of a definite year. On *εἰς* = "with a view to," cf. ix. 7.

τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The servants of God are exempt from this Woe, ix. 4, 20. Only the *κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, viii. 13, were to be destroyed. The presence of the phrase *τὸ τρίτον τ. ἀνθρ.* here probably led to the change of *τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων* into *πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* in viii. 11. The fifth and sixth Trumpets, *i.e.* the first and second Woes, are original, but we have seen many grounds for regarding the first four Trumpets as a subsequent addition. In vi. 8 it is implied that one-fourth of mankind was destroyed.

16. καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν στρατευμάτων τοῦ ἱππικοῦ δὶς μυριάδες μυριάδων,
[ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν. **17.** καὶ οὕτως εἶδον τοὺς ἵππους ἐν τῇ ὁράσει]
καὶ τοὺς (οἱ) καθημένους (-οι) ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔχοντας (-ες) θώρακας πυρίνους καὶ ὑακινθίνους καὶ θειώδεις,
καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἵππων ὡς κεφαλαὶ λεόντων,
καὶ ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν ἐκπορεύεται πῦρ καὶ καπνὸς καὶ θεῖον.

I have bracketed the second line as a confused gloss. With *ἤκουσα τ. ἀριθμον*, vii. 4 has been compared. But there is no true parallel. The *ἤκουσα* in vii. 4 belongs as essentially to the description of the vision as the *εἶδον* in vii. 1, while the *ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν* here is a parenthetic aside. Such another aside is to be found in *καὶ οὕτως εἶδον . . . ἐν τῇ ὁράσει*. It is wanting in s^1. Nowhere else in the Apocalypse does the Seer speak of his own vision.[1]

When the second line is removed we should read *οἱ καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους*, and change the *αὐτῶν* into *αὐτούς* and take it as referring to *ἵππους* contained implicitly in *τοῦ ἱππικοῦ*. The gen. *αὐτῶν* seems to be due to the scribe who interpolated 16^b, 17^a, for the gen. is against our author's usage (see iv. 2 n.). If the second line is retained against the sense of the context and the universal practice of our author, the thought and syntax are very confused. The *οὕτως* leads us to expect an immediate description of the horses, and therefore the description of the riders in the next line comes in as an unlooked for and disturbing element. But since both riders and horses are presupposed in the first line, the line *καὶ τοὺς (οἱ) καθημένους (-οι) κτλ.* is original. With the *δὶς μυριάδες μυριάδων* we might compare Ps. lxviii. 18, רבתים אלפי שנאן; but this expression is admittedly corrupt. Dan. vii. 10, רבו רבון, is nearer to our text, which = רבוא רבבות.

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[1] Not so in Daniel; cf. vii. 2, viii. 2, 15, ix. 21.

The third line refers to the riders who are armed with breastplates which are fiery red (*πυρίνους*), smoky blue (*ὑακινθίνους*), and sulphurous yellow (*θειώδεις*), corresponding manifestly to the *πῦρ* and *καπνός* and *θεῖον* which proceeded out of the horses' mouths. All the breastplates have these colours apparently, since analogously the fire, smoke and brimstone go forth together (*ἐκπορεύεται*—sing.) from the mouths of the horses. The brimstone characterizes the host as demonic: cf. xiv. 10, xix. 20, xxi. 8. *ὑακίνθινος* is used frequently in the LXX as a rendering of תְּכֵלֶת = "violet." The hyacinthine colour of the breastplates corresponds to that of the smoke which issues from the jaws of the horses. For fire breathing monsters, cf. Ovid, *Met.* vii. 104 f.; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 140, "tauri spirantes naribus ignem"; Lucret. v. 29; Job xli. 10–11, *ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύονται λαμπάδες καιόμεναι, καὶ διαριπτοῦνται ἐσχάραι πυρός· ἐκ μυκτήρων αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται καπνός.*

In the riders and the demonic steeds there is a combination of two quite different ideas. Gunkel (*Zum . . . Verständnis des NT.* 52 sq.) well observes: "In the representation of the second host (*i.e.* ix. 17 sqq.) two different traditions stand side by side: according to the one, the creatures spit forth fire, smoke, and brimstone, and have therefore a strong mythological character; according to the other, they are squadrons of cavalry clothed in corresponding colours, fiery red, smoky blue, and sulphurous yellow."

This second tradition has therefore conceived the creatures in a more human fashion. Even this doubleness is a clear sign that we have here to do with old traditions and not with the inventions of a dreamer. Such an example makes it manifest that apocalyptic Judaism and Christianity is partly dependent on an eschatology strongly coloured by mythology.

18. ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν τούτων ἀπεκτάνθησαν τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τοῦ θείου τοῦ ἐκπορευομένου ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν
19. ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν [καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν.
αἱ γὰρ οὐραὶ αὐτῶν ὅμοιαι ὄφεσιν, ἔχουσαι κεφαλάς], καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς (-οις) ἀδικοῦσιν.

ἀπό (=ὑπό) used with a passive verb: cf. xii. 6.

I have with some hesitation bracketed *καὶ ἐν ταῖς . . . κεφαλάς* as an addition. From ix 17^{d}, 18 it is manifest that the destructive power lies in the three plagues, the fire, the smoke, and the brimstone, that issue from the mouths of the demonic steeds, and that it is these that kill the one-third of those who have not the mark of God on their forehead. There is no room then for any other destructive activity. All the unfaithful, that are slain, are slain by the above three plagues. The bracketed clause, therefore, is at variance with its present context. When it is removed there remains a tristich, of which the last line probably ran, *ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἐστίν, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν* (cf. ix. 10) = "for the power of the horses lies in their mouths, and with them they do hurt."

The intruding clause was modelled on ix. 10. There is a fitness in *demonic* locusts having the stings of scorpions in their tails, but the grotesqueness of fire-breathing demonic horses with tails like snakes and running out into heads is too intolerable, even if it were not already excluded by the context itself. The parallel adduced by Holtzmann of the giants with snakes instead of legs on the altar of Zeus at Pergamon is no real help here (Manchot, *Die Heiligen*, 44; Ussing, *Pergamos*, p. 84).

On the Mazdean expectation of demonic hordes from the East, see note on p. 249.

20. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ οὐκ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν ταῖς
πληγαῖς ταύταις,
οὐδὲ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν,
ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσίν τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα
τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ
τὰ ξύλινα,
ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν.

Notwithstanding the demonic plagues the survivors repented not of their idolatries. *οὐδέ* = "not even": cf. Mark vi. 31; 1 Cor. iv. 3.

On *μετενόησαν ἐκ* see note on ii. 21. In *τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν* we have the familiar O.T. phrase מעשׂי ידיהם, Jer. i. 16: cf. Deut. iv. 28.

ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν. Here the infinitive of result with ὥστε is replaced as elsewhere in late writers by *ἵνα*: cf. Blass, *Gram.*, p. 224. Our text carefully distinguishes demons and idols. On the worship of demons cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Mic. v. 12; Ps. cvi. (cv.) 37, *ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις*: 1 Cor. x. 20, *ἃ θύουσιν, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ θύουσιν*: 1 Tim. iv. 1. The words *τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ . . . καὶ τὰ ξύλινα ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν* are drawn from Dan. v. 23 (save that our author has omitted one phrase and added *οὔτε περιπατεῖν*), *τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς καὶ χαλκοῦς καὶ σιδηροῦς καὶ ξυλίνους καὶ λιθίνους, οἳ οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν* (Theod.). The Massoretic here = *ἀργυροῦς καὶ χρυσοῦς*, but the Peshitto supports the order in Theodotion, and both the text and versions of v. 4 support this order also. Hence this was originally the order of the Hebrew. Our author, however, did not necessarily use the version of Theodotion. He may have used the Hebrew that Theodotion and the Peshitto presuppose. He may also have had 1 Enoch xcix. 7 before him which = *οἳ προσκυνήσουσιν λίθους καὶ οἳ γλύψουσιν εἴδωλα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ξύλινα* [+ *καὶ λίθινα*, Tert. *De Idol*, iv.] . . . *καὶ οἳ προσκυνήσουσιν* . . . *δαιμόνια*. Here we have the combination of *εἴδωλα* and *δαιμόνια* as in our text. We might also compare 1 Enoch xix. 1, *ἐνθάδε οἱ μιγέντες ἄγγελοι ταῖς γυναιξὶν στήσονται καὶ τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν* . . . *πλανήσει αὐτοὺς* (*i.e. ἀνθρώπους*) *ἐπιθύειν τοῖς δαιμονίοις*: Jub. xi. 4, "They worshipped each the idol . . . and malignant spirits assisted them"; Sibyll. v. 80 sqq. See Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.* 172 sqq. On *οὔτε περιπατεῖν* cf. Ps. cxiii. 15 (cxv. 7), *πόδας ἔχουσιν καὶ περιπατήσουσιν*.

21. καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν φόνων αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν φαρμακιῶν αὐτῶν
οὔτε ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν κλεμμάτων αὐτῶν.

Immorality of every description was the natural sequel of demonic worship and idolatry. The order *φόνων* . . . *πορνείας* . . . *κλεμμάτων* is noteworthy. It recurs, so far as the first two are concerned, in xxi. 8, xxii. 15 (in the reverse order). This is the order of the Massoretic text in Ex. xx. 13. The same order is observed throughout Matthew, *i.e.* v. 21, 27, xv. 19, xix. 18. But there is another order—that found in the LXX (B) of Ex. xx. 13, *οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ φονεύσεις*: but Deut. v. 17–20 (LXX, B), *οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις*. With this last agrees the order found in Luke xviii. 20; Rom. xiii. 9; Jas. ii. 11; and Philo, *De Decal.* 24 f. In Mark x. 19, on the other hand, the authorities are divided—the neutral text, according to Westcott and Hort, following the Massoretic order, and the Syrian (Greek, Lat. Syr. Eth.) following that of the LXX (B, in Deut. v. 17–20). With *φόνων* . . . *φαρμακιῶν* . . . *πορνείας* cf. xxi. 8, xxii. 15, where *εἰδωλολάτραις* is added. *φαρμακιῶν* here means "sorceries," as parallel lists in xxi. 8, xxii. 15 (Gal. v. 20) show, but its insertion here between *φόνων* and *πορνείας* is difficult. Cf. also 1 Pet. iv. 15.

CHAPTER X.

This chapter comes from the hand of our author. It is designed in part to assure the faithful that the hour of the final Woe, that must precede the end, has come, x. 7, when the mystery of God will be fulfilled. It is designed further to serve as an introduction to xi. 1–13, which is a proleptic digression dealing with Jerusalem and the Jews during the reign of the Antichrist (see § 5 which follows).

Attempts have been made by some critics to disintegrate this chapter and assign it to different sources. The best means of testing such hypotheses will be a close study of the diction, and to this task we shall at once proceed.

§ 1. *The Diction of this Chapter is decisive in favour of its being from the hand of our Author.*

Thus in 1 with *ἄγγελον ἰσχυρόν* cf. v. 2. **καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ**: cf. iii. 12, xiii. 13, xvi. 21, xviii. 1, xx. 1, etc. **περιβεβλημένον**, a favourite word in the Apoc. **ἶρις**: cf. iv. 3. **τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος**: cf. i. 16. **ἔχων . . . βιβλαρίδιον ἠνεῳγμένον**: for same construction cf. xix. 12, *ἐχ. ὄνομα γεγραμμένον*, and xix. 16. On the use of *ἔχων* as a finite verb cf. xii. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12, 14. 2. **ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης**, v. 13, vii. 1 (cf. x. 5, 8) . . . **ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς**, v. 3, 10, 13, vi. 10, vii. 1, etc. These uses are characteristic. See p. 191. **ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ**. See note xiv. 15. 4. **ἤμελλον γράφειν**. **μέλλω** belongs to the diction of our author: cf. i. 19, ii. 10 (*bis*), iii. 2, 10, etc. See note on 7. 5. **ἑστῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης**. See note on 2. 6. **ἐν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων**: cf. i. 18, iv. 9, 10, xv. 7. **ὃς ἔκτισεν τὸν οὐρανὸν . . . καὶ τ. γῆν . . . καὶ τ. θάλασσαν**: cf. xiv. 7, where the same triple enumeration is found, iv. 11. 7. **ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς φωνῆς**. For same phrase cf. ii. 13. **μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν**, see note *in loc.* **ἐτελέσθη**—a favourite word of our author. **εὐηγγέλισεν**, c. acc., cf. xiv. 6 (*cum ἐπί*). **τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τ. προφήτας**: cf. xi. 18, i. 1, ii. 20, xv. 3, xix. 2, 5, xxii. 4, 6. 8. **φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ**: cf. (x. 4), xi. 12, xiv. 2, 13, xviii. 4. **λαλοῦσαν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγουσαν**: cf. iv. 1 note, xvii. 1, xxi. 9. **ὕπαγε λάβε**: cf. xvi. 1, *ὑπάγετε καὶ ἐκχέετε*: **ἑστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης**. See on 2. 10. **ἔλαβον . . . ἐκ τῆς χειρός**: cf. v. 7, *εἴληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς*. 11. **λαοῖς κ. ἔθνεσιν κ. γλώσσαις κ. βασιλεῦσιν**. This phrase is a recast by our author of the characteristic phrase found six times elsewhere in this Book; see note on v. 9.

§ 2. *Hebraisms.*—It is to be observed also that there are frequent Hebraisms, as is the manner of our author. Cf. 1. **οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ** = "his legs" (see note *in loc.*); 2. *καὶ ἔχων*. This use of the participle as a finite verb is Semitic: cf. iv. 7, 8, xii. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12, 14. 7. καὶ ἐτελέσθη. Best explained as a Hebraism. See note *in loc.* In 8 ὕπαγε λάβε is Hebraistic.

§ 3. From the above study we must recognize that it would be a highly hazardous proceeding to break up this chapter and assign some portions to one writer and some to another. Yet this is what Wellhausen, p. 14, attempts. He first brands x. 8–11 as an intrusion, for which the way has been prepared by the earlier addition, x. 2^{a}. Next he regards x. 5–7 also as an addition, which explains why Christ or God in x. 1 has been transformed into an angel (see my note on x. 1). This explanation is quite unconvincing in itself, and the fact that the diction is wholly against it removes it from the field of serious speculation. Spitta's analysis of this chapter is open to still more weighty objections. He assigns x. 1^{a}, 2^{b}, 3, 5–7 to his first Jewish source; x. 1^{b}, 2^{a}, 9^{b}, 10–11 to his second; and x. 4, 8^{b}, 9^{a} to a Redactor.

§ 4. As opposed to the views of chap. x. which we have just considered, we might mention those of Weyland, Völter, and J. Weiss, who, though differing from each other in nearly every other respect, agree in assigning x. and xi. 1–13 to one and the same hand. x. and xi. 1–13 are undoubtedly closely connected; but, as the diction and other characteristics prove, they are not the work of the same author.

§ 5. The third view, which regards x. as written by our author to introduce xi. 1–13, is represented by Weizsäcker, Schoen, Sabatier, Bousset, Pfleiderer^{2}, Jülicher, Porter.

Sabatier was of opinion that the author breaks away in x. from the order of development originally designed by him in order to insert a succession of fragments from Jewish sources. Bousset, following in the steps of this scholar, regards x. as the work of our author, which is indeed not a supplement but a digression, and is designed to explain the further course of his revelation, since the fulness of the visions threatens to introduce a certain degree of disorder. Furthermore, he points out that x. is not only an introduction to xi. 1–13, but takes within its purview xvii.–xviii. and thus binds together the composite elements.

With this statement of Bousset I am on the whole agreed, but I should like to put the matter differently and bring out other features which my own study of the problem has suggested to me. xi. 1–13 is, as I shall show later, a *proleptic digression.* It is a digression; for the author is practically concerned with Rome firstly and lastly, and not with Jerusalem. It is proleptic; for the vision belongs essentially to the third Woe (or third Trumpet), when the Antichrist is actually reigning *and in Jerusalem.* Thus the unities of subject, time, and place are sacrificed for the nonce by the insertion of xi. 1–13 in its present context. How little our author is concerned with Jerusalem is shown by his drastic abbreviation of the vision in Jerusalem, xi. 1–13, which is abridged, indeed, to such a degree as to be well-nigh unintelligible.[1] Now it is for this abbreviated vision that our author writes x. as an introduction. He is not suffered to leave out all mention of Jerusalem. He has had a vision touching Jerusalem. The contents of this vision are not given to him by direct inspiration as in the earlier chapters (cf. also x. 3–4), but through a book which he is bidden to eat. It is probable that in this particular instance our author implies that the vision is already written, and that he has had a vision (see x. 1 sqq.) authorizing him to publish it with the visions directly received. But in the direct vision in x. 11 he is told with regard to the visions that follow xi. 1–13, *δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς . . . καὶ βασιλεῦσιν πολλοῖς*—in other words, his inspiration in regard to xii. sqq. is to come directly through the organs of spiritual vision as in the earlier chaps. i.–ix., though the use of tradition, oral or written, is not thereby precluded. The words *λαοῖς . . . βασιλεῦσιν* in some measure define the contents of these later chapters, but the reader is already aware that they must deal with the third Woe, viii. 13, x. 7.

But x. serves not only to introduce xi. 1–13. It announces through the solemn oath of an angel that there will be no further delay, but that the time of the third Woe has come, when the mystery of God will be fulfilled—the whole purpose of God which has run through all the ages. The introduction to this Woe begins with xi. 15, but xi. 1–13 is essentially a part of this Woe.

1. καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ,
περιβεβλημένον νεφέλην, καὶ ἡ ἶρις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος,
καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρός.

The Seer has returned to earth. He hears a voice twice from heaven, x. 4, 8, and he receives the book from the angel that stood on the earth and the sea, x. 8, 10.

ἄλλον ἀγγ. ἰσχυρόν. To be rendered: "another angel, a mighty one": cf. vi. 4, xiv. 9, xv. 1. The diction recalls v. 2, xviii. 21. If Michael is referred to in viii. 3–5, it is possible that Gabriel is referred to here. In that case *ἰσχυρός* (= גִּבּוֹר) would imply a play on the name of the angel. Another argument in favour of this identification is that the author of this chapter almost quotes verbally from Dan. xii. 7, and that the angel there, who raises both hands to heaven and "swears by Him that liveth for ever," is by many scholars identified with Gabriel (cf. x. 5, 6—yet see note on viii. 2 of our text).

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[1] *οἱ δύο μάρτυρες*, xi. 3, are, in spite of the art., not mentioned before; nor yet is *τὸ θήριον*, xi. 7. We can at the best guess at the relation in which the Beast stands to Jerusalem and to the nations and peoples, xi. 8, and to the witnesses, xi. 3, 7, etc.

Wellhausen holds that the strong one is not an angel, but is "according to the description Christ or God Himself," and that the echoes of His voice are the seven peals of thunder of the Ps. xxix. This latter identification is ingenious, but is wholly against not only the present context, but the spirit of later Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic. Nor is the strong angel to be identified with Christ, as Christ is never designated as an angel in the Apoc. The voice in x. 4, 8 is probably that of Christ.

καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. This phrase is found in xviii. 1, xx. 1, and frequently in various forms in the Apoc. Cf. iii. 12, xiii. 13, xvi. 21, xx. 9, etc. **περιβεβλημένον νεφέλην.** Cf. Ps. ciii. (civ.) 3; Dan. vii. 13. With the phrase **ἡ ἶρις ἐπὶ τ. κεφ.** cf. iv. 3, and with **τ. πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος** cf. i. 16. The rainbow is due to the light from the angel's face on the cloud. The expression **οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρός** is very peculiar. *στύλοι* as applied to the feet seems unintelligible. If it had been used of the legs, the comparison would have been expressive: cf. Cant. v. 15, "his legs were like pillars of marble." The mistake, if there is a mistake, must lie either in *πόδες* or in *στύλοι.* Since our author had the angel described in Dan. x. 6, xii. 7 before his mind, we infer that the error lies in the former; for though Dan. x. 6 has מרגלתיו, this is rendered in Theod. by *τὰ σκέλη* (though the LXX has *οἱ πόδες*, as our text here and in i. 15). רגל has also the meaning of "leg" in 1 Sam. xvii. 6[1] and Ezek. i. 7.[2] (See *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, 919 sq., and on 595 under מצחה. Cf. also Deut. xxviii. 57; Isa. vii. 20.) Accordingly we should render here "and his legs were like pillars of fire." This secondary meaning of the Hebrew word רגל is attached by the author to the Greek word. He thinks in Hebrew, and as he embodies Hebrew idiom in his Greek, so also he has transferred to a Greek word a meaning which only legitimately belongs to the Hebrew of which it is a rendering.

Furthermore, in Palestinian Aramaic it is used as meaning the thigh of an animal, being a translation of כרעים: cf. Ex. xxix. 17; Lev. i. 13, viii. 21, ix. 14. In Arabic this word means either "foot" or "leg." From these facts we see that, while our author had in his mind the word רגל, he attached to it not its ordinary meaning "foot," but its less usual one "leg," and that he transferred this secondary meaning of the Hebrew word to its Greek equivalent. It might appear at first sight that he was wholly unjustified in supposing that the primary and secondary meaning of the Hebrew word, *i.e.* "foot" and "leg," belonged also to the Greek word; and yet it is possible that this secondary meaning of *πούς* (when used as a rendering of the Hebrew) was not unexampled at the time. For in the LXX it appears as the equivalent of כרעים, "thigh," as we have already observed above.

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[1] So rightly LXX, Peshitto, and Vulg. *crura.*

[2] Here the LXX and Vulg. render רגל rightly. But the Massoretic needs to be corrected. See Cornill and Marti.

This explanation removes the objection advanced by J. Weiss (p. 42), that the position of the clause relating to the *βιβλαρίδιον* between the representation of the feet and the placing of them on the sea and land, gives it the impression of an interpolation. The *πόδες* should be rendered "legs," and a full stop put after *βιβλαρίδιον ἠνεῳγμένον*. With these words the description of the angel closes. Wellhausen (p. 14) also regards it as an addition, the aim of which is disclosed by x. 8, 11. These verses, it is true, do disclose the aim, but x. 8–11 come from the hand of the Seer himself, and the contents of "the little book" are not a mere digression, but a *proleptic* vision of the reign of the Antichrist. Such proleptic visions occur elsewhere in our author.

ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδιον. Just as in v. 1 *βιβλίον γεγρ. ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν* is based in Ezek. ii. 9, so is the text here also: *καὶ ἰδοὺ χεὶρ ἐκτεταμένη πρός με, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κεφαλὶς βιβλίου.* We have here independent visions of the same Seer. **βιβλαρίδιον** (a *ἅπ. λεγ.*, a diminutive of *βιβλάριον*: cf. *παιδάριον*, John vi. 9. *βιβλιδάριον* is the form used in Classical Greek) means a very small book. This fact is of importance when we seek to determine the amount of the sequel that is to be assigned to it. If the seven-sealed Book embraces only chaps. vi.–ix., the small booklet (*βιβλαρίδιον*) should naturally embrace very much less. Its contents have been reasonably limited to xi. 1–13, which comes in as a proleptic digression among the events contained in the Seven-sealed Book. This clause properly belongs to 1.

2. **ἔθηκεν τὸν πόδα . . . γῆς.** The message concerns the whole earth. Perhaps the idea was remotely suggested by Dan. xii. 5. With the phrase *ἔθηκεν . . . πόδα* cf. i. 17, *ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ.*

ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. This is the more normal—apparently the only legitimate—form of this phrase in the Apoc.: cf. vi. 10, vii. 2, 10. It is true we find also *κράζειν ἐν φ. μεγάλῃ* in xiv. 15; but the passage is from an interpolater's hand, and the wholly unusual form *κράζειν ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φ.* in xviii. 2. After *λέγειν* the phrase *φωνῇ μεγάλῃ* may follow without *ἐν*, as in v. 12, viii. 13; or with it, as in xiv. 7, 9. Cf. *λέγοντος ὡς φωνῇ βροντῆς*, vi. 1; *φωνεῖν* *φ. μ.*, xiv. 18. None of these phrases is found in the Johannine Gospel. The nearest is in xi. 43, *φ. μ. ἐκραύγασεν.* For kindred phrases in the O.T. cf. Dan. iii. 4; Isa. xl. 9; Ps. xxix. 4; Jonah iii. 8.

ὥσπερ λέων μυκᾶται. *ὥσπερ* is found only here in the Apoc. Elsewhere *ὡς* is used in this sense. It is found twice in John v. 21, 26. The clause itself is an independent rendering of the Hebrew of Hos. xi. 10, כְּאַרְיֵה יִשְׁאָג, where the LXX has *ὡς λέων ἐρεύξεται.* Practically the same words recur in Amos i. 2, iii. 8; Joel iii. (iv.) 16. The LXX gives different renderings of שאג, as *ὠρύεσθαι*, Hos. xi. 10; *φθέγγεσθαι*, Amos i. 2; *ἐρεύγεσθαι*, Hos. xi. 10, Am. iii. 8; *ἀνακράζεσθαι*, Joel iii. (iv.) 16, but never *μυκᾶσθαι*, which is not found in the LXX. *μυκᾶσθαι* is properly used of oxen; but since Theocritus, xxvi. 21, has *μύκημα λεαίνης*, and 4 Ezra xi. 37, xii. 31 has "leo . . . mugiens" (= *μυκᾶσθαι*), we may reasonably infer that *μυκᾶσθαι* was used of the roar of a lion.

In all these passages the words are used of God. In 4 Ezra xi. 37 (xii. 31) the phrase "leo . . . mugiens" is used of the Messiah. But the context here limits the reference to an angel, *i.e.* Gabriel.

3. The loud voice of the angel seems at the outset to have been inarticulate, but not so the seven thunders that followed. Since the article is present here, the idea is clearly a familiar or current one. Bousset rightly protests against Spitta (followed by Wellhausen) representing the seven peals of thunder (known already from Ps. xxix. 3–9) as echoes of the voice just referred to. Nor can we with Völter, iv. 69, who appeals to Wisd. xix. 13, take them as merely conveying warnings announcing the wrath of God and heralding the final issues. Nor yet again can we accept the explanation offered by Weizsäcker, Schoen, Pfleiderer, J. Weiss (p. 43), and Bousset, who take the aim of this intermezzo to be a purely literary one. On this hypothesis a source which contains the cycle of visions connected with the Seven Thunders is excluded from his work by the Seer, either because it may have been known to his readers and therefore not have needed incorporation here, or because it may have been to a large extent a repetition of the foregoing visions. In that case the Seer has fallen from his rôle and plays the part of an editor, who gives account to his readers of the contents and order of his book. As against these explanations I am inclined to treat the statement as a *bona fide* one, and view it in the same light as that of St. Paul in 2 Cor. xii. 4 in regard to his vision in the third heaven: *ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι.* The Seer witnessed the vision referred to in x. 3–4 in connection with that of the strong angel, and has accordingly recorded the fact that he so witnessed it, although he was forbidden to disclose it. ἐλάλησαν . . . φωνάς. With this construction we might compare xiii. 5, *λαλοῦν μεγάλα*, and Mark ii. 2. The voices of the Seven Thunders are intelligible to the Seer, as he forthwith prepares to write down their message.

4. καὶ ὅτε ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, ἤμελλον γράφειν· καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν Σφράγισον ἃ ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς.

The Seer is forbidden by a voice, *i.e.* probably that of Christ, to write down the disclosures of the Seven Thunders. The non-writing is equivalent to sealing. *σφραγίζειν* is a technical apocalyptic term (cf. xxii. 10), and thus *σφράγισον* and *μὴ γράψῃς* are practically synonymous. With this passage Swete aptly compares John xii. 28, *ἦλθεν οὖν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . ὁ οὖν ὄχλος ὁ ἑστὼς καὶ ἀκούσας ἔλεγεν βροντὴν γεγονέναι· ἄλλοι ἔλεγον Ἄγγελος αὐτῷ λελάληκεν.*

The words *φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* (cf. x. 8) show that the Seer is now on earth. See note on iv. 1, p. 109.

5. After the intermezzo of 3–4 dealing with the Seven Thunders, the Seer resumes the description of the strong angel and his action.

> **καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος, ὃν εἶδον ἑστῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,**
> **ἦρεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,**
> **6. καὶ ὤμοσεν ἐν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.**

ἱστάναι ἐπί takes the acc. with the sense of "to stand at," iii. 20, *ἐπὶ τ. θύραν*: vii. 1, *ἐπὶ τ. γωνίας*: also with the sense of "to stand on," viii. 3, *ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον* (AP): xi. 11, *ἐπὶ τ. πόδας*: xii. 18, *ἐπὶ τ. ἄμμον*: xiv. 1, *ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος*: xv. 2, *ἐπὶ τ. θάλασσαν*; but takes the gen. with the same sense in x. 5, 8, *ἐπὶ τ. θαλάσσης* (+ *καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, x. 8); for it is characteristic of our author to write *ἐπὶ τ. γῆς*, or *εἰς τὴν γῆν* and *ἐπὶ τ. θαλάσσης*. See note on vii. 1, p. 191.

Next we observe that the text is clearly derived from Dan. xii. 7 —but the diction is not from the LXX or Theod.; for they render *ὕψωσε* (וירים) *τὴν δεξιὰν* (+ *αὐτοῦ*, T) *καὶ τὴν ἀριστερὰν* (+ *αὐτοῦ*, T) *εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ὤμοσε τὸν ζῶντα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα θεόν* (*ἐν τῷ ζῶντι τὸν αἰῶνα*, T). For *αἴρω* never occurs as a rendering of הרים when the verb is used technically of raising the hand to swear. Here the Versions give *ὕψωσεν*. But *αἴρω* is the usual translation of נָשָׂא יד when it is used technically of raising the hand to swear. In fact נשא יד (= *αἴρειν* or *ἐξαίρειν* or *ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα*) is a synonym for *ὀμνύναι*, and so it is actually rendered (קיים) in the three Targums on Ex. vi. 8, Num. xiv. 30, and in the Jer. and Jon. Targums on Deut. xxxii. 40, and in the Jon. Targ. on Ezek. xx. 5, 6, 15, 23, 28, 42, xxxvi. 7, etc.

From the above we conclude that our author did not use the Versions but the Hebrew of Daniel, which he rendered freely to suit his purpose, וירם ימינו . . . אל־השמים וישבע בחי העולם. I do not know of the combination "he lifted up his hand and sware" occurring elsewhere in canonical literature save in these two passages:

ὃς ἔκτισεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ὅτι χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται. This statement that God has created all things, serves to introduce the announcement that affects all created things.

Such references to the creative activity of God (cf. iv. 11, xiv. 7) are very frequent in later Judaism (cf. Bousset, *Rel. d. Judenthums*, 296) but very rare outside the Apocalypse in the N.T.: cf. Acts xiv. 15, xvii. 24; Heb. xi. 3. In the O.T.: cf. Gen. i. 1 sqq.; Ex. xx. 11; Isa. xxxvii. 16, xlii. 5; Jer. xxxii. 17, li. 15; Ps. xxxiii. 6, cii. 25, cxv. 15, cxxiv. 8, cxxxiv. 3, and especially cxlv. 6, *τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς*. Also Wisd. ix. 1, xi. 17; 2 Enoch xxiv. 2, xlviii. 5.

χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται. The idea underlying *χρόνος* here is that of an interval of time. Hence the clause means that there will be no delay. Cf. Heb. x. 37, *ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει* (= לֹא יְאַחֵר, Hab. ii. 3).

We have now to inquire the meaning of the clause in relation to its context—a matter of much importance. With regard to what is there to be no delay? This question we cannot investigate apart from Dan. xii. 7, which was before the mind of the Seer, and yet we must not do violence to our text by simply forcing upon it the meaning in Daniel. Now Dan. xii. 7, vii. 25, speaks of "a time, times and half a time," *i.e.* 3½ years, the period during which the Antichrist was to have power. But this period was *a period already in progress in the visions of Daniel.*

But this is not the case in our text. The reign of the Antichrist *has not yet begun in the visions of the Seer.* All the evils and plagues—even the two demonic plagues, are only forerunners of that period. But the hour for the reign of the Antichrist has all but struck. There will be no further delay (*χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται*). The evil of the world must now culminate in the revelation of the Antichrist; for the day of the Lord cannot come, *ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας* (2 Thess. ii. 3). The reign of the Antichrist which is about to begin is to be introduced by and embraced in the third Woe, to which our author refers in 7.[1]

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[1] Of other interpretations two may be mentioned. 1. The words are said to predict the ending of the state of time and the beginning of eternity. This view, which was in vogue as early as Bede, I supported in my edition of

7. ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἀγγέλου, ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, καὶ ἐτελέσθη τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγγέλισεν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς προφήτας.

This verse presents a difficult problem. Are we to regard *ἀλλ' . . . σαλπίζειν* as original or not? Spitta (p. 110) rejects the clause as an addition of the redactor; Völter (iv. 59) likewise rejects it, and J. Weiss (p. 41). These writers do not advance definite grounds for the excision of the clause, which could be stated and either accepted or rejected. The only definite objection is that of J. Weiss, who contends that it destroys the rhythm. But, as Bousset rejoins, there is no real rhythm in this chapter.

But though these critics have not furnished any just grounds for the rejection of this clause, the very fact that all three, though approaching the book from different standpoints, felt that there was something wrong about the clause, points to certain inherent difficulties. With these difficulties which arise in connection with the meaning which we attach to the phrases *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις* and *μέλλῃ*, we shall now proceed to deal. We have already seen that as in ix. 1 we were obliged to change *πέμπτος* into *πρῶτος*, and in ix. 13 *ἕκτος* into *δεύτερος*, so here for *ἑβδόμου* we must read *τρίτου*. The reference is to the third Trumpet (or third Woe, cf. xi. 14), in which the kingdom of the Antichrist is manifested and destroyed and God's kingdom established throughout the world. But the three Woes are Woes only to the inhabitants of the earth, *i.e.* the unfaithful: cf. viii. 13. To the faithful they are merely stages in the realization of the secret purpose of God (*μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ*, x. 7), which secret purpose leads ultimately to the blessedness of the faithful (cf. *εὐηγγέλισεν*, x. 7 and xi. 17–18).

Let us now return to *μέλλῃ* and *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις*. First as regards *μέλλῃ*. What meaning are we to assign to this word? It is used in three senses in the Apocalypse. 1. As an auxiliary with an infinitive to express simple futurity, iii. 16 (possibly also ii. 10 *bis*). 2. Cum inf. = to be about to do or suffer something, iii. 2, 10, viii. 13, x. 4, xii. 4, 5, xvii. 8 (possibly ii. 10 *bis*). But *μέλλειν* is practically an auxiliary here also. 3. Cum inf. = to be destined, i. 19, vi. 11. Now x. 7 clearly does not belong to 3. Hence it belongs either to 1 or 2. It is generally assigned to 2 (see R.V., Holtzmann, etc.), and it must be con-

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2 Enoch, p. xxiii, in relation to xxxiii. 2, lxv. 6, 7, where the absolute cessation of time is foretold. But this interpretation is wrong. 2. Nor is it right, with Alford, Bousset, and others, to connect our text with vi. 11, *καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν*: for there the martyrs pray for the speedy appearing of the day of judgment, and they are assured that that day will come in a little while, when the roll of the martyrs is complete. But in our text the period referred to is the reign of Antichrist on earth, which begins with his expulsion from heaven.

fessed this is the usual meaning of *μέλλειν* in the Apocalypse. But if we accept it, it follows that the mystery of God will be accomplished "in the days when the seventh angel is about to sound," *i.e.* before this angel has sounded. Now this is against every reasonable meaning that can be assigned to the *μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ* in this context (see note *in loc.*). If *μέλλῃ* has this meaning here, then we must excise *ἀλλ᾽ . . . σαλπίζειν* as an addition from the same hand that expanded the three Trumpets (or Woes) into seven, and explain the addition as due to a misunderstanding of the *proleptic* character of xi. 1–13. Not observing the proleptic character of xi. 1–13, the interpolator assumed that the Antichrist came before the seventh (*i.e.* third) Trumpet.

But it is possible to take *μέλλῃ* in the first sense. In that case we should translate *ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν* simply as "when he shall sound." We have now to deal with *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις*. This phrase might in itself denote a point of time or a period. But the words *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ*, however we interpret them, are in favour of the latter. The text then would run: "in the days of the voice of the third angel when he shall sound."

καὶ ἐτελέσθη. This can be explained as a Hebraism, *i.e.* וְנִשְׁלַם = *τελεσθήσεται*, or with *W.M.*, p. 346 sq., as the aor. of anticipation, "in the days when the third angel shall sound, then the secret of God is finished." *καί* introduces the apodosis in xiv. 10.

τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεου. 1. This phrase has been taken by Bousset as referring to the casting down of Satan from heaven, xii. 8–9. This interpretation has much in its favour, but it is not wide enough. The thanksgivings in xi. 17–18 lead us to expect something greater. 2. Vischer (p. 21), Völter (ii. 18, iv. 73), Holtzmann (? *in loc.*) refer it to the birth of the Messiah. In this case Vischer assumes that xii. is from a Jewish hand, and Völter, that it belongs to an Apocalypse of Cerinthus. 3. While the first view is inadequate the second is impossible. Hence we take the phrase in a wider sense than Bousset. The phrase appears to mean *the whole purpose of God in regard to the world*, which must finally be accomplished.[1] This purpose is not secret; for it has already been made known to His servants the prophets. *καὶ ἐτελέσθη τὸ μ. τ. θεοῦ* means the consummation of this growing purpose of God that has run through all the ages. It presents a twofold aspect: one of woe to the inhabiters of the earth (=the third Woe), and, so far, it is equivalent to the manifestation of the Antichrist on earth: and one of joy to the faithful (*εὐηγγέλισεν*, x. 7): for the Antichrist cannot overcome them spiritually, however much he may persecute them, and, moreover, he is to reign but a short time and their recompense is at hand. The contents of the divine purpose may be inferred from the thanksgivings of the 24 Elders after the seventh Trumpet (*i.e.* third Trumpet or Woe). Thus the kingdom of God is to be set up, xi. 17—a fact which carries with it the casting down of that of Satan and the Antichrist, "the destroyers of the earth" are to be destroyed, *i.e.* Rome as the servant of the Antichrist, xi. 18 (cf. xiv. 6–20, xix. 2), the saints recompensed, and the dead judged, xi. 18.

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[1] To determine the meaning of this phrase it must be studied in its several contexts. Thus in Rom. xvi. 25, 26, Col. i. 26, 27, ii. 2, iv. 3, Eph. i. 9, 10, iii. 3–6, 9, vi. 19, the *μυστήριον* means the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Christian Church. (See Robinson, *Eph.* 234 sqq.) This is actually designated *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ* in Col. ii. 2. But this cannot be the meaning in our text. Again the unbelief of Israel is described as a *μυστήριον* in Rom. xi. 25, and as bound up with God's mercy to the Gentiles. Other meanings of the word are found in the Pauline Epistles, *and one in particular calls for attention*, *i.e.* that in 2 Thess. ii. 6–8, *εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτόν* (*=τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνομίας*) *ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ· τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται*

τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγγέλισεν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς προφήτας. These words seem to be a reminiscence of Amos iii. 7 (LXX), *διότι οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πρᾶγμα ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν* (=מוסר corrupt for סודו) *αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφήτας* (כי אם־גלה סודו אל עבדיו הנביאים). If our text is based on Amos iii. 7, then our author clearly did not use the LXX, since it presupposes a different text. *εὐηγγέλισεν* c. acc. as an active is found only here in the N.T., as is also *εὐαγ.* c. *ἐπί* in xiv. 6. Cf. LXX of 1 Sam. xxxi. 9; 2 Sam. xviii. 19. *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* c. acc. is frequent in Luke. "His servants the prophets" is a well-known O.T. expression: cf. 2 Kings xvii. 13, 23, xxi. 10, xxiv. 2; Ezek. xxxviii. 17; Zech. i. 6; Jer. vii. 25, xxv. 4; Dan. ix. 10. But in our text we may take it that the phrase refers to the Christian prophets, the contemporaries of the Seer. The O.T. prophets touched very slightly, and generally not at all, on the great problems with which the Seer deals. As regards *ἑαυτοῦ*, if it is used, it is placed before the noun as here in x. 3. Otherwise *αὐτοῦ* is used, and placed after the noun: cf. i. 1, 4, 5, 6, 14, etc. etc. But the former expression is, of course, stronger.

τῆς ἀνομίας· μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος. The principle of evil will at last be revealed and culminate in a personality; for the advent of the Lord cannot take place unless this apostasy come first and the man of lawlessness be revealed (2 Thess. ii. 3). Here the *μυστήριον* refers to the Antichrist who is still hidden, but about to be revealed. This use is very nearly allied to that in our text, but it is much more limited in meaning. *τὸ μυστ. τ. θεοῦ* in our text embraces the whole purpose of God in history. The manifestation of evil in the Antichrist is only a part of this all-embracing purpose, which issues in the complete triumph and manifestation of goodness. The conceptions underlying 2 Thess. ii. are related essentially to those in our text.

8. καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πάλιν λαλοῦσαν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγουσαν Ὕπαγε λάβε τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἠνεῳγμένον τὸ ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἑστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

In the above text I have followed the uncials. The solecism seems to go back to the Seer himself. If he had had the opportunity of revising his MS. he would probably have written *ἐλάλησεν . . . λέγουσα* or *λαλοῦσα μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, λέγουσα.* (Cf. iv. 1, xvii. 1.) The reading of the majority of the cursives, *λάλουσα . . . καὶ λέγουσα*, is simply a scribal correction and not in our author's style. Nor is the text read as in 7 vulg^{cle} s^1 Prim., *καὶ ἤκουσα φωνήν*, aught else than a correction, though it is in keeping with our author's style. The voice is that already mentioned in 4.

The expression *ὕπαγε λάβε* is a Hebraism, and exactly reproduces the clause in Gen. xxvii. 13; Hos. i. 2, לֵךְ קח. Cf. Gen. xxix. 7, xxxvii. 14—in all about 57 times (in *Oxford Heb. Lex.*, p. 234). It occurs also in Matt. v. 24, viii. 4, xix. 21, etc.; John iv. 16, ix. 7. In our text in xvi. 1 we have *ὑπάγετε καὶ ἐκχέετε.* See note on x. 5. From x. 9–10 we know that our author had Ezek. iii. 1 sqq. before him: now this idiom occurs in Ezek. iii. 1, לֵךְ דַּבֵּר, and in iii. 4. **ἑστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης.** See 6 n.

9. καὶ ἀπῆλθα πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον λέγων αὐτῷ δοῦναί μοι τὸ βιβλαρίδιον καὶ λέγει μοι Λάβε καὶ κατάφαγε αὐτό, καὶ πικρανεῖ σου τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ἔσται γλυκὺ ὡς μέλι.

With *λέγων . . . δοῦναι*, "bidding him to give," cf. xiii. 14; Acts xxi. 21, *λέγων μὴ περιτέμνειν.* See Blass, *Gram.* 232, 240. The incident here undoubtedly recalls Ezek. iii. 1 sqq. Our author is not dependent on the LXX, which reads here: iii. 1, 3, *κατάφαγε τὴν κεφαλίδα ταύτην . . . καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ στόματί μου ὡς μέλι γλυκάζον.*

There is a difference between the description in our text and in Ezekiel. Ezekiel's roll was sweet as honey in the mouth, but there is no *direct* reference to its being bitter in the belly. And yet even the latter idea, which is emphasized in our text, seems to be derived from Ezekiel. For this contrast implicitly underlies the description in Ezekiel, where, though the book was sweet in the mouth, its contents with regard to Israel were full of "lamentation and mourning and woe." The same contrast is found also in Jer. xv. 16, 17 according to the Mass., "Thy words . . . I did eat (symbolically), and thy words were unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart. . . . I sat not in the assembly of them that make merry . . . for thou hast filled me with indignation" (*i.e.* hast given me nought but wrath to announce). But it is noteworthy that for אֹכְלֵם, "I did eat," the LXX reads כַּלֵּם = *συντέλεσον αὐτούς*, a text accepted by

Duhm and Cornill. Bertholet (Ezek. iii. 3) suggests that our author may have taken iii. 14 in this sense: "So the spirit lifted me up . . . and I went in bitterness" (וָאֵלֵךְ מַר[1]). This suggestion seems probable.

Next as to the meaning of the sweetness followed by bitterness in our text various explanations are offered. Most expositors are of opinion that the reception of a revelation is in itself a joy, but that its contents carry with them grief and bitterness. This is the meaning supported by the passages just cited from Ezekiel and Jeremiah.

But Ewald, Heinrici, Holtzmann hold that the sweetness and bitterness point to the diverse nature of the contents of the book. For of the book (which = xi. 1–13), xi. 1, 3–6, 11–13 disclose mercy and redemption, whereas xi. 2, 7–10 predict disappointment and death even for the righteous.

The introduction of this episode points to the use of a foreign source by our writer. The inspiration is not direct. There is not a single mention of this Little Book through the remaining chapters, and the Seer speaks of seeing the visions himself. The inspiration-theory underlying the idea of acquiring superhuman knowledge through eating is lower than that which prevails elsewhere in the Apocalypse. And yet this idea is not without parallel in the Apocalypse; for the eating of the Tree of Life in xxii. 14 appears to impart immortality, but there the words are symbolically used.

In the O.T. the conception appears more natural. According to the Paradise story, the Tree of Knowledge gave to those who ate of it spiritual knowledge. The ancients did not distinguish sharply, as we do, between the material and spiritual life. And yet even we moderns believe in the close relation of these two; for we hold that with the material elements of the bread and wine spiritual gifts are imparted to the faithful in the Holy Communion.

10. καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλαρίδιον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου καὶ κατέφαγον αὐτό· καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ στόματί μου γλυκὺ ὡς μέλι· καὶ ὅτε ἔφαγον αὐτό ἐπικράνθη[2] ἡ κοιλία μου.

In 9 the importance of the results that followed the eating of the book is emphasized, and accordingly these are placed first; in this verse the events are given in the order of the Seer's experience.

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[1] The LXX reads *καὶ ἐπορεύθην μετέωρος* here, where the last word = רם, corrupt for מר.

[2] *εγεμισθη* א 1854 arm Prim. This reading seems due to Ezek. iii. 3, מעיך תמלא; LXX, *ἡ κοιλία σου πλησθήσεται*. Swete thinks that it is "the first word of a gloss *ἐγεμίσθη πικρίας*, accidentally transferred into the text from the margin."

11. καὶ λέγουσίν μοι Δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς καὶ ἔθνεσιν καὶ γλώσσαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν πολλοῖς.

The plural *λέγουσιν* is difficult. We cannot determine whether the words come from the heavenly voice (4, 8), or from the angel (9). Probably it is simply the plural of indefinite statement, as in xiii. 16, *δῶσιν* : xvi. 15, *βλέπωσιν*—an idiom sometimes found in Hebrew, and frequent in Biblical Aramaic. Cf. Dan. iv. 13, 22, 23, 29, v. 20, 21, vii. 12, 26; Ezr. vi. 5. See Wellhausen, *Einleitung in d. Evang.* 25 sq.

The construction *προφητεύειν ἐπί* (c. dat. or acc.) is found not infrequently in the LXX as a rendering of נִבָּא עַל. *ἐπί* = "in regard to" is found in John xii. 16 after *γράφειν*. The phrase *πάλιν προφητεῦσαι* refers backward in *πάλιν* to what precedes, and forward in *προφητεῦσαι* to the chapters that follow xi. 15, as the *βιβλαρίδιον* embraces only xi. 1–13. The prophecies are to deal with "peoples and nations and languages and many kings." It is interesting that this enumeration, which occurs seven times in the Apocalypse (see note on v. 9), is here given a different form, and *βασιλεῦσιν* is put in the place of *φυλαῖς*. The "kings" are specially those mentioned in xvii. 10, 12. The Seer is recasting this characteristic phrase with a view to the contents of his later visions.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. *The contents of the Little Book, being a proleptic Digression on the Antichrist in Jerusalem.*

The measuring (i.e. *the securing against demonic powers*) *of the faithful, 1–2, and the preaching of the two Witnesses, 3–6, are a preparation against the appearance of the Antichrist in Jerusalem—the Beast from the abyss, who will reign for three and a half years, and will war against and put to death the Witnesses to the great joy of the unbelievers, 7–10: the Witnesses raised anew to life, and the rest of the Jews converted to Christianity, 11–13.*

Such appears to be the meaning of this section in its present context. This section is proleptic, because it really belongs to the third Woe or Trumpet, when Satan had already been cast down from heaven (xii.) and the Kingdom of the Antichrist established (xiii.). It is, therefore, contemporary in point of time with xii.–xiii. It is a *digression*, because the author has turned aside for the moment from his main theme of the Antichrist as identified with Rome and its empire, in order to describe his appearance in Jerusalem. This task done, he can pursue without interruption to its close the struggle between Christ and the Antichrist as embodied in the Roman Empire. If we ask why he introduced this section at all, we might perhaps reply that in one respect its presence here is a tribute to the older form of the Antichrist tradition (before 70 A.D.), which regarded Jerusalem as the scene of the manifestation of the Jewish Antichrist, as in 2 Thess. ii.; and that in another respect it was designed to represent the Conversion of the Jews to Christianity under the pressure of fear and after the preaching of Moses and Elijah—the two companions of Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration—was completed.

§ 2. *But 1–13 had originally a different meaning and was borrowed by our author from an early source.*

But though § 1 gives the meaning of this section in its present context, this was not its original meaning; for it was not the original composition of our author, but consisted originally of two independent fragments which were borrowed and revised by him to suit his own ideas.

The grounds for this statement are as follows:

1. xi. 1–13 consists of two independent fragments, both written before 70 A.D.

2. The diction differs very perceptibly from that of our author.

3. The order of the words, which is largely non-Semitic, differs decidedly from that of our author.

4. The meaning of certain phrases in xi. 1–13 differs absolutely from that which they bear in the rest of the Apocalypse.

5. Certain ideas common to xi. 1–2 and xi. 3–13 are expressed in different phraseology and appear to point to different authorship (whether Greek or Aramaic).

1. xi. 1–13 *consists of two independent fragments both written* before 70 A.D.

The first fragment is xi. 1–2. Owing to Wellhausen's recognition of the fact that xi. 1–2 was originally an independent oracle written before 70 A.D. (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 221 sqq.; cf. also his *Analyse der Offenb. Johannis*, 1907, p. 15), the task of subsequent critics has been rendered easier.

This oracle predicted the preservation of the Temple and those who worshipped in it (*i.e.* the Zealots, who during the siege had taken up their quarters in the Temple and the inner court; see my note *in loc.*), while the outer court and city would be trodden down of the Gentiles.[1] There is here no idea of the destruction, but only of the capture of Jerusalem. There were many prophets among the Zealots, according to Josephus. This fragment would naturally be the work of one of these.

Amongst the older scholars, Corrodi, Herren, Schneider,

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[1] On the expectation that Jerusalem would be captured by the Romans, see Josephus, *B.J.* vi. 5. 3.

Eichhorn, Semler, Bleek, Ewald, De Wette, and Lücke interpreted xi. 1–2 of the preservation of the Temple; and, as they held to the unity of the Apocalypse, they naturally concluded that the Apocalypse was written before 70 A.D. J. Weiss accepts the date thus found for xi. 1–13 and takes xi. 3–13 to be from the same hand. But Bousset and Porter distinguish xi. 1–2 and xi. 3–13.

xi. 3–13. This fragment, as Wellhausen has rightly observed (*Analyse*, p. 16), stands in an isolated position. οἱ δύο μάρτυρες (xi. 3) are in spite of the article not previously mentioned, nor is τὸ θήριον (xi. 7). He thinks that xi. 3–13 originally referred to Rome, and that the Redactor adapted it by his additions to Jerusalem. The reasons he advances for this last view are not tenable, and are dealt with in my notes where necessary. In the course of his criticism Wellhausen reduces the original document to xi. 3^a, 7, 8^a, 9 (four words), 10–13 (with excisions).

The criticism of Bousset is sounder. He shows first of all how fragmentary xi. 3–13 is, seeing that it leaves us in doubt as to whether the Antichrist appears as a purely mythological figure or an historical personage: as to the relation in which he stands to Jerusalem, or to the nations and people mentioned, or to the Witnesses. Next he takes xi. 3–13 in connection to xi. 1–2. The binding together of these two fragments could not, he holds, have been effected by an author who wrote after 70 A.D.; for that only under the presupposition that they were combined in an apocalypse written before 70, could they possess a good sense and an inner connection. For according to xi. 1–2, Jerusalem is to be given over to the Gentiles, but the Temple is to be preserved. And only in this situation is the following prophecy conceivable. The two Witnesses and the Beast from the abyss appear in the city beleagured by the Romans. I confess that I find this reasoning unconvincing. The writer who could adapt to his own Apocalypse of 95 A.D., when Jerusalem was in ruins, *a fragment that bore definitely on its face the date of 70 A.D.* when Jerusalem still stood, would have found less difficulty in adapting to it *a fragment dealing with eschatological expectations of the reign of the Antichrist and written at some undiscoverable date before 70 A.D.*; for xi. 3–13 also presupposes Jerusalem to be still standing.

But, as we shall discover later, there are some grounds for regarding xi. 7 as wholly recast by our author and xi. 4 (?), 8^{bc}, 9^a as added by him, and that xi. 5^d is possibly a gloss.

2. *The diction and idiom differ very perceptibly from those of our author.*

First we observe that in 1 ἐγείρειν, in 2 ἐκβάλλειν and αὐλή, in 5 (and 12) ἐχθρός, in 6 ὑετός βρέχειν and ὁσάκις ἐάν, and ἀφιέναι c. inf. in 9, and in 11 ἐπιπίπτειν are found here only in the Apoc. These facts in themselves prove nothing, but the following prove much. Thus πτῶμα = "corpse," is used in 8, 9, whereas our author uses *νεκρός* in this sense, xvi. 3, xx. 13; *θεωρεῖν* in 11, 12, whereas our author uses *βλέπειν* or *ὁρᾶν* in this connection; *προφητεία* = "period of prophetic activity" in 6, but "prophecy" in the rest of the Apoc. Again in xi. 6 we have *τὴν ἐξουσίαν*, whereas in such a passage where limited authority is implied the article is omitted; see note on ii. 26: the pres. inf. *στρέφειν* though the aor. inf. only is used, except in the case of *βλέπειν*, i. 12, v. 3, 4, ix. 20, and *καταβαίνειν* in xiii. 13, and of infinitives after *μέλλειν*; see note on i. 19. Again in xi. 11 *ἔστησαν* stands (cf. xviii. 17) where our author would probably have used *ἱστήκεισαν* (cf. vii. 11) or *ἐστάθησαν* (cf. viii. 3, vi. 17). In xi. 13 *ἑπτά* stands after *χιλιάδες*. See viii. 2 n. Finally, in 3 we have *δώσω . . . καὶ προφητεύσουσιν* where our author would have used *δώσω ἐξουσίαν . . . προφητεύειν* or *ἵνα προφητεύσωσιν*, see note on xi. 3; in 5^{b} we have *εἰ* with subj., which is against our author's usage; in 6 *ὁσάκις ἐάν* to denote indefinite frequency, whereas our author uses *ὅταν*: cf. iv. 9 (ix. 5); and in 11 *εἰσῆλθεν ἐν*, whereas *εἰσέρχεσθαι* is followed either by *εἰς* or *πρός* c. acc. elsewhere in the Apoc.

3. *The order of the words, which is largely non-Semitic, differs decidedly from that of our author.*—The subject precedes the verb in xi. 5, *πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται . . . καὶ κατεσθίει*: xi. 6, *ὑετὸς βρέχῃ*: xi. 10, *καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες . . . χαίρουσιν*: xi. 11, *πνεῦμα ζωῆς . . . εἰσῆλθεν* and *φόβος . . . ἐπέπεσεν*: xi. 13, *τὸ δέκατον . . . ἔπεσεν* and *οἱ λοιποὶ . . . ἐγένοντο*. But more noteworthy are the cases where the object precedes the verb: xi. 2, *μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσῃς, τὴν αὐλήν . . . ἔκβαλε, τὴν πόλιν . . . πατήσουσιν*: xi. 5, *αὐτοὺς . . . ἀδικῆσαι*: xi. 6, *ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν* (here only in this order in the text of the Apocalypse): xi. 9, *τὰ πτώματα . . . οὐκ ἀφίουσιν τεθῆναι*: xi. 10, *δῶρα πέμψουσιν*.

I leave out of consideration xi. 7, which has been recast by our author; xi. 4 (?), 8^{bc}, 9^{a}, which have been probably added by him.

Now the force of this evidence becomes clearer if we compare the order of words in this chapter with the five preceding chapters. In these

Subject precedes verb.	Prepositional phrase precedes verb.	Object precedes verb.
Chap. vi. . . 10 times.	...	1 (for emphasis: vi. 6).
„ vii. . . 4 „	...	...
„ viii. 1, 3–5, 13. 1 time.	...	...
Chap. viii. 7–12. 7 times. (addition to text).	...	7 times.
Chap. viii. 2, 6. . 2 „ (recast).	...	...
Chap. ix. . . . 1 time.	3 times.	1 (in a gloss: ix. 11).
„ x. . . . 4 times.	1 time.	1 (object a pronoun: x. 4. Cf. xi. 2).

Thus in five chapters from the hand of our author the object precedes the verb only twice, whereas in eleven verses in chap. xi. it precedes it seven times. This evidence speaks for itself.

4. *The meaning of certain phrases in xi. 1–13 differs absolutely from that which they bear in the rest of the Apocalypse.* The phrase ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is used in xi. 1 of the Temple in Jerusalem. But our author does not apply this phrase to the earthly Temple, as he reserves it for the Temple in heaven. Next our author could not have described the actual Jerusalem as τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν in xi. 2. This phrase he reserves for the heavenly Jerusalem which cometh down from heaven (xxi. 10). Again, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη is used in xi. 8 of Jerusalem, but in our author this phrase technically designates Rome. See note *in loc.* Finally, οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς = the dwellers in Palestine in xi. 10, but elsewhere in the Apocalypse the inhabitants of the whole earth. Owing to the above facts our author must have attached a symbolical meaning (if he did attach a definite meaning) to the first phrase as well as to πόλις in xi. 13 (see notes *in loc.*).

5. *Though the ministry of the Witnesses is of the same duration as the occupation of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, the incidents in xi. 3–13, culminating in the destruction of one-tenth of Jerusalem, suggest quite a different situation from that implied in xi. 1–2.*

6. *Certain ideas common to both xi. 1–2 and xi. 3–13 are expressed in different phraseology and may point to different authorship (whether Greek or Aramaic).*

Thus over against μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα δύο in xi. 2 we have the same idea expressed by ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα in xi. 3, and over against τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν in xi. 2 we have τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης in xi. 8.

In xi. 1–2 of this section we have a notable instance of reinterpretation on the part of our author. The inviolable security which the Jews attached to the Temple is reinterpreted by him as meaning the *spiritual* security of the Christian community despite the Satanic kingdom of the Antichrist about to be manifested.

The same process of reinterpretation runs through xi. 3–13, as will be seen in the notes. In addition to the transformations of meaning thus effected it is possible that our author would here impress the general lesson that underlies the entire Apocalypse, that fidelity to Christ, while it ensures spiritual security against the demonic world, entails martyrdom, but that this martyrdom in its turn leads to ultimate victory in all things.

XI. 1–13. A PROLEPTIC DIGRESSION ON THE ANTICHRIST IN JERUSALEM.

1. καὶ ἐδόθη μοι κάλαμος ὅμοιος ῥάβδῳ, λέγων Ἔγειρε καὶ μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ.

These two verses, xi. 1–2, are a fragment, as Wellhausen was the first to recognise, of an oracle written before 70 A.D. by one of the prophets of the Zealot party in Jerusalem, who predicted that, though the outer court of the Temple and the city would fall, the Temple and the Zealots who had taken up their abode within it would be preserved from destruction. These verses, therefore, originally dealt partly with contemporary history and partly with eschatological forecasts. But in their present context they cannot possibly be interpreted by the Contemporary Historical Method. The Temple is destroyed and the Zealots with it, and the prophecy of Christ, Mark xiii. 2 = Matt. xxiv. 2 = Luke xxi. 6, has been fulfilled to the letter. Hence no literal interpretation is here possible. The verses must be taken wholly eschatologically, and several of the phrases symbolically, as *μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ*. For the temple of God is here the spiritual temple of which all the faithful are constituent parts; the outer court is the body of unbelievers who are given over to the sway of the Antichrist; and the measuring, like the sealing in vii. 4 sqq., denotes the preservation of the faithful, not from physical evil, but from the spiritual assaults of the Antichrist and his demonic following during the reign of the Antichrist. The grounds for the above interpretation will be found in the introduction to this chapter and in the notes that follow.

The construction *ἐδόθη μοι . . . λέγων* is very abnormal for *ἔδωκέν μοι . . . λέγων*. We have, however, an analogous construction in Gen. xxii. 20, *ἀνηγγέλη. . . . λέγοντες* (. . . וַיֻּגַּד לֵאמֹר): xxxviii. 24, xlviii. 2; Jos. ii. 2, x. 17, xvi. 2, etc.; Clem. *1 Cor.* xi. 1, *Λὼτ, ἐσώθη ἐκ Σοδόμων . . . πρόδηλον ποιήσας ὁ δεσπότης*. Here we should expect *ἔσωσεν*. But eleven words intervene between *ἐσώθη* and *ποιήσας* here. Cf. Thuc. iii. 36. 1.

κάλαμος. Ezek. xl. 3–xlii. 20 was in the mind of the author of this verse. In xli. 13 the angel measures the Temple. The Hebrew is קְנֵה הַמִּדָּה in Ezekiel.

μέτρησον. Three explanations have been given of the measuring.

1. Measuring may be done with a view to rebuilding and restoring, as in Ezek. xl. 2 sqq., 47, xli. 13, xliii. 13; Zech. ii. 2–8; Jer. xxxi. 39. So Vitringa, Bengel. But this meaning is excluded by the context.

2. It may be done with a view to destruction, as in 2 Kings xxi. 13; Isa. xxxiv. 11; Amos vii. 7–9; Lam. ii. 8; 2 Sam. viii. 2^a. So Baumgarten and Erbes (69–74). But this sense also is inadmissible in our text, since the exclusion of the outer court in 2 from measurement is the same as its surrender, not indeed to destruction, but to profanation by the Gentiles. The ideas underlying μέτρησον and ἔκβαλε are here essentially opposed.

3. There remains, therefore, the third and only meaning applicable to this word *in its original context*, *i.e.* the measuring means physical preservation, as in 2 Sam. viii. 2^b. So Storr, Oeder, Semler, Corrodi, Bleek, Ewald, Züllig (ii. 163–169), De Wette, Lücke, Bousset, etc. The text here in its original form dealt with the actual Temple, altar, outer court, and city. It does not, however, follow that our Seer attached the same meaning to these words. Rather we shall see grounds for believing that in re-editing this earlier document, xi. 1–13, he attached to them symbolical meanings.[1] And such is the case with the word "measure" in its present context. Thus we must have recourse to a measuring different from the above three.

4. In its present context the measuring does not mean preservation from physical, but from *spiritual* danger. Thus the measuring comes to be practically synonymous with the sealing in vii. 4 sqq. A related meaning is attached to measuring like 1 Enoch lxi. 1–5:

> 1. "And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels and they . . . flew . . . towards the north.
> 2. And I asked the angel saying:
> Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off? And he said unto me: They have gone to measure . . .
> 3. . . . These shall bring the measures of the righteous . . . to the righteous

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[1] Bousset rejects every attempt at a symbolical explanation; but there is no other kind of explanation admissible, if we hold that xi. 1–13 is borrowed material, and that our author attached a certain meaning to it in its new context. On p. 330 Bousset gives the following attempt at an explanation. He admits (because he rejects an allegorical interpretation) that the meaning attached to xi. 1–13 by "the Apocalyptist of the last hand" can scarcely be made out. He holds that, in case he reflected on its meaning, he would at all events have seen in xi. 1–2 a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem. But the very phraseology is against this view: the city is "trodden down" but it is not destroyed. Moreover, Bousset recognizes that in xi. 3–13 the city is still presupposed to be standing (cf. xi. 13 specially). From this attempt we may conclude that it is impossible to interpret xi. 1–2 in its present context from the standpoint of the Contemporary Historical hypothesis.

That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever . . .
4. . . . And those are the measures which shall be given to faith,
And which shall strengthen righteousness.
5. And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth,
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
And those who . . . have been devoured by the fish of the sea,
That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed."

The exact meaning of measuring in this passage is difficult to determine, but its general sense is clear. It does not signify preservation from physical destruction, but the spiritual preservation, lxi. 3–4, or restoration of those who had been *physically* destroyed, to the spiritual community of the Messianic Kingdom, lxi. 5. The last words imply that all the faithful live unto God, whether quick or departed. Physical death in their case is a thing without meaning.

τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. This phrase here denoted originally the actual Temple in Jerusalem. But our Seer would never have so described it; for in his own diction it means one of two things. 1. The spiritual temple, iii. 12, of which the faithful are pillars. 2. The temple in heaven, vii. 15, xi. 19 (*bis*), xiv. 15, 17, xv. 5, 6, 8 (*bis*), xvi. 1, 17. Next, it is noteworthy that at the close of Christ's ministry (Matt. xxiii. 38 = Luke xiii. 35) the actual Temple is called by Christ the Jew's house, no longer God's house, though at the beginning He had called it His Father's house (John ii. 16 = Mark xi. 17 = Matt. xxi. 13 = Luke xix. 46), and that there is no temple at all in the heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 22. To our Seer the Jews are ἡ συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ii. 9, iii. 9, and in John viii. 44 they are the children of the devil (ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ). But since our Seer has incorporated into his text xi. 1–13 with certain editorial changes, he must have attached some meaning to the above phrase and taken it symbolically.[1] To him, therefore, it meant the spiritual temple (iii. 12; Eph. ii. 19 sqq.) of which all the faithful are constituent parts, the Christian community of God generally, or rather he took the Temple, altar, and worshippers together as representing this community. This idea was a very familiar one in the N.T.: cf. 1 Cor. iii. 16, ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστέ: 2 Cor. vi. 16, ἡμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς θεοῦ ἐσμὲν ζῶντος: 1 Pet. ii. 5, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικός.

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[1] Our Seer's addition in xi. shows that he attaches a symbolical or rather non-literal meaning to certain expressions.

τὸ θυσιαστήριον. In our note on viii. 3 we have shown that τὸ θυσιαστήριον in the Apocalypse refers always, with the exception of this passage, to the one altar in heaven. As regards the present passage expositors are divided. Some take this altar to be the altar of incense within the ναός: others, the altar of burnt-offering. In the case of the two altars in the earthly Temple, τὸ θυσιαστήριον, when it is used without any additional defining phrase or attribute, means the altar of burnt-offering.

But we have already found that our author has not, and indeed could not have, taken the words μέτρησον and τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ literally. If he attached any special meaning to θυσιαστήριον here, it must also be a figurative one. He appears to have taken it together with the ναός and οἱ προσκυνοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ as forming one idea. But in the case of borrowed apocalyptic material, it is not necessary to explain every detail of such material, and indeed it is frequently impossible; for the material is often borrowed on account of certain of its *chief* ideas which fit in with the borrower's own, or easily lend themselves to entire transformation in their new context. The very presence of such inexplicable details, moreover, in apocalyptic texts is *prima facie* evidence that the contexts in which they occur are not original and spontaneous creations of the Seer, but are derived from traditional material.

τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ. For the meaning of measuring in connection with this phrase see the quotation from 1 Enoch above. Since the Temple, the altar, and the worshippers are set over against the outer court, the worshippers must include those in the men's and women's courts, *i.e.* Jews in opposition to Gentiles, who were restricted to the outer court. But the writer did not mean that all Jews, as worshippers in the inner court, would be saved, but a certain definite body of Jews worshipping at a certain definite time, *i.e.* when Jerusalem was trodden down by, and in the hands of, the Gentiles—the Romans. At this period the inner courts were occupied by the Zealots. Safety was assured to them by one of their prophets in the above fragment, xi. 1–2.

2. While the community of God is to be preserved against spiritual evils, *i.e.* against the assaults of its spiritual foes, the Antichrist and the demonic world about to be revealed, the unbelievers are left a prey to the Antichrist and his demonic followers for the forty and two months.

τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. In Herod's Temple the inner court, with its various divisions accessible only to Jews, was separated from the outer by a breastwork of stone—δρύφακτος (Joseph. *B.J.* v. 5. 2) or τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, Eph. ii. 14. On this breastwork stood pillars at equal distances from one another with inscriptions, some in Greek and some in Latin, forbidding the Gentiles to pass this barrier on pain of death (*Ant.* xv. 11. 5).[1]

This outer court was in later times called the Court of the Gentiles, but this designation is not found in the Mishna or Josephus. This court was not regarded by the Jews as strictly sacred (*Jew. Encyc.* xii. 88), but was recognized as such by our Lord, who (Mark xi. 17 = Matt. xxi. 13 = Luke xix. 46) quoted the words of Isa. lvi. 7 (LXX), ὁ γὰρ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

The original reference in this verse is to the capture of the city and the outer court of the Temple by the Romans, by whom, according to its writer, these were to be trodden down for 42 months. Thus the words were written while the Temple itself was still in the possession of the Zealots, and therefore before 70 A.D. The writer of xi. 1–2, who was a prophet of this fanatical party, assured his fellow Zealots that the Temple itself would not be destroyed. But *in its present context* there is a transformation of the original sense. Since the Temple, altar, and the worshippers in the Temple represent to our Seer the Christian community of the faithful (see note *in loc.*), the outer court and the city symbolize those who are given over for 3½ years to the domination of the Antichrist, irrespective of their race, whether Jew or Gentile. But probably only the former are here in the foreground.

ἔκβαλε ἔξωθεν καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσῃς. These words make it very clear that μετρεῖν here means to preserve, and that the non-measuring of the outer court is equivalent to its rejection. The Temple and the outer court are to experience exactly opposite fortunes.

ἐδόθη τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ . . . πατήσουσιν. This construction is regarded by many scholars as the same as that in 3. But the constructions are quite dissimilar. The latter forms one idea and the tenses are the same; but in the former the ἐδόθη is to be taken literally. The outer court and the city "have been given over (in the counsels of God) to the Gentiles, and they shall," etc. For the idiomatic uses of διδόναι to which the present instance does not belong, see 3, note. It is not here implied that Jerusalem will be destroyed. The following clause defines the degree of devastation and the duration of it.

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[1] One such inscription is still extant, discovered in 1871 by Clermont-Ganneau. See *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4945; Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 713; *Jewish Encyc.* xii. 85.

τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν. This phrase could not be used of the actual Jerusalem by our Seer. It stood in the oracle he borrowed, and he left it there unchanged, as we find it frequently the case in this and other apocalypses in the case of borrowed material. This phrase is only used by our Seer of the new Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem, as in xxi. 2: cf. xxi. 10, xxii. 19. His true attitude to the actual city, Jerusalem, is revealed in the clause he adds in xi. 8, *ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος κτλ.* The phrase itself is a familiar one in Jewish prophecy and Apocalyptic: cf. Isa. xlviii. 2, lii. 1; Dan. ix. 24, עִיר קָדְשֶׁךָ; the prayer of Azariah in Dan. (LXX and Theod.) iii. 28; Neh. xi. 1, 18; Pss. Sol. viii. 4, *πόλει ἁγιάσματος.* The heavenly Jerusalem, which was to be the abode of Christ and the martyrs for 1000 years, is called *τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἠγαπημένην* in our text, xx. 9, in contrast to the earthly Jerusalem, which our author designates as *Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος.*

τὴν πόλιν . . . πατήσουσιν. (The future as contrasted with *ἐδόθη* here implies that this event is still in the future.) Cf. Luke xxi. 24, *Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν.* In the Pss. Sol. this verb or a compound of it is used in relation to the Temple, vii. 2, *μὴ πατησάτω ὁ ποῦς αὐτῶν κληρονομίαν ἁγιάσματος σου*, ii. 2 (*κατεπάτουν*), 20: and in relation to Jerusalem in xvii. 25. In all these passages from the Pss. Sol. profanation but not destruction is implied as in our text. But the expression is not infrequent in the O.T. and Apocrypha. Cf. Zech. xii. 3, *θήσομαι τὴν Ἰερουσαλὴμ λίθον καταπατούμενον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*: Isa. lxiii. 18; Dan. viii. 10, 13; Ps. lxxix. 1; 1 Macc. iii. 45, *τὸ ἁγίασμα καταπατούμενον*, 51, iv. 60; 2 Macc. viii. 2.

μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο. This period is derived from Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7, where, however, it is described as "a time and times and half a time," *i.e.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ times or years, and defines the duration of the reign of the Antichrist. It is noteworthy that this idea appears under three forms in our text: 1. as here and in xiii. 5. 2. xi. 3, xii. 6, *ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα*: cf. Dan. xii. 11, where, however, the number is 1290, owing to the insertion of an intercalary month. 3. xii. 14, *καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ.* This is a literal rendering of Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7. It is somewhat peculiar that two different forms occur in xi. 2, 3 to express the same idea, but this is no longer a difficulty when we assume the different provenance of xi. 1–2 and xi. 3–13. Similarly on independent grounds we assume that xii. 6 and xii. 14 are from different sources. This explains the double form of the phrase in these verses also.

The origin of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years has never been satisfactorily explained. Gunkel, *Z. rel. Verst. d. NT.* 79–82, traces it to a mythological source, and thinks that it meant originally the evil time, *i.e.* the winter months (cf. *K.A.T.*^{3} 389); but this is fanciful.

How strongly this period had impressed itself on the imagination of the early Christians may be inferred from the fact that the drought caused by Elijah in 1 Kings xviii. 1 sqq., which lasted 3 years, is said to have lasted 3½ in Luke iv. 25; Jas. v. 17. Thus it is transformed into a type of the great and final Woe that should befall the world. It is referred to as the *καιροὶ ἐθνῶν* in Luke xxi. 24 (which belongs to the interpolated Jewish Christian Apocalypse) and also in 4 Ezra v. 4.

xi. 3–13. (See Introduction to chapter.) Concurrently with the advent of the Antichrist (in Rome?) the two Witnesses—Moses and Elijah, our Lord's companions on the Mount of Transfiguration—appear in Jerusalem as preachers of repentance to the Jews. Towards the close of his reign the Antichrist suddenly comes to Jerusalem and slays the Witnesses, whereat his followers rejoice. After three days the spirit of life enters into the two Witnesses and they ascend into heaven, while an earthquake destroys part of Jerusalem. Under the influence of fear the Jews are converted to Christianity.

3. καὶ δώσω τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσίν μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα περιβεβλημένους σάκκους.

The construction *καὶ δώσω . . . καὶ προφητεύσουσιν* is Hebraic. וְאֶתֵּן . . . וְנִבְּאוּ = "I will commission (or give permission to) my two witnesses to prophesy." Some scholars think that it occurs also in xi. 2, *ἐδόθη . . . καὶ πατήσουσιν*: but this seems wrong, for we should then require *δοθήσεται . . . καὶ πατήσουσιν*. Besides *ἐδόθη* is used in a literal sense in xi. 2, whereas *δώσω* in xi. 3 is used in an idiomatic sense. Hence this is the only instance of this idiom in the Apocalypse which uses three different constructions of *διδόναι* in this sense. 1. *διδόναι*, c. inf. = "to permit": cf. ii. 7, iii. 21 (*ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι*), vi. 4, vii. 2, xiii. 7, 15, xvi. 8. This is the normal construction in this sense in our book. It is noteworthy that in xiii. 15 we find this idiomatic sense and the literal close together, *ἐδόθη αὐτῇ δοῦναι*. This idiom is Hebraic: cf. Esth. ix. 13, . . . יִנָּתֵן לַעֲשׂוֹת. It is found once in John v. 26. 2. *διδόναι*, c. *ἵνα* and subjunctive: cf. ix. 5, xix. 8. 3. *ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι*, xiii. 5. This is found twice in John i. 12, v. 27. It is also a well-known Hebrew idiom, *i.e.* וַתִּתֵּן לָהּ רְשׁוּת ל. The speaker is either God or Christ.

τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσιν. The presence of the article shows that the writer is dealing with two well-known figures, or that the present section is fragmentary, and that the article refers to a portion of it now lost.

The origin and identification of the two Witnesses are problems of great difficulty. Here the apocalyptic tradition does not give us the help we should expect; for the apparent meaning of xi. 5–6 and apocalyptic tradition are here at variance. 1. The latter, which Bousset holds is really the older, identifies the two Witnesses with Enoch and Elijah. The oldest Christian attestation of this view belongs to the 2nd cent. A.D. Cf. Tert. *De Anima*, 50, "Translatus est Henoch et Elias, nec mors eorum reperta est, dilata scilicet. Ceterum morituri reservantur ut Antichristum sanguine suo exstinguant." Ps. Johannine Apoc. 8; Ps. Cyprian, *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 5, and other authorities, for which see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, xiv. To these we may add the remarkable fact that in 1 Enoch xc. 31, if the text is correct, it is said that Enoch and Elijah would return before the judgment.

2. The text of xi. 5–6 apparently identifies the two Witnesses with Moses and Elijah. The Witnesses are empowered to turn the water into blood and to smite the earth with every plague, xi. 6. These words point to the first Egyptian plague, Ex. vii. 14 sqq., and the rest that were inflicted by Moses on the Egyptians. But the rest of the text points just as clearly to Elijah. For the Witnesses have power to consume with fire (cf. 2 Kings i. 10 sqq.; Sir. xlviii. 3), and to close the heaven so that there should be no rain upon the earth, 1 Kings xvii. 1 sqq.; Sir. xlviii. 1–3; Luke iv. 25; Jas. v. 17. We are here undoubtedly reminded of Elijah. Moreover, their assumption into heaven is in harmony with 2 Kings ii. 11 and the tradition in regard to Moses embodied in the Assumption of Moses. In the next place their return before the end of the world was expected amongst the Christians and the return of Elijah among the Jews. The belief in the return of Moses would naturally arise from Deut. xviii. 18, cf. John vi. 14, vii. 40, and in that of Elijah from Mal. iv. 5: cf. Sir. xlviii. 10; Mark ix. 11; Matt. xi. 14; Eduj. viii. 7: see *Jew. Encyc.* v. 126. Possibly both expectations may be combined in John i. 21. Again the account of the Transfiguration (Mark ix 1 sqq. and parallels), in which Moses and Elias appear with Christ, taken with the preceding evidence, may also point to the existence of an expectation of their return. And a reference to this expectation is actually found in Debar. R. x. 1, where, according to Jochanan ben Zakkai (1st cent. A.D.), God said to Moses, "If I send the prophet Elijah, ye must both come together"; see Volz, 193.

The duty assigned to Moses and Elijah here is to spread repentance. This idea is found in Pirke El. xliii., xlvii., in regard to Elijah, though generally in Judaism his duties are differently described. It is remarkable that in later Judaism it is said in regard to Elijah that his Messianic activity would begin three days before the coming of the Messiah (Elijahu Rabba, 25 sqq.). The number three here is significant in regard to our text.

We may, therefore, conclude with some confidence that the author of the Jewish fragment, xi. 3–13, meant Moses and Elijah by the two Witnesses.[1]

But, though Moses and Elijah were designed by the phrase "the two witnesses" in the original document, there is much doubt as to the denotation of this phrase in its present context. Many allegorical interpretations have been given of it, but not one of them is satisfactory when taken in connection with the work of the witness in xi. 5–6. Apparently, therefore, we are to conclude that the phrase retains its original significance, as we shall see more clearly presently. In any case the question is of very small moment; for throughout the rest of the Apocalypse our Seer's thoughts and visions are concerned with Rome and not with Jerusalem, as they are in this fragmentary section, xi. 1–13. For the moment the steady progressive current of our author's thought has been checked, and he has here turned aside into a backwater, but with xi. 14 we return again into the main current.

χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα. See note on 2.

περιβεβλημένους σάκκους. An uncorrected slip of our author. The raiment typifies the sombre nature of their message.

4. οὗτοί εἰσιν αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἑστῶτες. This verse is based on Zech. iv. 2, 3, 14, but the writer departs widely from both the text and the ideas. Thus in Zechariah there is one candlestick with its seven lamps which are the eyes of the Lord running to and fro through the whole earth, iv. 2, 10, and on either side of this candlestick are the two olive trees, which are Joshua and Zerubbabel, iv. 3, 12, 14. But the one candlestick is changed into two in our text, and the two candlesticks and the two olive trees are treated as synonymous; for the two Witnesses are said to be the two candlesticks, and the two olive trees which stand before the Lord, *i.e.* in Zechariah's prophecy. Several links in the development of thought between our text and Zechariah may be lost, which might have served to explain the wide divergence between them. But more probably we have here a bold and independent interpretation of these symbols. The two olive trees are not, as Zechariah thought, Joshua and Zerubbabel, but really the two Witnesses, Moses and Elijah, who are also candlesticks, in so far as they are *bearers* of the divine light of God in the Law and in Prophecy. The idea that the Law is a divine light was familiar to pre-Christian Judaism, cf. Prov. vi. 23: "The law is light"; Test. Lev. xiv. 4, τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου: Wisd. xviii. 4, τὸ ἄφθαρτον νόμου φῶς. Moreover, that an apocalyptic writer should assign a like value to prophecy is only to be expected. The O.T. was commonly described as "the Law and the Prophets" (Luke xvi. 16; Matt. vii. 12), "Moses and the Prophets" (Luke xvi. 29, 31, xxiv. 27), "the Law of Moses and the Prophets" (Acts xxviii. 23). As Moses could represent the Law, so Elijah could represent the Prophets.

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[1] Moffatt suggests that the Zoroastrian expectation of the two apostles, Hûshêdar and Hûshêdarmâh, after the temporary triumph of the evil spirit, may have been fused into the Jewish expectation of Enoch and Elijah. But the beliefs are not analogous. Not two but three reformers were expected: the above two and Saoshyant; and these are not contemporary, but appear in successive millenniums. None of them is slain by the power of evil, but the second slays the serpent, and the third slays Ahriman himself. See *S.B.E.* xxiii. 195; v. lii. 233-235, xxiv. 15, 99.

Thus we have not one candlestick but two, not one witness to God but two.

Hence, if xi. 4 belongs to the original document, the doubling of the Witnesses may be due to the reinterpretation of Zech. iv. 14; for in Judaism alike before and immediately after the Christian era only one forerunner appears to have been expected, whether Elijah or Moses (see note on 2) or Jeremiah (Matt. xvi. 14). This reinterpretation of the olive trees might have led to a reinterpretation of the candlestick and the transformation of the one candlestick into two and also of the ideas underlying the candlestick. There is no reason to suppose that the writer of xi. 4 drew on any tradition independent of Zech. He borrows the technical terms directly from the Hebrew text of Zech. (see next note). His interpretation of the olive trees is natural, and that of the candlesticks intelligible when taken in connection with the interpretation of the former and their new context. If the origins of the two witnesses are to be sought ultimately in non-Semitic religions, no such origins have yet been discovered, and, even if such non-Semitic originals ever existed, the writer of xi. 4 was unacquainted with them.[1]

The return of Moses and Elijah is to be interpreted in the first instance literally and in the next symbolically, as representing Law and Prophecy. While xi. 5–6 point to their literal return, xi. 4 attaches a new symbolical meaning to these two great figures in giving a new interpretation to O.T. symbols.

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[1] Gunkel (*Verständnis*, 60) thinks that an older tradition lies behind xi. 3–13, and that, since the Beast is said to wage war with the two Witnesses, the latter were originally heavenly warriors. So also Bousset, 321. But the same reasoning would prove that every member of the Church was a heavenly warrior in xii. 17. These anthropological features recall, he holds, the hopeless struggle of the Babylonian Anu and Nudimmut against Tiâmat till Marduk intervened and overcame Tiâmat. But this suggestion is purely hypothetical. The attempt to establish a connection between Parsism and our text is far-fetched and nugatory. See Böklen, *Verwandschaft*, 100 sqq.; Clemen, *Erklärung des N.T.* 109.

αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἑστῶτες. Here the LXX of Zech. iv. 14 has *παρεστήκασιν κυρίῳ πάσης τῆς γῆς*. Hence our text is independent of the LXX, *αἱ ἐνώπιον . . . ἑστῶτες*. The insertion of a preposition with its case between the art. and participle is found occasionally in the Apocalypse, as in xi. 16, xii. 12, xiii. 6, 12, xiv. 13, xviii. 17, xix. 1. *κυρίου τῆς γῆς* is found only here in the Apocalypse.

There is the possibility that xi. 4 is due to our author. Three things point in this direction.

First, there is the free reinterpretation of Scripture, which is characteristic of him; secondly, the abnormal construction *αἱ . . . ἑστῶτες*, which is likewise characteristic; and thirdly, his direct translation from the Hebrew. Contrast xi. 6.

5. καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοὺς θέλει ἀδικῆσαι, πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ κατεσθίει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν· [καὶ εἴ τις θελήσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀδικῆσαι, οὕτως δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀποκτανθῆναι].

The use of *θέλω* here is peculiar. It is generally rendered "to desire." But this rendering gives an unsatisfactory meaning. Are we to suppose that whoever cherished even a wish to injure the witnesses was to be destroyed by fire? This difficulty could be escaped by taking *θέλω* as a mere auxiliary. Thus we should have, "If any man will hurt them." The fact that *θέλω* means "to desire" in 6 does not make this impossible.

The verse is based on 2 Kings i. 10, 12, but with a modification of the details, and probably on Jer. v. 14, *δέδωκα τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὸ στόμα σου πῦρ καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ξύλα, καὶ καταφάγεται αὐτούς*. In this passage the language is figurative, but not so in our text. In Sir. xlviii. 3 we have a combination of Elijah's twofold powers of destruction—*ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου ἀνέσχεν οὐρανόν, κατήγαγεν οὕτως τρὶς πῦρ*—which appear in xi. 5 and xi. 6ª of our text. In Sir. xlviii. 1 the meaning is mainly figurative, *ἀνέστη Ἠλίας προφήτης ὡς πῦρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ὡς λαμπὰς ἐκαίετο.*

εἰ θελήσῃ. On the use of *εἰ* with the subj. see Blass, *Gram.* 216.

καὶ εἴ τις θελήσῃ . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι, seems to be the weak gloss of a scribe based on the preceding clause and on xiii. 10. It adds nothing to the sense.

δεῖ αὐτὸν . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι. Cf. xiii. 10.

6. οὗτοι ἔχουσιν τὴν ἐξουσίαν κλεῖσαι τὸν οὐρανόν, ἵνα μὴ ὑετὸς βρέχῃ τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς προφητείας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἷμα καὶ πατάξαι τὴν γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ ὁσάκις ἐὰν θελήσωσιν.

The first clause refers to Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. 1. Cf. Sir.

xlviii. 3; Luke iv. 25; Jas. v. 17. The phrase *ὑετὸς βρέχῃ* is not only unusual, as Swete observes, but extraordinary. For *κλεῖσαι τ. οὐρ.*, cf. Luke iv. 25 (*ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανός*), where alone the phrase is found in this connection. For *στρέφειν . . . εἰς αἷμα* in this phrase the LXX gives *μεταβάλλειν*, Ex. vii. 17.

As regards the first clause it is noteworthy that according to Josephus (*B.J.* v. 9. 4) the fountain of Siloam and other springs outside the city almost wholly dried up so as to create a famine of water before the coming of Titus against Jerusalem, but that after Titus' coming these began to flow in such abundance that they sufficed not only for the Romans and their cattle, but also for watering their gardens. Josephus adds that this same sign occurred in the days of Zedekiah, when the King of Babylon warred against the Jews, and took the city and burnt the Temple. This fact may have suggested the above reference.

ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν. Here only in this order in the Apocalypse.

πατάξαι τὴν γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ. This phrase primarily refers to the Egyptian plagues, Ex. vii. 17, xi. 10, but it recalls directly the LXX of 1 Sam. iv. 8, *οὗτοι οἱ θεοὶ οἱ πατάξαντες τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ* (הַמַּכִּים . . . בְּכָל־מַכָּה).

7. καὶ ὅταν τελέσωσιν τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν, τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου ποιήσει μετ᾽ αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτούς.

In this section, xi. 1–13, where the diction and the meanings attached to so many of the phrases brand it as derived for the most part from independent sources (see Introd. p. 270 sq.), this verse stands out in strong relief as exhibiting the diction and thought of our Seer. Thus *τελεῖν* (x. 7, xv. 1, 8, xvii. 17, xx. 3, 5, 7), *μαρτυρία* (i. 2, 9, vi. 9, xii. 11, etc.), *τὸ θήριον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου* (xiii. 1, xvii. 8), *ποιήσει μετ᾽ αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς* (almost verbally in xiii. 7), *ἀποκτείνειν* (12 times). Whatever, therefore, stood in its place in the original document, the verse in its present form is the work of our author.

And yet in the original form of this verse there must have been some reference to the Antichrist; for to him is due the death of the Witnesses referred to in what follows. If, as we infer on other grounds, the scene of the Antichrist's appearance here is Jerusalem and the time of the composition of this fragment is anterior to 66 A.D., then the Antichrist was in all probability originally the *Jewish* Antichrist described somewhat as in 2 Thess. ii., and had therefore mainly a *religious* significance; but if this section was written during the siege, 67–69, the Antichrist may already have been identified with the Roman Empire, though not, of course, with Nero. In this latter case the conception would have had a *political* reference. So much for the conception of the Antichrist in the original document. As to its meaning in its present context, it cannot, of course, be other than that in xiii. 1, xvii. 8, in so far as our author assigned it a definite meaning at all. The Beast from the abyss, therefore, *i.e.* Nero *redivivus* or the demonic Antichrist, appears here proleptically. See App. to xvii., vol. ii., p. 76.

But there is another feature which should be observed in this conception. Here for the first and last time in our author is the traditional connection of the Antichrist with Jerusalem set forth. In the rest of the Apocalypse this traditional connection is broken, and Rome takes the place of Jerusalem either as the seat of the Antichrist's empire or the object of his attack. This marks a revolution in the expectation of the Antichrist, but one which, independently of the immediate historical situation of 95 A.D., had already in part taken place and left its mark in the reinterpretation of the Fourth Kingdom in Dan. vii. as that of Rome and no longer as that of the Greek Empire. If *τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου* stood in the original document, representing a pseudo-Messiah and non-political Antichrist, as in 2 Thess. ii., or else the Roman Empire, in its present context it can only represent Nero *redivivus* as in chaps. xiii. and xvii. Since the Antichrist is first introduced as *θηρίον* (without the art.) in xiii. 1, he appears here proleptically. But, as we have shown (see p. 269), the whole section xi. 1–13 is in its present context proleptic.

ποιήσει μετ᾽ αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς. These clauses represent an independent rendering of Dan. vii. 21, עָבְדָא קְרָב עִם קַדִּישִׁין וְיָכְלָה לְהֹן. Here Theod. has *ἐποίει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἴσχυσεν πρὸς αὐτούς.* The LXX is very divergent in vii. 21, but in vii. 8 its rendering of the last clause (lost in Mass. and Theod.) is *ἐποίει πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους.* Hence, since Apoc. xiii. 7^{a} (=*ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτούς*) is, and xi. 7^{b} is not, an exact equivalent of the Aramaic of Dan. vii. 21, xiii. 7^{a} cannot be derived from xi. 7^{b}, but the converse is possible. And not only possible but highly probable, since *νικᾶν*, which does not occur in the LXX or Theod. as a rendering of יכל, is a favourite word with our author.

We conclude, therefore, that *ποιήσει . . . καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς* is from his hand.

8. καὶ τὸ πτῶμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη.

The use of *τὸ πτῶμα* here and in 9^{a} as a collective is difficult, especially as in 9^{b} the plural is used. In xi. 5 we have *στόμα* used collectively, and the collective use of *πρόσωπον, κεφαλή, καρδία* is well known in the N.T. See Blass, *Gram.* 83.

Possibly the writer may have been influenced by the Hebrew or Aramaic usage by which נְבֵלָה is used collectively = "corpses."

τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης. This phrase is used of Rome throughout the rest of the book: cf. xvi. 19, xvii. 18, xviii. 10, 16, 18, 19, 21, and under the figure of Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, xiv. 8, xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2. The latter use is decidedly that of our author; the former belongs to the original document, and is left there by our author. That Jerusalem, however, could be so designated we see from Or. Sib. v. 154, 226, 413; Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 197, 209, Ἰουδαῖοι πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ὀχυρωτάτην πασῶν: Appian, *Syr.* 50, μεγίστη πόλις Ἱεροσόλυμα: Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 14. 70.

Spitta and Wellhausen take the city to be Rome; but whatever evidence there is is against this identification. As the text stands, "the great city" can only be Jerusalem. Also in the original document it designated Jerusalem and not Rome. 1. For there is every connection between Moses and Elijah and Jerusalem, but none between them and Rome. 2. According to apocalyptic tradition the Witnesses appear always in Jerusalem. 3. xi. 13 refers to Jerusalem; for the numbers there given suit Jerusalem but not Rome (see note *in loc.*). 4. The phrase οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (xi. 10) appears to denote the inhabitants of a single country, *i.e.* the Palestinians, not the inhabitants of the whole world. 5. The original document, xi. 3–13, which I take to be of Jewish origin, naturally dealt tenderly with the Jews, for these are represented as repenting: whereas the inhabitants of Rome are represented as refusing to repent, ix. 21, xvi. 9. From the repentance of Jerusalem it follows that the final judgment is directed not against the Jews, but against the heathen world. In this respect this fragment suits our author. In the original document, xi. 1–2, the temple is spared; in xi. 3–13 the bulk of the Jews are converted.

ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς . . . ἐσταυρώθη. I take these two clauses to be an addition of our author. ὅπου καὶ . . . ἐσταυρώθη is generally admitted by critics to be a later addition. It is quite in the style of our author: cf. xx. 10, ὅπου καί, and ii. 13, ὅπου ὁ Σατανᾶς κατοικεῖ (observe the order in contrast with that in xii. 6, 14). ἥτις καλεῖται . . . Αἴγυπτος is also in the style of our author. First of all ἥτις, which is properly the relative of indefinite reference, seems here = ἥ, the relative of definite reference, as in i. 12, xii. 13, xvii. 12, xix. 2—a usage which is rather frequent in the Lucan writings of the N.T. but which is not (?) found in Matthew, Mark, the Johannine writings, or the Pauline Epistles. Next, ἥτις καλεῖται in the form ἡ (ὁ) καλουμένη (-ος) is found in i. 9, xii. 9, xvi. 16.

Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος. Cf. Isa. i. 9, 10, where Judah is compared to Sodom, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν (quoted in Rom. ix. 29), iii. 9; Ezek. xvi. 46, 48, 49.

Sodom and Egypt are alluded to in Wisd. xix. 14, 15, as types of wickedness.

Jerusalem was, therefore, the city meant both by the original writer and also by our author. And yet the latter cannot have taken the entire section literally, for Jerusalem no longer existed in his time. It is impossible to reinterpret from the standpoint of the author the various details of this section, which originally set forth the expectations of an earlier time.

9. καὶ βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν τὸ πτῶμα αὐτῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀφίουσιν τεθῆναι εἰς μνῆμα. *βλέπειν* belongs to the diction of our author: cf. especially i. 11, 12, iii. 18, v. 3, xvi. 15, xvii. 8, etc. In xi. 11, 12 its place is taken by *θεωρεῖν*, where the sense is exactly the same. But *θεωρεῖν* does not occur elsewhere in the Apocalypse. Again, the use of *ἐκ τῶν λαῶν* = "some of the peoples," is a familiar idiom in our text, but it occurs elsewhere in the N.T. and is not therefore distinctive: see note on ii. 10. Next, the enumeration *λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν κτλ.* is characteristic of our author, yet it may have been a current phrase: cf. 4 Ezra iii. 7, where it occurs. See note on v. 9.

Finally, the position of the verb (*βλέπουσιν*) at the beginning of the sentence is suggestive of the style of our author. The evidence of the diction, therefore, though not decisive in favour of regarding *βλέπουσιν . . . πτῶμα αὐτῶν* as an addition of our author, supports the idea that the verse is his addition, or has undergone revision at his hands. If it is an addition, then the original was written before 66 (cf. xi. 13), and xi. 8–9 ran as follows: *καὶ τὸ πτῶμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ τὰ πτώματα κτλ.*, and *ἀφίουσιν* would be the plural of indefinite statement (cf. x. 11) or an Aramaism. The object of the addition would be to bring out the contrast of the Jews (cf. xi. 13) and the hostile Gentiles, and to declare that for the former an opportunity of repentance was reserved (as in the Pauline Epp.), but not for the latter (xvi. 9). On the other hand, if the enumeration *λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν κτλ.* stood in the original document, two interpretations of it in that document are possible. 1. It could refer to members of different nations present in Jerusalem—observe the partitive use of *ἐκ*, "some of." In this case *ἀφίουσιν* would be the plural of indefinite statement (cf. x. 11) or an Aramaism, and xi. 3–13 was written before 70 A.D.; for the city is still standing (xi. 13), but there is no *terminus a quo* discoverable. 2. It could refer to the beleaguering hosts of Rome—the subject of *ἀφίουσιν*.

When we turn from the meaning of this clause in its original context to its present, I can offer none better than that suggested in the preceding paragraph.

ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἥμισυ. These three and a half days correspond to the three and a half years of their prophetical activity.[1]

ἀφίουσιν. This verb c. inf. (cf. John xi. 44, xviii. 8) is not found elsewhere in the Apocalypse. It occurs with different meanings in ii. 4, 20.

Burial was refused to the Witnesses in order to put them to greater shame: cf. Ps. lxxix. 3; 1 Kings xiii. 22; Pss. Sol. ii. 31; and Joseph. *B.J.* iv. 5. 2, in reference to the high priests Ananus and Jesus.

10. καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χαίρουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐφραίνονται, καὶ δῶρα πέμψουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ δύο προφῆται ἐβασάνισαν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

The phrase (*οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* or *τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*) is the equivalent of the Hebrew יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ. See xiii. Introd. § 4. In the O.T. this phrase can denote either (1) "the inhabitants of the land," *i.e.* Palestine, Hos. iv. 1; Joel i. 2, 14, ii. 1; Jer. vi. 12, x. 18, etc.; or (2) "the inhabitants of the earth," Isa. xxiv. 6, xxvi. 21, etc.; 1 Enoch xxxvii. 2, 5, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5, etc.

Both these O.T. meanings appear in our text. The latter is found in iii. 10, vi. 10, viii. 13, xiii. 8, 14, xvii. 8, and the former at all events originally in the verse we are now dealing with. For, as Bousset *in loc.* has rightly urged, it is hard to see what the inhabitants of the earth would have to do with the two prophets who appear in Jerusalem in the struggle against the Beast from the abyss. And besides, when the Witnesses fell, the inhabitants could within three and a half days hear of their death, rejoice and send presents to each other; but this could not be possible if the phrase were taken to mean the inhabitants of the earth.

In the next place, the phrase can either have a good ethical meaning, as in 1 Enoch xxxvii. 2, 5, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5, or a neutral meaning as in our text in xiv. 6; where, however, in most MSS, though not in A, it has the form *τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*; or it can have a bad ethical meaning, as in 1 Enoch liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 5, lxv. 6, 12, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 8, and in our text in iii. 10, vi. 10, viii. 13, xi. 10 (*bis*), xiii. 8, 14, xvii. 8. Thus in the original document the phrase meant the inhabitants of Palestine, and there is no convincing ground for assigning a different meaning to it in its new context. The city which is mentioned in xi. 8, 13 is clearly Jerusalem, and, lest there should be any mistake on this head our author adds the damning clause in xi. 8. The *κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* are Palestinians—likewise Jews; and though they rejoice over the martyrdom of the Witnesses, they are not painted in such dark colours as the inhabitants of Jerusalem, xi. 8^{bc}.

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[1] Gunkel thinks (*Zum Verständnis*, 80) that the three days go back to the three winter months during which the sun-god is hidden or dies. But it is three and a half days that we have to explain, and apart from this difficulty the speculation is wholly wanting in probability.

δῶρα πέμψουσιν κτλ. These words recall Esth. ix. 19, 22, *ἐξαποστέλλοντας μερίδα . . . τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς πτωχοῖς*: Neh. viii. 10, 12.

11. καὶ μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἥμισυ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεωροῦντας αὐτούς.

The *τάς* refers back to xi. 9. *πνεῦμα ζωῆς* is the רוּחַ חַיִּים, Gen. vi. 17, vii. 15, 22, though the phrase is there used of the lower animal creation and not of man. But it has become for the writer the same as the phrase in Gen. ii. 7, נשמת חיים. **εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς.** Cf. Luke ix. 46, *εἰσῆλθεν διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς*, and see Blass, *Gram.* 130. These words and the following look like an independent translation of Ezek. xxxvii. 10 . . . וַתָּבוֹא בָהֶם הָרוּחַ וַיַּעַמְדוּ עַל־רַגְלֵיהֶם. Here the LXX has *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα* (A, *πνεῦμα ζωῆς*) . . . *καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν.* Since in xxxvii. 5 the LXX has *πνεῦμα ζωῆς*, which is accepted by Cornill and others as representing the original over against the Mass. רוּחַ וִחְיִיתֶם, the writer may have had this reading before him. Cf. also 2 Kings xiii. 21, *ἔζησεν καὶ ἀνέστη ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.*

φόβος . . . ἐπέπεσεν ἐπί, c. acc. This is a Lucan phrase: cf. Luke i. 12; Acts xix. 17; but it is also an O.T. one: cf. Ex. xv. 16; Ps. liv. (lv.) 5.

τοὺς θεωροῦντας. This verb occurs twice in this verse and not elsewhere in the Apoc. It is a Johannine word (over 20 times). The words which our author uses in this sense are *ὁρᾶν* (2), *ὄψεσθαι* (3), *εἶδον* (56), and *βλέπειν* (12).

12. καὶ ἤκουσαν φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν αὐτοῖς Ἀνάβατε ὧδε· καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ, καὶ ἐθεώρησαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν.

In defence of *ἤκουσα*, xii. 10 might be adduced, but the textual evidence is overwhelming in favour of *ἤκουσαν*. On the other hand, since the Seer constantly says *ἤκουσα* throughout the Book (24 times), it is more likely that *ἤκουσαν* would be changed into *ἤκουσα* than *vice versa*. The words of invitation are addressed not to the Seer but to the resuscitated Witnesses, and they are heard by their enemies, who also see their ascension into heaven.

ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ. As Elijah (2 Kings ii. 11) and as Moses (according to a lost portion of the *Ass. of Moses*, referred to by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 15, and Origen, *In Josuam hom.* ii. 1, Jellinek, *Beth Ha-Midrash*, i. 115–129, vi. 71–78) the Witnesses went up to heaven.

But the tradition that Moses was removed from the sight of his followers by a cloud, while he was still talking with them, is given in Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8. 48, *προσομιλοῦντος ἔτι, νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν στάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατά τινος φάραγγος.* See also James, *Apocrypha anecdota*, ii. 3. 170–171. Our text presupposes the combination of both these traditions—the disappearance of Moses in a cloud and his ascension into heaven. Hence we explain the use of the art. before *νεφέλῃ* from the current tradition. In the passages above referred to in Clement Alex. and Origen and in the Apocalypse of Elias (ed. Steindorff, p. 164), a peculiar but quite intelligible account of the resuscitation of the two Witnesses will be found. There it is said that Moses was carried to heaven in the spirit, but that his body was left on the earth. We see here the influence of the Alexandrian doctrine of the resurrection.

13. καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐγένετο σεισμὸς μέγας, καὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσεν, καὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων χιλιάδες ἑπτά, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔμφοβοι ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

With the earthquake here mentioned we might compare vi. 12 and Ezek. xxxviii. 19, 20, where there is the prediction of a great earthquake that is to precede the end.

τῆς πόλεως. While this expression was used literally in the original document it could not be so understood by our author; for only the ruins of the city remained in his time (see note on 8). If he attached a new and definite meaning to it, this meaning would be symbolical. The city would represent the Jewish people.

ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων = "persons." See note on iii. 4.

χιλιάδες ἑπτά. This number suits the population of Jerusalem, which according to the statement of the Ps.–Hecataeus in Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 22), was about 120,000; but in no case could it suit Rome.

ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ. This phrase is here used of Jews, and means to glorify God by turning from their apostasy and repenting. They had become servants of the Antichrist. In xiv. 7, xvi. 9, it is used of the Gentiles, who are exhorted to repent, or who refuse to repent and turn from idols to God. Repentance appears also to be the meaning of the phrase in Josh. vii. 19; Jer. xiii. 16. In iv. 9, xix. 7 of our text it means to glorify or praise God, and so perhaps in Luke xvii. 18;

John ix. 24; Acts xii. 23; Rom. iv. 20. In the O.T. it is of frequent occurrence: cf. 1 Sam. vi. 5; Isa. xlii. 12; Ezra x. 11.

In the original document, xi. 3–13, which was Jewish (for the preservation of the city is presupposed in opposition to Christ's prophecy, Mark xiii. = Matt. xxiv. = Luke xxi.), this verse simply meant the repentance of the Jews and their return to the worship of God. But in its present context it could only mean, if it had a definite meaning for our author, the conversion of Israel to Christianity in the last days—an expectation that agrees with Rom. xi. 25, 26, according to which this conversion is to follow when the full number of the Gentiles has entered into Christ's Kingdom.

τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. This phrase recurs in xvi. 11, where it is used in reference to the heathen. Wellhausen (p. 16) thinks that it would be sheer nonsense to speak of converting Jews to the God of heaven. But, if the Jewish elders in Ezra v. 12 can speak of their fathers as having provoked *the God of heaven*, it is fitting that Jews should be said to repent, *i.e.* to be converted to the God of heaven. Neh. i. 4, 5 prays and fasts before the God of heaven. This expression, as Bousset (*Rel. d. Judenthums*, 306) points out, was probably derived in the first instance from foreign sources. It and kindred phrases are of very frequent occurrence in the later canonical and apocryphal books: cf. Ezra i. 2, v. 11, 12, vi. 9, 10, vii. 12, 21, 23; Dan. ii. 18, 19, 37, 44. See Bousset, *op. cit.*

XI. 14^b–XIII. THE SEVENTH TRUMPET, i.e. THE THIRD TRUMPET AND THE THIRD WOE.

XI. 14^b–19. The proleptic digression in xi. 1–13, to which x. is an introduction, has come to a close, and our author returns to the steady and progressive development of the divine drama in the third Woe,[1] the casting down of Satan to the earth, xii.; the manifestation of the Kingdom of the Antichrist in imperial Rome and the imperial cultus, xiii.; the judgments on Rome, xiv.–xix. and on Satan, xx. 1–3; the 1000 years' reign of the martyrs, xxi. 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17, xx. 4–6; the overthrow of the unbelieving hosts of Gog and Magog, xx. 7–10; the final judgment, xx. 11–15; the blessed consummation of the Kingdom of God, xxi. 5^a 4^d 5^{bc} 6^a 1–4^{abc}; xxii. 3–5. To these great themes the heavenly songs in xi. 15–18 are an introduction. The divine decree for all these happenings of the coming days has gone forth, and the heavenly hosts burst into song, as though they were already fulfilled in actuality as they are in essence.

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[1] Spitta (p. 124) identifies the seventh Trumpet with xii.–xiii.

Thus the heavenly voices declare that God has become King of the world, xi. 17—hence no longer Satan (xii.) or Antichrist (xiii.); that the time has come to destroy "those that destroy the earth," xi. 18, *i.e.* Rome, xiv. 6–xix., Satan, Antichrist, and the False Prophet, xx. 10; to judge the dead, xi. 18, *i.e.* xx. 11–15; to recompense the saints, xi. 18, *i.e.* xiv. 1–5, xx. 4–6, xxi. 9–xxii. 2, xxii. 14, 15, 17; and to bring to its blessed consummation the everlasting Kingdom of God, xi. 15, *i.e.* xxi. 1–4, xxii. 3–5.

xi. 14–19 is undoubtedly from the hand of our author. Thus in 14 ἀπῆλθεν (= "is past") and ἔρχεται ταχύ are our author's; see note *in loc.*

15. φωναὶ . . . λέγοντες: a characteristic abnormality. βασιλεύσει (and in xi. 17) used of God: cf. xix. 6; and of the saints, v. 10, xx. 4, 6, xxii. 5. With τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ: cf. xii. 10. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: cf. i. 6, 18, iv. 9, 10, etc. 16. ἔπεσαν . . . καὶ προσεκύνησαν: cf. iv. 10, v. 14, xix. 4 (also of the Elders). ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν: cf. vii. 11. 17. Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν: see note *in loc.* εἴληφας: cf. v. 7, viii. 5. εἴληφας τὴν δύναμιν: cf. iv. 11, v. 12. 18. ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου: cf. vi. 17 for the same phrase, and xiv. 10, xvi. 19, xix. 15. δοῦναι τὸν μισθόν: cf. xxii. 12. τοῖς δούλοις σου τοῖς προφήταις: cf. x. 7 (i. 1, xxii. 6). τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά σου: cf. xix. 5. τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις: cf. xiii. 16, xix. 5, 18, xx. 12. τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν: cf. xix. 2. 19. ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ κτλ.: cf. viii. 5, xvi. 18. Thus practically every clause shows the hand of our author.

14. ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ τρίτη ἔρχεται ταχύ. The second Woe is, as we have already seen, the same as the sixth Trumpet, that is, originally the second Trumpet. See pp. 217 sqq., 231.

ἀπῆλθεν = "is past," is found only elsewhere in N.T. in ix. 12, xxi. 1, 4. This usage, which is classical, is distinctive of our author. More ordinary uses of it occur in x. 9, xii. 17, xvi. 2, xviii. 14. In ἔρχεται ταχύ we have another phrase characteristic of our author: cf. ii. 16, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, 20.

15–18. In these verses, which are proleptic in their outlook, we have two great anthems of praise. The first (15^{cd}), consisting of a distich and sung most probably by the Cherubim or Living Creatures, celebrates the divine conquest of the world as though already achieved and the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom, xxi. 9–xxii. 2, xx. 4–6, and heralds the advent of the everlasting kingdom that is to follow on its close, xxi. 1–4, xxii. 3–5. The second anthem (17–18), consisting of twelve lines and sung by the Elders, first recognizes the establishment of God's sovereignty in the Millennial Kingdom (17^{cd}) and the outbreak of Gog and Magog at its close, and then proclaims that the time has come for the final judgment, the recompense of the faithful, and the destruction of those that destroy the world (18). Here, except in the last clause, which appears to be displaced or interpolated, the chronological order of development is followed.

It is noteworthy that in xix. 1^b–3 we have a corresponding anthem from the angelic hosts, at the close of which the Elders and the Cherubim simply respond with the words *Ἀμήν, ἀλληλουϊά*, as they have already sung their anthems in this chapter (xi. 15–18); while in xix. 6^b–8 there is given the loud paean of the glorified martyrs in heaven on the establishment of the Kingdom of God and the advent of the Millennial Kingdom. Further, it is to be noted that whereas xix. 1–8 refers to the epoch immediately preceding the Millennial Kingdom, the present passage refers to the chief eschatological events from the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom to that of the Kingdom that dureth for ever and ever.

15. καὶ ὁ ἕβδομος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν καὶ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ μεγάλαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, λέγοντες

> **Ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν**
> **καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ,**
> **καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.**

Whether the heaven or the earth is here the scene of the Seer's vision is uncertain; but the former is more probable, as he hears the thanksgivings of the angels. See note on iv. 1.

φωναί. These voices may be those of the Living Creatures or Cherubim. Their praise precedes that of the Elders: cf. iv. 9. **ἐγένετο . . . τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κτλ.** The heavenly voices celebrate the divine conquest of the world as if it were already achieved. The words are therefore proleptic, as are those of the thanksgiving of the 24 Elders in xi. 16–18. With the phrase **ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου** cf. Matt. iv. 8. **τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ** is an O.T. expression: cf. Ps. ii. 2, *κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ*. That this Psalm was early quoted as a Messianic Ps. appears from Acts iv. 26. See also xii. 10 of our text. But the first book in which *ὁ Χριστός* means technically the Messianic King is 1 Enoch: cf. xlviii. 10, "They have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed"; lii. 4. Subsequently it appears in Pss. Sol. xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8 (also in the inscription of this Ps.). Cf. Luke ii. 11.

βασιλεύσει. The Kingdom begins with the Millennial Kingdom (xxi. 9–xxii. 2, xx. 4–6), which after the final judgment passes over into the everlasting Kingdom of God (xxi. 1–4, xxii. 3–5). The Kingdom of God and Christ is one. In Eph. v. 5 we find *τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ*, whereas in the earlier Epistle, 1 Cor. xv. 24–28, the Son resigns His mediatorial Kingdom to the Father, that God may be "all in all." But later Christ, too, was conceived as "all in all," Eph. i. 23; Col. iii. 11. The Kingdom is to be for everlasting: cf. Dan. ii. 44, vii. 14, 27; Luke i. 33.

16. καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους αὐτῶν ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, λέγοντες.

For the unusual order *οἱ ἐνώπιον . . . καθήμενοι*, see note on xi. 4.

17. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν,
ὅτι εἴληφας τὴν δύναμίν σου τὴν μεγάλην
καὶ ἐβασίλευσας.

On the witness of the Cherubim follows the thanksgiving of the Elders. On Κύριε *ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ* see i. 8, iv. 8; and on *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν* see i. 4, 8, iv. 8. Here and also in xvi. 5 *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* is omitted, because at this stage it is already fulfilled. On the combination of tenses in *εἴληφας . . . καὶ ἐβασίλευσας* cf. iii. 3, v. 7, viii. 5. τὴν δύναμιν κτλ. The supreme and final authority over all things. ἐβασίλευσας = "hast become king," "begun thy reign": cf. Ps. xciii. 1; 2 Sam. xv. 10, xvi. 8. Thus the power of Satan on earth (xii.) and the kingdom of his agent the Antichrist (xiii.) are overthrown. God's reign being now established on earth, the setting up of the Millennial Kingdom (xxi. 9–xxii. 1–2, xx. 4–6) follows in due course. See note on 15.

18. καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν,
καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου,
καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι,
καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου
τοῖς προφήταις καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους
καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου,
τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους,
καὶ διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν.

καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν, ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου . . . ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι . . . καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου . . . τοῖς μεγάλους. There is progressive movement in these words—the recognition of a development of events in their true order. After the close of the Millennial Kingdom mentioned in the preceding verse the song refers to the twofold uprising of nations (*τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν*: cf. xix. 19, xx. 8–9^{ab}), and their destruction (*ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου*: cf. xix. 21, xx. 9^{c}), the judgment of the dead (*ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι*: cf. xx. 11–15), the final recompense of all the righteous in the New Jerusalem, which together with the new heaven and the new earth should become their eternal abode (*καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου . . . τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις*: cf. xxi. 1–4, xxii. 3–5). It is remarkable that the chronological order is abandoned in the last line—*καὶ διαφθεῖραι κτλ.* It is possible that we have here a dislocation of the text, and that after *καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου* we should read

> *καὶ <ὁ καιρὸς> διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν*
> *καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι.*

In this case, since Rome is already judged in the preceding verse, the *διαφθεῖραι τ. διαφθείροντας* would refer to the destruction of the Beast, the False Prophet, and Satan, by their being cast into the lake of fire (cf. xix. 20, xx. 10). Thus we should have the eschatological events in their chronological order. The words *καὶ ἐβασίλευσας*: 18, *καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν*, certainly recall Ps. xcviii. (xcix.) 1, LXX, *κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί*, where *ὀργιζέσθωσαν*, though a possible, is not a right rendering of ירגזו, which here should have been translated by *ταρασσέσθωσαν* or the like. Probably Ps. ii. 1, 5 was also in the mind of the writer as it was in 15. With "the wrath of the nations here cf. xvi. 9–11, 21, but especially xix. 15–21, xx. 8-9. In vi. 15–17 the thought of coming judgment makes the mighty ones of the earth fear and tremble. **ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου**: cf. vi. 17, xiv. 10, xvi. 19, xix. 15.

ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι: *i.e.* xx. 11–15. The aim of the impending event is here expressed by the inf. = *ἵνα κριθῶσιν οἱ νεκροί*. See Blass, *Gram.* 228, note. **δοῦναι τὸν μισθόν**: cf. xxii. 12. **τοῖς δούλοις σου τοῖς προφήταις**: cf. x. 7, also i. 1, xxii. 6. These are the Christian prophets: cf. xviii. 20; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29; Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11. **τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους.** A primitive slip for *τ. ἁγίοις κ. τ. φοβουμένοις*. There is some difficulty in defining these two categories. Bousset proposes with hesitation to omit the *καί*; then we should have the parallel clauses, "Thy servants the prophets, and the saints who fear Thy name." But since the *καί* appears to be original, we should, with Völter (ii. 8) and others (including Bousset), interpret the two clauses ("the saints and those who fear Thy name") as referring to Jewish and Gentile Christians. In 1 Clem. xxi. 7 (cf. xxiii. 1) the Greek Christians so designated themselves, as Harnack (Vischer, *Offenb. Johannis*, 133, note) points out: *τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν θεὸν ὁσίως ἴσην παρεχέτωσαν.* Vischer (p. 19) and Spitta (p. 584) and Harnack, who assume a Jewish origin of xi. 15–19, take these words to represent Jews and Proselytes, on the ground that the phrase *οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν* was the usual designation for the heathen who had joined the Jewish community in the Dispersion.

So the phrase means in Ps. cxv. 11, 13, cxviii. 4, cxxxv. 20 (see Duhm). But this phrase has different meanings according to the context. From 1 Clem. xxi. 7 it has above been shown that it is a designation for Christians; in Pss. Sol. ii. 37 it designates "the pious Pharisees, whose object was to maintain the purity of theocratic principles" (Ryle and James): cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 16, iv. 26, v. 21, xiii. 11, xv. 15.

τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους. A slip for the dative. This phrase is characteristic of our author: cf. xiii. 16, xix. 5, 18 [xx. 12]. The two phrases *τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου* and *τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους* are derived from Ps. cxv. 13, יִרְאֵי יי״ הַקְּטַנִּים עִם־הַגְּדֹלִים, but hardly from the LXX, which renders *τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον τοὺς μικροὺς μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων.*

διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν: cf. xix. 2, *ἥτις ἔφθειρεν τὴν γῆν.* The phrase may be borrowed from Jer. li. (xxviii.) 25, *τὸ ὄρος τὸ διεφθαρμένον, τὸ διαφθεῖρον* (הַמַּשְׁחִית) *πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.* On the probability that this line originally stood after *καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου* see first note on this verse.

19. καὶ ἠνοίγη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμὸς καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη.

As the first Woe or Trumpet is preceded by the prayers of all the saints which are offered on the altar within the holy place of the heavenly temple, viii. 3, and the second Woe opens with the answer to those prayers from the same altar, ix. 13, so the third begins with the opening of the holy of holies and the manifestation of the Ark of the Covenant. This last act is symbolical. As the earthly ark was a witness to the covenant between God and Israel, the heavenly ark is a witness to the covenant between God and the Christian community, which is the true Israel. By the manifestation of the latter at this stage God has pledged Himself to the fulfilment of all the great deeds celebrated in the heavenly song just sung.

On the heavenly temple see note on iv. 2. The ark of the covenant (אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית) originally stood within the veil of the tabernacle, and subsequently in the holy of holies in Solomon's Temple. What became of it is unknown. The fragment preserved in Jer. iii. 16–18 forbids in the name of Yahweh the hope of its restoration to the second Temple. It was no longer needed; for (iii. 17) Yahweh would make Zion His dwelling-place, and Jerusalem would be called "Yahweh's Throne." But later the legend arose that Jeremiah at the bidding of God (2 Macc. ii. 4–8; *Rest of the Words of Jeremiah*, iii. 8) hid, in a cave-like dwelling in the mountain which Moses climbed, "the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense." The same account is found in

2 Bar. vi. 5–10, lxxx. 2, though there it is an angel or angels by whom this task is discharged.[1]

But it is quite a mistake with some scholars to identify the hidden ark with the ark in the temple in heaven. The latter is the archetype of the former, and existed prior to it. The earthly ark was, according to the above tradition, buried somewhere on the earth: see Yoma, 53^{b}–54^{a}; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4. 1; *Rest of the Words of Jeremiah*, iii. 7–8, 14: see note on ii. 17. **ἠνοίγη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ**—*i.e.* the holy of holies. Since the first two Woes open with events connected with the heavenly altar, viii. 3, ix. 13, the third Woe begins with the throwing open of the holy of holies.

ἀστραπαὶ κτλ. See note on viii. 5.

CHAPTER XII.

A RETROSPECT.

Introduction.

Chap. xii. represents the conflict of good and evil as a cosmic one—not one originating on earth. The idea is Pauline: Eph. vi. 12, etc. The presupposition of O. and N.T. apocalyptic is that the world's disorder and sin is only a part of the disorder and sin affecting the spiritual world. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 22; Daniel and Rev. xii.; Eph. i. 3, 10, etc. (see Robinson, p. 20 sqq.); Luke x. 18. The conflict is not limited to this earth or to this life. It is a warfare from which there is no discharge until the kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ.

§ 1. *The meaning of this Chapter in its present Christian context.*

The third Woe or the third Trumpet deals with the climax of Satan's power on earth. This crowning evil, however, was not a sign of his growing power, but the closing stage of the strife which had its beginning in heaven and was destined to have its ending on earth. In heaven the strife had already terminated in the vindication of God's sovereignty and the hurling down of Satan to earth (chap. xii.). Hence however Satan may rage and his minions—the Roman and heathen powers (chap. xiii. sqq.)—they are not to be feared: this final persecution of the Church is but the last struggle of a beaten foe, whose venom and malignity are all the greater since he knows how short a time he has.

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[1] In 2 Bar. vi. 7 the text is corrupt. Instead of reading "ark" it reads "ephod." But אפוד is here corrupt for ארון = "ark." The converse corruption in the Mass. text is found in 1 Sam. xiv. 18, as the LXX and several Talmudic authorities prove.

Such is the object of this and the coming chapters, in which chap. xii. gives the reader a spiritual insight into the past in order to prepare him for the crowning evil of the manifestation of Satanic power on earth in chap. xiii. sqq. In setting forth his theme the Seer borrows the main part of the present chapter from Jewish sources, in which international myths have been used and transformed to higher ends. In our text the Seer takes account alike of the past, the present, and the time to come. His vision goes back before the birth of Christ. Of a glorious goddess of the sun is born a wondrous child, against whom, alike before and after his birth, the Dragon showed a ceaseless enmity (1–5^{ab}). But from this enmity He is rescued and rapt to the throne of God, and His mother, *i.e.* the Church, is preserved from the attacks of the Dragon (5^{c}–6). Thither the Dragon and his angels storm after him, but are met by Michael and his angels and hurled down to earth (7–9). Thereupon, on the eve of the last and fiercest persecution about to burst on the community of Christ through the rage of the baffled fiend, the Seer hears the glorified martyrs in heaven raise a paean of triumph in honour of their brethren still on earth, who, too, are to be martyred in this persecution (10–12). In the course of this persecution part of the community—the Jewish Christian—makes its escape (13–16)—a meaningless survival in our present text—a work of 95 A.D.; see notes *in loc.*: thereupon the Dragon turns against the rest of the seed of the woman—the Gentile Christians scattered thoughout the world (17). Thus the Seer leads up to his main theme—the persecution of the Church by the Empire of Rome.

§ 2. *But this was not the original meaning of this Chapter: its chief section could not have been written originally for the Apocalypse by a Christian: nor could it have been the original creation of a Jew.*

Vischer (*Offenb. Johannis*, 19 sqq.) and Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 173 sqq.) have shown that this chapter could not have been composed by a Christian. It is simply inconceivable that a Christian writing freely could have so represented the birth and life of Christ. Whatever his visions may have been, they could not have failed to be more in unison with the facts on which the Christian community was founded and which were embodied in the heart of its most cherished beliefs. No Christian could spontaneously have depicted the life of our Lord, under the figure of a child, born of a sun-goddess,[1] persecuted by the seven-headed dragon and rapt to the throne of God, and have suppressed every reference to His earthly life and work, His death and resurrection. Nor could a Christian have represented the overthrow of Satan as due to Michael and not to Christ. The passive and subordinate rôle assigned to the Messiah here is quite in keeping with Jewish, but not with Christian conceptions.

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[1] Even if the sun-goddess is taken to represent the Community, it cannot be the Christian community that is here primarily designed; for it is never

This chapter, moreover, is full of mythological features which could not have been the original creations of a Jew or a Christian. These are—1. A goddess clothed with the sun, crowned with the signs of the zodiac, and standing on the moon as her footstool. 2. This goddess is with child—an idea wholly foreign to Jewish conceptions of the angels. 3. The great fiery Dragon with seven heads and ten horns and seven diadems, whose tail can hurl down a third of the stars of heaven. 4. The birth of the young sun-god and his rapture into heaven. 5. The flight of the woman into the wilderness by means of the wings of the great eagle. 6. The flood cast forth by the Dragon after the woman, and the earth opening its mouth and swallowing it.

And yet, since this vision occurs in a Christian apocalypse, it must have had a Christian meaning for our author: he must have interpreted it in a Christian sense. What this meaning was we have in some measure seen already in § 1. Our author either took literally or allegorised the mythological features that were susceptible of such treatment, and neglected the rest—a course that was usual in dealing with traditional material. Their lack of connection with their present context and their unintelligibility are undoubtedly evidence that they are wrested from their original context and belong to earlier forms of the myth.

§ 3. *The Idiom and Diction of this Chapter are those of our Author —facts which are against his use of Greek sources here.*

1. The clause σημεῖον (xii. 3, xv. 1: in xiii. 13, 14, xvi. 14, xix. 20 in another meaning) μέγα ὤφθη (i. 7, xi. 19, xii. 3) ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ which recurs in xii. 3 is found also in xv. 1, *εἶδον ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρ. μέγα.* μέγα follows after the noun. Cf. x. 1, xiv. 9, xv. 1, etc.

περιβεβλημένη—12 times in Apoc. and 12 times in rest of N.T. 8 times in rest of Apoc. c. acc. as here. ὑποκάτω, v. 3, 13, vi. 9. ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Only here in our author has *ἐπί* the gen.

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said to be the mother of Jesus. On the other hand, the Jewish Messiah could be regarded as a child of the community: cf. Test. Jos. xix. 11; 4 Ezra ix. 43 sqq., x. 44 sqq. Besides, the true Israel in the O.T. was the spouse of God; whereas in the N.T. the true Israel, or Church, is *the bride* of Christ.

in this phrase, though this is the natural construction as denoting rest on. In x. 1 (see textual evidence) xix. 12 it occurs c. acc. in sing. Elsewhere in Apoc. always c. acc. *in plural* (five times). In the rest of the N.T. *ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς* occurs four times and *ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν* twice. δώδεκα—post-positive: see notes on viii. 2, xii. 3.

2. ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα—participle used as finite verb as in x. 2, xxi. 14. On κράζει κτλ. see note on text.

βασανίζω (ix. 5, xi. 10, xiv. 10, xx. 10) is never used in LXX of the pangs of childbirth, and only here in the N.T.

3. ὤφθη κτλ.: see on 1. πυρρός: see vi. 4. For the position of the last ἑπτά see footnote on viii. 2. ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ. This is the usual idiom in the Apoc. See note on 1 above.

4. ἕστηκεν ἐνώπιον: cf. vii. 9, viii. 2, xi. 4. τῆς μελλούσης 13 times in Apoc., 10 times with pres. inf. and 3 times with aor. inf., iii. 2, 16, xii. 4. On the order ἵνα ὅταν τέκῃ . . . καταφάγῃ: cf. xiii. 15, *ἵνα ὅσοι . . . προσκυνήσωσιν . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν.* καταφάγῃ: cf. x. 9, 10, xi. 5, xii. 4, xx. 9. τέκνον: cf. ii. 23.

5. The clause ὃς μέλλει . . . σιδηρᾷ is from the hand of our author: cf. ii. 27, xix. 15.

6 is a doublet of xii. 13^{b} 14 from the hand of our author. ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ: cf. xii. 14. For analogous Semiticisms, cf. ii. 7, 17, iii. 8, vii. 2, 9, xiii. 8, 12, xvii. 9, xx. 8. *ὅπου* occurs 5 times elsewhere without complementary adverbial phrase. ἡτοιμασμένον: cf. viii. 6, ix. 7, 15, xvi. 12, xix. 7, xxi. 2. On this rare use of *ἀπό* after a passive verb see note on ix. 18. τρέφωσιν. On this indefinite use of plural, cf. x. 11 (xi. 9 originally). ἡμέρας χιλ. διακοσίας. ἑξήκοντα (cf. xi. 3)—an interpretation of the phrase in xii. 14.

7–8. πολεμῆσαι μετά: cf. ii. 16, xiii. 4, xvii. 14 (xix. 11). This phrase is found in the N.T. only in the Apoc., and outside the Apoc. without *μετά* in Jas. iv. 2. It is common in the LXX. On the irregular syntax see note *in loc.* *τοῦ* before the infinitive occurs only here in our author: not at all in the Fourth Gospel. οὐδὲ τόπος εὑρέθη: cf. xx. 11, *τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς.*

9. On the original form of this verse see note *in loc.* ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος . . . Σατανᾶς: cf. xx. 2. ὁ καλούμενος: cf. xi. 8 n. διάβολος . . . ὁ πλανῶν: cf. xx. 8. τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην: cf. iii. 10, xvi. 14. The writer of the Fourth Gospel would have used *κόσμος*, which, indeed, is used in Apoc. xi. 15 (xiii. 8, xvii. 8).

10. ἄρτι: cf. xiv. 13—a Johannine word but also Pauline and Petrine and in Matt. ἡ σωτηρία: cf. vii. 10, xix. 1. ἡ δύναμις: cf. iv. 11, vii. 12, xix. 1. ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν: cf. xi. 15, ἡ *βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.* ἡ ἐξουσία, passim. τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, i. 9, vi. 11, xix. 10, xxii. 9. ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός: cf. iv. 8.

11. This verse is word for word the diction of our author. ἐνίκησαν—characteristic of our author. διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου: cf. *ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ*, i. 5, v. 9, vii. 14. διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν: cf. vi. 9, *διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν*: also i. 9, xx. 4. ἠγάπησαν: cf. i. 5, iii. 9, xx. 9. ἄχρι θανάτου occurs already in ii. 10. ἄχρι occurs 11 times in Apoc. but not in Johannine Gospel or Epistles.

12. διὰ τοῦτο: cf. vii. 15, xviii. 8 (15 times in Fourth Gospel). εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοί. This phrase is difficult and would point to the existence of xii. 7–10, 12 in a Greek form. We should expect *εὐφραίνου οὐρανέ* as in xviii. 20; for the plural is not found elsewhere in the Apoc. See note on xii. 12. οἱ . . . σκηνοῦντες, used of heavenly dwellers: cf. vii. 15, xiii. 6, xxi. 3, as *κατοικεῖν* of dwellers on earth. Though the LXX uses *σκηνοῦν* and *κατασκηνοῦν* of the dwellers on the earth, our author does not. οὐαί, c. acc. (=אוי) as in viii. 13. c. nom. in xviii. 10, 16, 19 as in LXX of Isa. v. 8, 11, 18, 20–22=הוי. ὀλίγον καιρόν. *ὀλίγος* prepositive here as in iii. 4. This order is Semitic=מעט עת, though the reverse order is possible. Contrast Acts xiv. 28, *χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον.*

13. ὅτε εἶδεν and ὅτι ἐβλήθη . . . γῆν (from xii. 9) added as connecting links after incorporation of xii. 7–12. ἥτις=*ἥ*—a usage of our author: see xi. 8 n.

14. πέτηται. Cf. iv. 7, viii. 13, xiv. 6, xix. 17. Not elsewhere in N.T. *ὅπου . . ἐκεῖ.* See on xii. 6 (above). καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς κτλ. See xi. 2 n. ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως, a Hebraism. See xii. 14 n.

15. ὡς ποταμόν. See Additional Note on ὡς, p. 35 sq. ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ. On *ποταμοφόρητον* see note *in loc.* Next, *ἵνα* is followed by object and verb also in vi. 4, xiii. 13; and adverbial phrase or clause and verb in xii. 4 (*ἵνα ὅταν* . . .), xix. 15; by substantive clause and verb, xiii. 15 (*ἵνα ὅσοι* . . .); though immediately by verb as a rule: cf. ii. 10, iii. 9, vi. 11, viii. 3, 12, ix. 5, 15, xii. 6 (*ἵνα ἐκεῖ*), 14, xiii. 12, 15^{a}, 16, xiv. 13, xvi. 12, xix. 8, 18, xxi. 15, xxii. 14. *ἵνα μή* is followed by verb 6 times; by subject and verb, iii. 11, viii. 12, xi. 6; by adjective and verb, xvi. 15. The combination *ποταμοφόρητον ποιεῖν* is Hebrew as well as Greek: see note on xvii. 16.

17. ὠργίσθη: cf. xi. 18. ἀπῆλθεν: cf. x. 9. ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετά: cf. xi. 7, xiii. 7, xix. 19. τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος: cf. ix. 20, xx. 5; Luke xviii. 11 alone in N.T. for this use of *λοιπός.* τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ. These words recur in xiv. 12. *τηρεῖν* occurs 11 times in the Apoc. It belongs also to the Johannine vocabulary. Gospel 18 times, 1 Ep. 7 times. τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ: cf. i. 2, 9, xix. 10, xx. 4.

18. ἐστάθη ἐπί, c. acc. Cf. vii. 1 (p. 190).

Before passing on attention ought to be drawn to words or expressions that are ἅπ. λεγ. in the Apoc. 5. ἡρπάσθη. 12. ὀλίγον καιρόν. 13. ἐδίωξεν. 14. ἀπὸ προσώπου = "because of." Contrast its meaning in vi. 16, xx. 11. 15. ποταμοφόρητον. 16. ἐβοήθησεν . . . κατέπιεν.

Thus the entire chapter exhibits the peculiar idioms and diction of our author—with two slight exceptions. The first is in xii. 1, ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, instead of which he uses ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν (or τὰς κεφαλάς). The second irregular usage is the use of οὐρανοί in xii. 12, but this may be due to the source which our author is translating; see § 4. In any case these two expressions are of no weight against *the overwhelming agreement in point of idiom and diction of this chapter with the style of our author. The evidence is distinctly against the hypothesis that we have here a recast of existing Greek sources from another hand or hands.*

§ 4. *Yet since our author undoubtedly used sources* (*see* § 7) *and not Greek sources as we have just seen, there remains the hypothesis that he used Semitic sources oral or written—a hypothesis for which there is considerable evidence, considering the paucity of the text.*

From what precedes it follows that our author found the originals of xii. 1–5, 13–17, xii. 7–9, 12 in Semitic sources oral or written, and that he translated them into Greek with certain additions of his own as xii. 6, 10–11, and in xii. 3, 5, 9, 13, 17. The evidence for the existence of such Semitic sources is as follows.

Some evidence pointing to a Semitic source or influence has already been advanced in the past. Thus υἱόν, ἄρσεν = בן זכר in xii. 5, ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ = אשר . . . שם in xii. 6, 14, οὐκ ἴσχυσεν = לא יכל in xii. 8, and κατέβη xii. 12, ἐβλήθη xii. 9, 13, as renderings of the same verb ירד (Aram. נחת), have been adduced by various scholars in the past. Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 200 sq.) has enumerated the above and sought to strengthen the evidence for a Semitic original by the following arguments. Thus ὠδίνουσα καὶ βασανιζομένη τεκεῖν, xii. 2, is, he claims, a Hebrew construction such as הרה ללדת, 1 Sam. iv. 19 (itself an isolated idiom), but as I have sought to show in the note *in loc.*, τεκεῖν should be immediately connected with κράζει, or taken as a complement of the preceding clause as "about to be delivered." The mistranslation of the Hebrew dual which he finds in xii. 14 was over

200 years old. He thinks that the construction in xii. 7, if we omit ὁ M. καὶ οἱ ἀγγ. αὐτοῦ, is Semitic, and thus misses the point.

But the above evidence, though suggestive, is in no respect conclusive—not indeed that it is possible to discover absolutely conclusive evidence where the text is so exiguous, but there is further evidence that makes the hypothesis of a Semitic original the only reasonable solution of the problem before us.

xii. 1–5, 13–17^{ab} and xii. 7–9, 12 will here be treated together as derived from Semitic sources. (1) First of all the force of the evidence in ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ xii. 14 (repeated in xii. 6), has not been observed. The *addition* of ἐκεῖ after ὅπου is contrary to the usage of our author when writing independently. Cf. ii. 13 (*bis*), xi. 8, xiv. 4, xx. 10. And yet analogous Semiticisms are used by our author elsewhere (see iii. 8 n.), but not this particular one. This idiom is repeated in xii. 6, which is merely a doublet of xii. 13^{b}, 14.

(2) Next the use of οὐρανοί instead of οὐρανός in xii. 12 is best explained by our author's use of a Semitic source (contrast xviii. 20 εὐφραίνου . . . οὐρανέ); for he always uses the sing. when writing independently, and even when translating a Semitic original, as in xii. 7, 8, 10, where the use of the plural might suggest the idea of a plurality of the heavens: an idea he rejects—though it was held by St. Paul and the author of the Hebrews, and was current in the O.T., and enforced in the Testament of XII Patriarchs, 2 Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, etc. (see note on iv. 1, p. 108). Since there is here no risk of misconception he renders רנו שמיח by the familiar rendering of the LXX, εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοί.

(3) Our author nowhere else uses τοῦ before the infinitive (xii. 7). Nor is it found in any of the Johannine writings. Hence its appearance here can be best explained as due to a Semitic background. The explanation is given under (8) below.

(4) There seems to lurk a mistranslation in the clause οὐδὲ τόπος εὑρέθη αὐτῶν in xii. 8. For nowhere else in the Apocalypse is there such a separation of αὐτῶν from the noun on which it depends as here.[1] Next, in xx. 11, where the clause recurs, we find τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς. This is the natural form of this expression: moreover, it is the Hebrew כל־מקום לא־נמצא להם or the Aramaic כל אתר לא השתכח להון. But αὐτῶν is a possible, though here an incorrect, rendering of להם (or להון). Hence for

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[1] This differentiates the usage of the Apocalypse from the Johannine Gospel. ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶν can in John either precede or follow the noun: they can only follow in the Apocalypse. In John these possessives can be separated from their noun by an adj.: cf. iii. 19, viii. 17, by a preposition, ix. 15, xi. 32, or by a verb, ix. 28 (*bis*), xi. 32, xii. 47, xiii. 6, 14, xix. 35, xx. 23. See note on iii. 2 above.

αὐτῶν we should read *αὐτοῖς*—an emendation made in some of the later MSS.

(5) In xii. 14, *ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως* = מפני הנחש, "because of the serpent." This is a pure Semiticism not elsewhere found in the N.T.

(6) *ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα*, xii. 1 = הוֹרָה. Here the participle is used as a finite verb. On this Semiticism see note *in loc.* It is not improbable that *σύρει* in xii. 4 is a rendering of a participle also such as סֹחֵב. This would explain the tense of *σύρει* in the midst of past verbs.

(7) Other Semiticisms are *ὀλίγον καιρόν*, xii. 12 = מעט עת. In the Apocalypse adjectives are postpositive, but the unusual order here can be explained as reflecting the Semitic: *ἔβαλεν . . . ὀπίσω*, xii. 15 = שלח . . . אחרי; *ὡς ποταμόν*, xii. 15 = כנהר; *πολεμῆσαι μετά*, xii. 7 = הלחם עם.

(8) In xii. 7 *ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι* is the literal reproduction in Greek of a Hebrew idiom. This construction is otherwise inexplicable. For another form of it see xiii. 10. See note *in loc.*

§ 5. *Order of Verb, Subject, and Object.*

In the original form of xii. 1–5 there are 11 verbs: 7 times the verb comes first, 3 times it is preceded by the subject, and once by the object.

In the original form of xii. 7–9, 12 there are 10 verbs: 6 times the verb comes first, 4 times it is preceded by the subject.

In the original form of xii. 13–18 there are 16 verbs, all coming first save 2: 1 of these is necessarily preceded by the subject (xii. 13) and one by the object (xii. 15). In the latter instance the object and verb together almost certainly represent a Semitic verb and therefore this case does not count.

The above facts, though they do not help to differentiate xii. 7–9, 12 from the rest of the chapter, manifest the Semitic order of the words throughout the entire chapter.

§ 6. *This Chapter was not originally a unity, but was derived from two independent Jewish sources.*

That this chapter is composite is clear from many facts. It is sufficient, to begin with, to mention two. First, xii. 10–11 is clearly an addition, since it breaks the connection and conflicts with its immediate context. Next, the flight and rescue of the woman are recounted in xii. 6 before the casting down of Satan, and yet in xii. 13–17 it is placed after that event and treated at fuller length. Owing to these and other difficulties various hypotheses are advanced.

Spitta (130 sqq.) thinks that the difficulty can be got over by excising xii. 6 as a short preliminary redactional addition, which constitutes in fact a doublet of xii. 13–17. Other additions he finds in xii. 9, *ὁ πλανῶν . . . τὴν γῆν*: in xii. 11, 13, *ὅτε εἶδεν* and *ὅτι ἐβλήθη . . . γῆν*: and in xii. 17, *καὶ ἐχόντων . . . Ἰησοῦ*. Pfleiderer (332 sq.), Völter, iii. 146 sqq., regard xii. 12–17 as well as xii. 11 as later additions. They conceive the overthrow of Satan to be the last or last but one scene of all. Völter says that the addition of xii. 6 is incomprehensible on the presupposition of the original unity of xii. 1–10, 12–17. Why should this notice of the flight of the woman be inserted, if this were recounted fully in xii. 12–17? On the other hand, the shortness of the account in xii. 6 would naturally lead to a fuller statement as in xii. 12–17.

Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 118, reconstructs the chapter as follows: xii. 1–4, 14–16, 5 (6, 17, 12^b), 7–12^a.

None of the above hypotheses is satisfactory, though some of Spitta's suggestions are of permanent value. The remaining chief hypotheses seek to explain the chapter as consisting of (*a*) two parallel visions, or of (*b*) two distinct sources.

(*a*) Under this head come Gunkel's and Wellhausen's. Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 274 sqq.) sees in xii. 6 and xii. 7–16 parallel accounts. The first writer had concluded the section with xii. 6. He was acquainted with xii. 7–16, but owing to his aversion to the mythological element he not only abbreviated the account of the flight of the woman but he also left out wholly the narrative of the overthrow of the Dragon. A reviser subsequently added the original account, xii. 7–16. But why then, it may be asked, did he not excise the disturbing xii. 6? Wellhausen (*Anal. d. Offenb. Joh.* 18 sqq.) finds that xii. 1–6 and xii. 7–14 are parallel accounts, which terminate in a common conclusion xii. 15–17. Both are incomplete, and they must both be used to supplement each other. xii. 10–12 and certain clauses in xii. 3, 5, 9, 17 are added by the redactor, with a view to giving a Christian character to the whole. The rest is purely Jewish. From a combination of xii. 1–6 and xii. 7–9, 13–14 he recovers the original contents of the narrative. The Dragon warred in heaven and was overcome and cast down to the earth. There he assails the woman who had borne the male child. The child was thereupon rapt into heaven and the woman, *i.e.*, the élite of the community, fled into the wilderness, where she stayed for 3½ years. The Dragon then attacks the rest of her seed in Jerusalem which had not fled into the wilderness. The conclusion of the Apocalypse which dealt with the returning Messiah is lost.

We have, therefore, in xii. a Pharisaic counterblast to the Zelotic oracle in xi. 1–2.

But the above hypotheses labour under one and the same difficulty. They both assume two parallel visions—an assumption which can only be justified by the further assumption that one of them is considerably abbreviated. In either case a reconstruction of the parallel accounts in their completeness is impossible. Moreover, Gunkel's reconstruction is based on the Marduk myth, which as reproduced by Gunkel is itself a reconstruction and without any actual basis in tradition.

(*b*) *Two distinct sources.* J. Weiss (87 sq.) is of opinion that we have here two distinct sources. The first dealt with the birth of the Messiah, His persecution by the Dragon, the flight and persecution of the woman, and the persecution of the remaining children of the woman. The second dealt with the strife of Michael with the Dragon in heaven: the casting down of the Dragon and his reign on earth.

In support of this hypothesis (88 sq.) Weiss urges that the war with the Dragon has no connection of any kind with the persecution of the Child. The angels are not conscious of contending on behalf of the Messiah, and it is nowhere said that the Dragon is overthrown as an enemy of the Messiah. If the war with the Dragon and the enmity between the Dragon and the Messiah had been conceived in relation with each other, then the final strife between the Messiah and the Dragon must have been recounted at the close. And the fact that this is not so is a proof that the war with the Dragon had originally nothing to do with the Messiah, His birth and persecution.

In this matter Weiss appears to have established his contention and is herein followed by Bousset. His further contention that xii. 7–12 was an original constituent of a Christian Apocalypse is against the evidence of the section itself, which in form and idiom points to a Semitic origin (see § 4 (8), § 5) and in matter to a Jewish.

§ 7. *These two sources were borrowed by our Author from Jewish Tradition, xii. 7–10, 12 being probably an original product of Judaism, but not so xii. 1–5, 13–17.*

xii. 7–10, 12 is an original product of Judaism. All the elements in this section can be found in pre-Christian Judaism, as I have shown in the notes on xii. 7 (p. 323 sq.). Yet even in the case of this section some of the subject-matter may go back to the Zend religion. Thus in the Bund. (*S.B.E.* v. 17) iii. 10–11 it is stated that the evil spirit or Ahriman attacked the heaven with his confederate demons, and they "sprang like a snake down to the earth" (cf. Apoc. xii. 12, κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς).

For 90 days and nights the heavenly angels contended with the demons of the evil spirit and hurled them down to hell (Bund. iii. 26). In some degree the Zend tradition may in turn be dependent on the Babylonian myth of the primeval chaos monster Tiâmat which was overcome by Marduk. But the same idea was found in Greece in the wars of the Titans and at a later date among the Mandaeans (Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, 128 sqq., 138 sqq., 178, 181 sqq., 231 sq.) and the Manichaeans (Flügel, *Mani*, 87); see Gunkel, *Verständnis*, 57. The myth had an international currency in the ancient world.

xii. 1–5, 13–17. We have already seen (§ 2) that this section could not have been written originally either by a Jew or by a Christian. It was therefore taken over from a heathen source by a Jew or by a Christian.

That it was taken over by a Jew and not by a Christian is probable on the following grounds. 1. It shows signs of being a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic (§ 4). Even if this could be established conclusively, it does not, of course, prove a Jewish original as against a Jewish-Christian, though it makes it more likely. 2. It exhibits several characteristics which differentiate the Jewish and the Christian Messiah. Thus the Messiah is here conceived as playing a passive rôle so far as the present text is concerned (cf. 1 Enoch xc. 37; Shemone Esre, 15 (14); 4 Ezra vii. 28 sq.; 2 Bar. xxix. 3). He is rapt away after His birth: and remains in concealment after His birth.[1] The same three characteristics belong to the Jewish Messiah, but are positively at variance with the universally accepted views of Jesus, the Christian Messiah. 3. The description differs widely from the Christian conception in the way of omission. The Person, life, death, and resurrection of Christ are here wholly ignored. 4. The description of the birth and rapture of the Messiah could well represent an event still impending in the view of the writer (and therefore a Jew), but not in that of a Christian. 5. A Jewish writer could accept the divine figure—a sun-goddess, *in a general sense* as symbolizing the true Israel, since in the O.T. Israel was the spouse of God. But in the N.T. the true Israel is the spouse of Christ.

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[1] These two facts, though impossible in a first-hand description of Jesus, would be possible in a Jewish apocalypse: for we find a kindred tradition in the Jer. Talmud, Berachoth, 5^{a} (chap. ii.), the Midrash Echa Rabbati, i. 16, according to which an Arab had come to a Jew at Bethlehem and told him of the destruction of Jerusalem and the birth of the Messiah. Thereupon the Jew went off to Bethlehem and saw the mother of the Messiah; but when he returned a second time he was informed that the child had been carried off by a strong wind. With this legend we might compare the tradition in the Targ. Jon. on Mic. iv. 8, that the Messiah was already born but was concealed on account of the sins of the people; and in Justin, *Dial.* 8, that, according to Trypho, the Messiah was possibly already born but would remain unknown till Elijah came and anointed Him; and in Sanh. 98^{b}, that He was already born but living in concealment at the gates of Rome. The same idea underlies the statement of certain Jews in John vii. 27, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ὅταν ἔρχηται οὐδεὶς γινώσκει πόθεν ἐστίν, and 2 Bar. xxix. 3; 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 32. The birth of the Messiah, therefore, followed by His sudden disappearance, was an idea familiar to Judaism, but impossible as a purely Christian conception. Whether He remained on earth or was carried off to heaven as in our text is a subordinate question.

Hence, since the original of xii. 1–5, 13–17 is alien in nearly every respect to the Christian conception, but shows affinities in certain definite respects to the Jewish, it is immeasurably more probable that the myth was adopted and adapted first by a Jew, then by a Christian. When once it was incorporated in Jewish Apocalyptic, its adoption by our author for his own purposes is easily intelligible. It is only *le premier pas qui coûte.* He sees in it a prophecy of the last times, a prophecy likewise that was coming to fulfilment in the events of the present.

xii. 1–5, 13–17 is a torso. In accordance with the primitive forms of the myth we should expect a return of the Messiah from heaven in order to destroy the Dragon, but this expectation is not fulfilled here or later in our Apocalypse. Christ destroys the two agents of the Dragon, chap. xix., but not the Dragon himself.

§ 8. *The two sections, xii. 1–5, 13–17 and xii. 7–10, 12, were adapted to their new Christian context by the addition of xii. 6, 11, and by changes and additions in xii. 3, 5, 9, 10, 17.*

Since these questions are dealt with in the notes on the text they require no further consideration here.

§ 9. *Whether the sections were first brought into connection by our author, or already formed a unity in a Semitic original is doubtful, though the evidence perhaps points to the former alternative.*

If the two sections existed already as a whole, then our author translated his source and inserted xii. 11 and certain additions in xii. 3, 5, 9, 10, 17 to adapt it to its new context. In this case xii. 6 was already before him and due to the Jewish writer who had joined the two sections.[1] ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ would thus be explained as due to the source as in xii. 14 (see § 4, p. 304). But the other hypothesis, that our author first brought the two sections together, is perhaps preferable. On this hypothesis he added xii. 6, 11 and certain clauses in xii. 3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 17. On this hypothesis we could explain in xii. 6 the indefinite Semitic plural *τρέφωσιν* (which our author uses elsewhere, x. 11) as opposed to *τρέφεται* in xii. 14, the use of *ἡτοιμασμένον* (cf. ix. 7, 15, xvi. 12), the different phrasing of the period of the Antichrist, *ἡμέρας χιλίας κτλ.* Cf. xi. 3. The unusual *ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ* would in that case be simply transferred from xii. 14.

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[1] That the two sections existed already as a whole (whether as Jewish or Christian, in Semitic or Greek) is the view of Weizsäcker, Sabatier, Schoen, Pfleiderer, Gunkel, Wellhausen.

The decision of this question depends on the authorship of xii. 6.

§ 10. *xii. 1–5, 13–17^{ab}—essentially a heathen myth—may have been adopted and adapted originally by a Pharisaic Jew about 67–69 A.D., but xii. 14–16 are meaningless in their present context.*

This is Wellhausen's view as to the date of the entire chapter, and it appears right, though we cannot follow him in regarding the chapter as an original Jewish creation. It was only a Jewish adaptation of a heathen myth—a question which will be discussed presently.

xii. 1–5, 13–17^{ab} represents at the outset two great powers—the sun-goddess and the Dragon, which symbolized for the Jewish adapter the Jewish Community and its spiritual foe, the Antichrist. The Dragon, who after his overthrow in the war in heaven (xii. 4) descended to earth, besets the Jewish Community with a view to destroying the Messiah, who was to come forth from it. But the Messiah who was to be born in the hour of Israel's sorest need, as was foretold in Mic. v. 3, Isa. vii. 14 sqq., was carried off to heaven, and so escaped the dragon, who therefore fell upon the Jewish Community through his agent the Roman Empire. The Pharisees, who were the élite of the nation, fled to the wilderness, xii. 14–16, and so escaped; but the Zealots clung to the Temple, and so were exposed to the fury of the Dragon, xii. 17^{ab} (cf. xi. 1, 2).[1] In its present context (95 A.D.) xii. 17 is reinterpreted, but xii. 14–16 are meaningless.

§ 11. *Original source of xii. 1–5, 13–17^{ab} to be found in a primitive international myth.*

Scholars have sought the source of this chapter variously in Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Egyptian myths. It is not, however, directly and wholly from any one of these, but from an early international myth. The chief attempts of the above nature are as follows.

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[1] The Messiah, according to Jer. Berachoth, f. 5. c. 1, was born on the day of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Babylonian origin.—Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 379 sqq.) traces the entire chapter to an old Babylonian myth which dealt with the war between Tiâmat, the seven-headed dragon, and the gods, which was not decided till Marduk the god of light arose. In this strife Tiâmat cast down a third of the stars (cf. Dan. viii. 10). Tiâmat was a water monster—a fact which would explain the action of the dragon in xii. 15. The great eagle is the constellation called the Eagle, which Gunkel supposes to have been the servant of Marduk. Tiâmat, knowing the destiny of the child, seeks to kill it the moment it is born, but it is rescued and borne off to a place of safety. Then Tiâmat turns against the mother, but through the help of the eagle and the earth she is saved. Thereupon his fury is directed against the rest of her sons. At last Marduk grows up and returns and overcomes Tiâmat.

But the incurable weakness of this hypothesis is that it is not found in Babylonian mythology, but reconstructed on the basis of the very chapter it is invoked to explain. In that mythology indeed there is found Tiâmat and Marduk and Damkina his mother, who is, in fact, described in terms similar to those in xii. 1. But of her persecution by Tiâmat, because she was about to bear a child dangerous to the dragon, of the removal of the child, and of the flight of the woman into the wilderness, there has not been found a trace in Babylonian mythology. But perhaps the most telling criticism of this hypothesis is to be found in the fact that as the one exclusive explanation of our text it is abandoned by its author. See *Verständnis*, 59 sq.

Zend origin.—Völter (iv. 86 sq.) traces the myth in our text to a Persian origin. Ormuzd and Ahriman contend for "the great kingly glory." The parallel to this Völter finds in the woman in xii. 1, who represents the theocracy. Ahriman sends Azhi Dahak—the dragon—to secure this treasure. The twelve stars with which the woman was crowned were the twelve constellations created by Ormuzd, while the seven diadems of the dragon had their counterparts in the seven planets which were created by Ahriman.

To the statement that the dragon cast down a third of the stars of heaven, Völter adduces the parallel that in Bund. iii. 11 the serpent stood on a third part of the heaven and sprang therefrom to the earth. So far the parallels are interesting, but of the woman with child, the birth of a son, his removal, the rescue of the mother, there is naturally not a word in Persian mythology in connection with "the great kingly glory" and the serpent. These ideas Völter would trace to Mic. iv. 8–10, though he thinks that our author may have combined the marvellous tradition of the book of Zoroaster with the myth about "the great kingly glory" which Azhi Dahak sought to obtain.

The above hypothesis, though it offers interesting parallels, cannot be accepted as the source of our text.

Greek origin.—Dieterich[1] (*Abraxas*, 117 sqq., *Nekyia*, 217, n. 3) finds the original of chap. xii. in Greek mythology, *i.e.* in the myth of the birth of Apollo, as transmitted by Hyginus. It was announced in prophecy to Python the son of Earth, the great Dragon, that he should be slain by the son of Leto, who was with child by Zeus. Out of jealousy Hera contrived that Leto could give birth only where the sun shone not, and Python observing that she was soon to have a child pursued her in order to slay her. But Boreas carried her off to Poseidon (cf. xii. 14), who placed her in Ortygia and submerged the island in the sea. Accordingly Python failing to find her returned to Parnassus. On the island, which was brought to the surface by Poseidon, Leto bare Apollo, who burst at once his infant bands and in the fulness of his divine form and strength hastened the fourth day after his birth to Parnassus and slew Python.

Dieterich (*Abrax.* 120, note 4) recalls also another form of the myth. According to this, owing to the water floods of the chaotic world which Python threw into such an uproar, Leto could not have borne her child had not the earth come to her help and raised up the waste, desolate island of Delos. Further, he adduces the facts that Leto was portrayed with a veil of stars (cf. xii. 1), and that the bronze masterpiece of Euphranor, which Schreiber thinks may have originally stood in Ephesus, represented Leto as fleeing before the dragon with Apollo and Artemis in her arms.

If we may combine the above myths we obtain very striking parallels to chap. xii., and particularly so if we recognize that xii. 1–5, 13–17^{ab} is from a distinct source, as Dieterich did not. The chief figures, such as the woman, the child, the persecuting dragon, correspond closely to both: also individual traits, such as the assisted flight of the woman, the waters menacing the woman, the help given by the earth to the woman. It is only indeed by the combination of conflicting forms of the Greek myth that we can arrive at the above remarkable parallels. For one form of the Greek myth (that on the coin) represents Apollo as already born before Leto's flight, whereas another represents his birth as after it. One form represents the waters as helpful to her, the other as hostile. Both forms agree in making an island the place of refuge and not the wilderness as in our text. Notwithstanding, the Greek myth stands incomparably nearer to our text than does the Babylonian or Persian.

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[1] This view was propounded in 1794 by Dupuis, *Origine de tous les cults*, iii. 49, and in 1819 by Richter, *Das Christenthum u. d. ältesten Religionen d. Orients*, 212, and adopted by O. Pfleiderer (*Das Christenbild des urchristlichen Glaubens*, 1903, 38 sqq.).

Again, if our conclusions above as to a Jewish source of xii. 1–5, 13–17^{ab} are valid, then the ultimate derivation of xii. 1–5, 13–17^{ab} from a Greek myth through this source is quite possible; and such an hypothesis is free from the chief objection that told against Dieterich's theory, that the entire chap. xii. was taken over first hand from a Greek myth by a Christian Apocalyptist.

Egyptian source.—Bousset (354 sq.) has recourse to Egyptian mythology for the source of our text, and finds in the myth of Hathor, Osiris, Horus and Set as startling parallels as Dieterich found in the Greek myth. The woman, who is the mother of the child, is the goddess Hathor (*i.e.* Isis), who is represented with a sun upon her head (Brugsch, *Rel. u. Mythol. d. Ægypten*, 211); cf. xii. 1. The child is Horus, the son of Osiris; the dragon is Typhon (Set), the favourite symbols for whom are the dragon, serpent, or crocodile (*op. cit.* 709). Set was usually described as red (710); cf. Plutarch, *De Iside*, 22, 30. After Osiris (the declining sun) is slain by Set, Isis though pursued by Typhon collects the bones of Osiris, and in a marvellous manner bears the child, the young sun-god. Then she escapes on a boat of papyrus, makes her way through the marshes and gets safe to a legendary floating island, Chemnis (*op. cit.* 400 sq.). According to another variant, Hathor does not bear Horus till she reaches Chemnis (403, 405), while an Osiris hymn represents Hathor as producing wind with her wings [1] (398) in her flight, and as bearing Horus in the solitude whither she had fled. Finally, Horus overcomes Typhon (as Apollo the Python), 399, 717, 721. Typhon is subsequently imprisoned and destroyed by fire (722).

As in the Greek myth, the woman flees to an island and not into the wilderness as in our text. Similarly Horus (like Apollo) is not separated from Hathor as the child is from the woman in our text. Finally, water is not hurled after Hathor to destroy her; on the contrary, she finds deliverance on the face of the waters.

Conclusion.—From the foregoing discussion it follows that the myth in chap. xii. 1–5, 12–17^{ab} is not borrowed *wholly and directly* from any of the above sources, but that it is akin to elements in all of them cannot be denied. The oldest of the four is in all probability the Babylonian, but at a very early date the tradition of a World-Redeemer had become *international*. So Gunkel, abandoning the strict derivation of our text from the primitive Babylonian myth, now holds (*Verständnis*, 55), and so also Cheyne (*Bible Problems*, 195, 206) and Clemen (*Erklärung. d. NT* 237). This primitive myth is in reality "the old story of the conflict between light and darkness, order and disorder, transferred to the latter days and adapted by spiritualisation . . . to the wants of faithful Jews" (Cheyne, *op. cit.* 80). Into this primitive international tradition Judaism had read its own religious history and its longings for a divine Redeemer (cf. Gunkel, *op. cit.* 58).

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[1] As Cheyne (*Bible Problems*, 199) points out, the vulture was the second bird of Hathor-Nechbit. This recalls "the wings of the great eagle," xii. 14.

On the general meaning of this chapter see Introduction, § 1.

1. καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὤφθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς στέφανος ἀστέρων δώδεκα.

This verse is to be taken as constituting a complete sentence. *γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη* is a phrase standing in apposition to *σημεῖον μέγα.* We have exactly the same construction in xv. 1, *εἶδον ἄλλο σημεῖον . . . ἀγγέλους ἑπτά*, save that the verb in xv. 1 is active, whereas in xii. 1 it is passive. Most editors connect the *καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα* of 2 with *περιβεβλημένη κτλ.* and treat it as merely a participial phrase, but wrongly. In *καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα* the participle stands for a finite verb, as in i. 16, vi. 2, etc. *σημεῖον* has two meanings in our Apocalypse. In xii. 1, 3, xv. 1, it seems to denote a heavenly marvel; but in xiii. 13, 14, xvi. 14, xix. 20, a sign wrought by the Antichrist or his agents in order to deceive the inhabitants of the earth. The latter is thus a caricature of the sign wrought by Christ: cf. John ii. 11, 23, etc. The word in this latter sense does not naturally occur till the Satanic reign begins on earth. With the first meaning cf. *σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*, Luke xi. 16; Mark viii. 11; Matt. xvi. 1; *τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (Matt. xxiv. 30).

The first Woe was introduced by *καὶ εἶδον* (ix. 1), the second by *καὶ ἤκουσα*, ix. 13, whereas the third opens with *καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὤφθη*. We have come at last to the climax of the apocalyptic vision.

ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. This is taken as: 1 = "in the heaven" (so De Wette, Düsterdieck, Spitta, Gunkel, B. Weiss, Holtzmann). In this case the scene of action is the same as in xi. 19, and the ornaments of the woman—the sun, moon, and twelve stars—fall in fitly with this tradition; or 2 as = "on the heaven," *i.e.* "in the sky" (so Vischer, Völter, Bousset, Swete, J. Weiss, Anderson Scott). In favour of this view is the fact that the woman flies into the wilderness, which cannot be supposed to be in heaven. But in the original context of this tradition, as Wellhausen (p. 19) points out, while heaven was clearly the scene of action in xii. 1–3, in 4 a descent to earth on the part of the woman and the Dragon is silently presupposed, as well as the overthrow of the latter. But the overthrow of the Dragon was omitted here by the Seer since he deals with it later in xii. 7 sq.

It is hard to determine the place of the Seer during the various scenes in this chapter, since he is using independent traditions in a very abbreviated form. See note on iv. 2, p. 109.

γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον κτλ. In its *present* context this woman[1] represents the true Israel or the community of believers. This community embraces Jewish and Gentile Christians, all of whom are to undergo the last great tribulation. But the original expectation of the source xii. 1–5, 13–17 (67–69 A.D.), that the Jewish Christians would escape (see xii. 14–16 notes, Introd. § 10), survives in the text and is meaningless in 95 A.D. "The rest of her seed" (=originally "Gentile Christians") in xii. 17 must in its present context be taken as including all Christians.

But since the woman is represented as the mother of the Messiah, the community which she symbolizes must embrace the true O.T. Israel. The conception in the present context is very elastic. The Seer did not here create his symbols freely, but used those that had come to him by tradition. J. Weiss (p. 137) takes the woman to symbolize the heavenly Jerusalem, which St. Paul calls "our mother" (Gal. iv. 26), and which thus forms a contrast to the woman that symbolizes Babylon or Rome in chap. xvii. But this cannot have been the original meaning of the description in our text. If the Seer had been creating freely, he would not have introduced into the picture a number of notable characteristics which were without further significance for his purpose, and were, therefore, wholly superfluous. Thus the woman wearing a crown of twelve stars, clothed with the sun, and having the moon beneath her feet, the heads, horns, and diadems of the dragon, the wings of the great eagle, the stream cast forth from the mouth of the dragon after the woman and swallowed up by the earth, are ideas that can be best explained from a mythological background. See Introduction to this chapter, p. 310 sqq., for the larger consideration of these questions. Here, however, we should observe that in the crown of twelve stars we are probably to recognize the twelve signs of the zodiac, as Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 386), Zimmern (*K.A.T.*^{3} 360), Bousset, and Jeremias (*Babylonisches*, 35 sq.) have done. Jeremias (*Babylonisches*, 35 sq.) draws attention to the fact that, according to Martianus Capella (*De Nupt. Philol. et Merc.* i. 75), the Assyrian Juno wore a crown with twelve precious stones, amongst which were the zmaragdus, jasper, hyacinth. These stones, Clemen (*Erklärung d. N.T.* p. 78) states, have been shown by

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[1] This designation of the theocratic community by γυνή has parallels in Isa. liv. 5; Jer. iii. 6–10; Ezek. xvi. 8^b; Hos. ii. 19, 20. Zion appears as a woman in the vision in 4 Ezra ix. 38–x. 59. The spiritual Israel was the spouse of God in the O.T. The true Israel in the N.T becomes the spouse of Christ; cf. Apoc. xix. 7, xxi. 9. The blending of the O.T. conception with that of the N.T. introduces confusion. But this is owing to the use of the Jewish source.

Kircher (*Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, 1653, ii. 177 sq.) to correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac. The twelve stones on the breastplate of the high priest are interpreted by Philo (*Vita Mos.* iii. 14) and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7. 7) of these signs. The original, then, of the woman in our text was a goddess,[1] whose crown was studded with the signs of the zodiac, whose body was clothed with the sun, and whose feet rested on the moon as a footstool.

With the actual phrase περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον cf. Ps. ciii. (civ.) 2, ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον. To ἡ σελήνη ὑποκάτω . . . δώδεκα we have a remarkable parallel in T. Naph. v. 3–4, ὁ Λευὶ ἐκράτησε τὸν ἥλιον καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας φθάσας ἐπίασε τὴν σελήνην, καὶ ὑψώθησαν ἀμφότερα σὺν αὐτοῖς. 4, καὶ ὄντος τοῦ Λευὶ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ἰδοὺ νέος τις ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ βαΐα φοινίκων δώδεκα, καὶ Ἰούδας ἐγένετο λαμπρὸς ὡς ἡ σελήνη, καὶ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν (αὐτοῦ, *bd*, A) δώδεκα ἀκτῖνες.

Here Levi is like the sun, and receives twelve branches of palm, and Judah is bright like the moon, and beneath his (or "their") feet are twelve rays of light. The symbolism in both passages is the same. The twelve ἀκτῖνες, which are evidently the twelve "stars" in our text, seem to symbolize in both passages the twelve tribes. The diction recalls Joseph's dream: Gen. xxxvii. 9, ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἕνδεκα ἀστέρες.

2. καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ κράζει ὠδίνουσα καὶ βασανιζομένη τεκεῖν.

ἔχουσα is here used as a finite verb by a Semiticism; for in Biblical Aramaic and Syriac the participle is more frequently used as a finite verb than in its proper signification. This usage is found in late Biblical Hebrew, and frequently in Mishnaic Hebrew. It is reflected occasionally in the Greek translations: cf. Dan. ii. 21, where the four Aramaic participles (= four finite verbs) are rendered in the LXX by one finite verb and three participles, and by Theodotion by three finite verbs and one participle: cf. also ii. 22, iii. 9, 16, vi. 10, vii. 7 (here three participles = finite verbs are rendered by two participles and one finite verb). This Semiticism is found again in our text in iv. 7, 8, x. 2, xxi. 12, 14. Instances of this usage are to be found in St. Paul; cf. 2 Cor. v. 12, vii. 5. See Blass, *Gram.* 284 sq.

With σημεῖον . . . ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα cf. Isa. vii. 14, δώσει κύριος αὐτὸς ὑμῖν σημεῖον· ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει (λήμψεται, B) καὶ τέξεται υἱόν.

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[1] Amongst the Egyptians the goddess Hathor is represented with the sun upon her head (Brugsch, *Rel. und Myth. d alten Aegypten*, 211); amongst the Greeks, Leto wears a veil of stars (Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 120, n. 4), whilst among the Babylonians Damkina, the mother of Marduk, is called "the lady of the heavenly tiara" (*K.A.T.*^{3} 360, n. 3).

There are many close parallels in the O.T. in which the theocratic community is described as a travailing woman. Cf. Isa. xxvi. 17, *ὡς ἡ ὠδίνουσα ἐγγίζει τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὠδῖνι αὐτῆς ἐπέκραξεν . . . ἐν γαστρὶ ἐλάβομεν καὶ ὠδινήσαμεν*: Mic. iv. 10, *ὤδινε . . . θυγάτηρ Σειὼν ὡς τίκτουσα*: Isa. lxvi. 7, *πρὶν τὴν ὠδίνουσαν τεκεῖν, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὸν πόνον τῶν ὠδίνων, ἐξέφυγεν καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν.*

The above passages, which compare the theocratic community to a woman in travail (cf. also Jer. iv. 31, xiii. 21, xxii. 23; Isa. xiii. 8, xxi. 3; Hos. xiii. 13), and the birth of the new Israel to that of a man child (Isa. lxvi. 7 sq.), point to the fact that this vision in its Jewish form dealt with the expected birth of the Messiah from the Jewish nation, and that in its present and Christian context it refers to the birth of Christ.

As regards the construction, *τεκεῖν* is generally taken as an epexegetical infinitive dependent on *βασανιζομένη*. Perhaps it would be best to take it closely with *κράζει*. Thus we should have: "and cried in her travail and pain to be delivered." The text seems to be based on Isa. xxvi. 17 but not on the LXX, and would = ותזעק הוֹלָה וּמְחַבְּלָה ללדת. *βασανίζω* is used of the pangs of childbirth in profane Greek (see Thayer *in loc.*) but not in the LXX or N.T. Or else *τεκεῖν* is to be translated according to the familiar Hebrew idiom (=ללדת) "ready to be delivered."

3. καὶ ὤφθη ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἰδοὺ δράκων μέγας πυρρός, ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ἑπτὰ διαδήματα.

The sevenheaded Dragon is ultimately derived from Babylonian mythology. The monster appears as the chief enemy of God in the O.T., and is variously designated or hinted at under such titles as Rahab, Isa. li. 9–10; Ps. lxxxix. 10; Job xxvi. 12–13, etc.: Leviathan, Ps. lxxiv. 12–19; Isa. xxvii. 1: Behemoth, Job xl. 15–24: the dragon in the sea, Job vii. 12; Ezek. xxix. 3–6, xxxii. 2–8; Jer. li. 34, 36, 42 (cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 28–34): the Serpent, Amos ix. 2 sqq. (see Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 29–82; Genesis^3, 121 sqq.; Zimmern, *K.A.T.*^{3} 507 sqq.; Jeremias, *Das AT.*^{2} 177 sqq.; Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des NT.* 99 sqq.

The many names by which this monster was designated point to a manifoldness of the tradition. The dragon appears in some passages as a personification of the ocean, and specially of the primeval ocean, Isa. li. 9–10; Ps. lxxxix. 10 sqq.; Job xxvi. 12, etc.: in others as a dweller in the Nile, and so Egypt is named Rahab, Isa. xxx 7; Ps. lxxxvii. 4: in others as the monster which prevents the rising of the sun, Job iii. 8, or from which the darkness comes, Job xxvi. 13. Hence Gunkel concludes (Genesis^3 122) that other mythologies in addition to that of Babylon may have contributed towards the dragon myth in the O.T.

The dragon and the primeval ocean are brought together in Isa. li. 9 sq. These were overcome by Yahweh in the prehistoric foretime. And what happened at the beginning of days will be repeated on a greater scale at the end of time. The primeval strife between Yahweh and the powers of chaos is transformed into a final struggle between God and Satan at the world's close, in which the latter will manifest himself as a world-power, hostile first to Judaism and then to the Christian Community. The transformation of cosmological myth into eschatological doctrine is found also in Isa. xi. 6–8, lxv. 25, Hos. ii. 18–22, which assign to the blessed coming time the peace that reigned in Eden; in Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; 1 Enoch xci. 16, where the creation of the foretime is to be succeeded by the creation of a new heavens and a new earth.

The manifoldness of the ancient eschatological myth is to some extent repeated in the eschatological expectation. Thus in Isa. xxvii. 1, it is said that "in that day Yahweh with His sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan, the swift serpent, and leviathan, the crooked serpent, and He shall slay the dragon that is in the sea." Similarly in our Apocalypse we have a variety of evil agents—the Dragon, *i.e.* Satan, and his two agents, the Beast and the False Prophet. The Beast was originally none other than the dragon himself, the chaos monster, since he came up from the sea, xiii. 1. As such he pours forth a flood of water from his mouth after the woman, xii. 15. The same idea seems to underlie xvii. 1.

δράκων . . . πυρρός κτλ. The fiery red or scarlet colour, xvii. 3, of the dragon may (*K.A.T.*³ 503 sq. 512) go back to the mušruššu tâmtim, the "raging" or "red gleaming" serpent, which was set up in the Temple of Marduk, Esagil, and is to be regarded as the chaos monster since with the Babylonians no monster had a serpent-like form. The Babylonian representations of this mušruššu have two horns—a feature with which we may compare the horns in our text. But the number ten comes most probably from Dan. vii. 7, 24. The Babylonian tradition speaks also of the mušmaḫḫa, the "great serpent" with "seven heads."[1] Zimmern (*K.A.T.*³ 507, 512) takes these to be descriptions of one and the same mythological chaos monster. The combined characteristics of these two conceptions serve to account for the colour[2] of the dragon in our text, the number of his heads and the fact that he was horned. The idea, therefore, in our text is composite, and embraces characteristics (*i.e.* ten horns and seven heads) that cannot be reconciled or at all events understood. If the writer had been creating freely the conception before us, we should naturally have expected the Dragon to have had seven heads and seven and not ten horns. But the number ten has come from tradition, *i.e.* Dan. vii. 7, 24.

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[1] In the Gnostic Pistis Sophia (ed. Schmidt, lxxxviii. 34) a serpent is mentioned having the form of "a basilisk with seven heads." Wetstein quotes Qiddushim 29^b where a demon with seven heads appears.

[2] But the red colour of the Dragon is found in the Egyptian myth. The

καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ἑπτὰ διαδήματα. This clause cannot be illustrated from any ancient source. But its presence here is not difficult in itself. If the Christ has διαδήματα πολλά, xix. 12, the Dragon, His great foe, would not unnaturally be represented as likewise crowned with diadems. But we cannot in this way explain xiii. 1, where the ten horns of the beast are similarly crowned, and where these ten horns appear to refer to the Parthian kings. It is not improbable that both here and in xiii. 1 the clauses are later interpolations, and from the same hand that was at work in i. 20, viii. 2, xvii. 9. The position of the ἑπτά (in xiii. 1 of the δέκα) before the noun and without the article is difficult. As a rule our author placed ἑπτά after its noun when anarthrous. See, however, footnote on viii. 2.

4. καὶ ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὁ δράκων ἕστηκεν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς μελλούσης τεκεῖν, ἵνα ὅταν τέκῃ τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγῃ.

In the first clause we have not only a reference to but a loose rendering of Dan. viii. 10, where it is said of the little horn וַתִּגְדַּל עַד־צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם וַתַּפֵּל אַרְצָא מִן־הַצָּבָא. Since both the LXX and Theodotion give here wholly divergent renderings resting on a different text, the rendering in our text is an independent version. The third part of mankind was destroyed after the sixth (*i.e.* second) Trumpet: here the third part of the stars was cast down after the seventh (*i.e.* third).

To this last statement we have a remarkable parallel in Bund. iii. 11, "He (the evil spirit) stood upon one third of the inside of the sky, and he sprang like a snake out of the sky down to the earth."

καὶ ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν. These words refer to a war in heaven between the good angels and Satan and his angels, and it is implied that the latter were cast down to earth, where already the woman is supposed to be, and that it was not till then that the woman brought forth her child. When the child was born He was carried off to the throne of God. Then in

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dragon Typhon which sought to slay Horus the child of Hathor was according to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 22, 30) of a red colour. See Gunkel, *Zum Verständnis*, 57, note.

xii. 7 sqq. a second war in heaven is recounted. This second was intended by our author to be understood as Satan storming heaven in pursuit of the child. Thus xii. 4 would refer to the primeval war in heaven when Satan was hurled down from his first abode to earth, and xii. 7 sqq. to Satan's final attempt to storm heaven, and his final overthrow after the birth of the child. The story is told in symbolic language. The birth of the child marks the end of Satan's power in heaven. With this idea we might compare our Lord's language, Luke x. 18, *ἐθεώρουν τὸν Σατανᾶν . . . ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα.* But originally xii. 4^{ab} and xii. 7 sqq. were doublets, and referred to one and the same war in heaven. xii. 7–9 had originally no reference whatever to the child, nor were Michael and his angels in the least conscious that they were fighting on His behalf, nor is it anywhere stated that the dragon was overthrown because of his enmity to the child.

Behind this casting down of the stars Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 387) would discover an astrological myth, which accounted for the gap in the starry heaven. In the present context this subject of a war in heaven is rehandled in xii. 7–10, 12.

ὁ δράκων ἕστηκεν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναικός. In their present context these words are, as J. Weiss, p. 83, writes, intended to teach that the enmity of mankind which Jesus had to endure was in reality an enmity of the devil (cf. Luke xxii. 1 sqq.; John xiii. 27) which had beset Him from the beginning (cf. Luke iv. 13; Mt. ii. 4). But this was not their original meaning. See Introd. to Chapter, § 10, p. 310.

5. καὶ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἄρσεν, ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ· καὶ ἡρπάσθη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ.

The peculiar phrase *υἱόν, ἄρσεν* is found also in Tob. vi. 12 (א) *καὶ υἱὸς ἄρσην οὐδὲ θυγάτηρ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ*, and the corresponding Hebrew in Jer. xx. 15, בֵּן זכר, where the LXX gives only *ἄρσην* (B, *ἄρσεν*), but the Vulgate Peshitto and Targum of Jonathan support the text. Notwithstanding the text is peculiar. The neuter *ἄρσεν* is also peculiar. Yet we find it in the LXX, Isa. lxvi. 7, *ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν*: Jer. xxxvii. (xxx.) 6.

ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν . . . σιδηρᾷ. This clause which comes from the hand of our author (cf. ii. 27; xix. 15) and refers to Christ, makes clear the meaning which he attaches to the text. It is just this child (Ps. ii. 9) that will with irresistible power overcome the Antichrist and his heathen followers.

ἡρπάσθη κτλ. Our author makes these words refer to the removal of Christ from the sphere of Satan's power and to His ascension. Thus the whole life of Christ and all His redemptive activities are ignored and only His birth and ascension are here mentioned. Jesus, moreover, is represented as a child in need of protection, and as such rapt to heaven. These facts can only be explained by the hypothesis that our author did not write this chapter himself, but by his editorial additions made the text, which had originally quite a different meaning, refer to Christ's birth and ascension. See Introd. to Chapter. *ἁρπάζω* is used in the same sense as in our text in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4; 1 Thess. iv. 17; Acts viii. 39.

καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ = "even unto His throne." It is probably an addition of our author: cf. iii. 21, v. 1, vii. 10, and possibly the idea in xxii. 1, 3, *τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου.*

6. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ὅπου ἔχει ἐκεῖ τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ἐκεῖ τρέφωσιν αὐτὴν ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα.

The Church is to be sheltered from persecution during the reign of Antichrist. But this statement does not accord with our author's teaching elsewhere. See notes on 14–16 (p. 330), and on 17 (p. 332).

This verse is a doublet (see pp. 301, 304) of xii. 13^b, 14, and anticipates *what takes place after the conflict in heaven about to be described.* On the meaning of the *γυνή* here, see note, p. 315.

The 1260 days is an interpretation of the corresponding but less definite phrase in 14. It denotes the period of the Antichrist's reign.

τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ in xiii. 6 is an expansion and explanation of *εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς* in 14. The *ἀπό* (= *ὑπό*) after a passive verb—very rare in N.T.—belongs to the style of our author (see ix. 18, note). The phrase *τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον* is found in John xiv. 2, 3.

7. καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.
ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ δράκοντος,
καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐπολέμησεν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, 8. καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν
οὐδὲ τόπος εὑρέθη αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος . . . ὁ Μιχαὴλ . . . τοῦ πολεμῆσαι. We have here an abnormal construction. Some scholars compare Acts x. 25, *ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον*, but this construction is not a true parallel.

Düsterdieck makes many suggestions. He proposes *ἐπολέμησαν* as the original text, and explains the *τοῦ* as a dittograph of *αὐτοῦ* preceding it: or he suggests the loss of *ἀνέστησαν* or *ἦλθον* (so Swete) before *τοῦ πολεμῆσαι*: or again, the excision of *πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* as a marginal gloss. Viteau (*Etudes*, i. 168) assumes the loss of *ἦσαν*, but Bousset and Swete think it better to repeat *ἐγένετο* with *Μιχαήλ*. Buttmann and Blass take *τοῦ* *πολεμῆσαι* as depending on *ἐγένετο πόλεμος* and *ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ* as the subject of *πολεμῆσαι*. "There was war in heaven, so that Michael and his angels fought," etc. The nom. would then appear here irregularly for the acc., *i.e.* *τοῦ πολεμῆσαι τὸν Μιχαὴλ καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ*. Robertson, *Gram.* 1066, takes *τοῦ πολεμῆσαι* to be "in explanatory apposition with *πόλεμος*," but none of the examples he gives from the LXX are parallels. Herein he follows Moulton^2, 218, who seeks to illustrate the construction by a quotation from Virgil which is not analogous. His illustration of this abnormal Greek by an abnormal piece of English—"There will be a cricket match—the champions to play the rest," throws no light on the difficulty.

But all these explanations are only counsels of despair. The first step to the true explanation was taken by Ewald, Bleek, and Züllig, who recognized *τοῦ πολεμῆσαι* as a Hebraism = לְהִלָּחֵם = "they had to fight." But none of these scholars attempted to deal with the chief difficulty, *i.e.* the nominatives *ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ* before *τοῦ πολεμῆσαι*. Some acquaintance with the LXX would have solved this difficulty. So far from being a *unique* construction in Greek, it is a construction found *several times* in the LXX, and found as a *literal reproduction of a pure Hebraism.* Thus in Hos. ix. 13 we have *Ἐφράιμ τοῦ ἐξαγαγεῖν* (=אפרים להוציא), "Ephraim must bring forth," Ps. xxv. 14, *ἡ διαθήκη αὐτοῦ τοῦ δηλῶσαι*[1] (cf. Vulg. =בריתו להודיעם): 1 Chron. ix. 25, *ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν . . . τοῦ εἰσπορεύεσθαι κατὰ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας* (=אחיהם . . . לבוא לשבעת הימים), "their brethren had to come in . . . every seven days": Eccles. iii. 15, *ὅσα τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἤδη γέγονεν* (=אשר להיות כבר היה), "what is to be hath already been." Thus in the Hebrew the subject before לְ and the inf. is in the nom., and the Greek translators have literally reproduced this idiom in the LXX.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that we have here a literal Greek reproduction of a pure Hebraism, which recurs in a less correct form in xii. 10 (see note). Hence this passage admits of easy retroversion into Hebrew.

7 ותהי מלחמה בשמים
מיכאל ומלאכיו להלחם בתנין
8 והתנין נלחם ומלאכיו ולא יכל
וגם מקומם לא נמצא עוד בשמים

7. "And war burst forth in heaven:
Michael and his angels had to fight with the Dragon,
8. And the Dragon," etc.

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[1] Here the LXX and the Vulg. take בריתו in the nom., whereas modern scholars render it as the acc. after להודיעם.

πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Battles in the sky are referred to in 2 Macc. v. 2 sq.; Joseph. *B.J.* vi. 5. 3; Sibyll. iii. 796–808, *ἐν νεφέλῃ δ' ὄψεσθε μάχην πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.* But our text refers not to a mere spectacle in the sky but to an actual war. Many of the features in this account we can find in pre-Christian Judaism. i. Thus Michael, who was earlier conceived as the patron angel of Israel as opposed to the patron angels of the Gentiles, came later to be regarded as the guardian of the righteous of all nations—a conception which set Michael in direct antagonism to Satan, the protagonist of evil. ii. Michael's greatest struggle was to take place in the last days on behalf of Israel. If this expectation is combined with the preceding, the conflict of Michael and Satan is to come to a climax in the last days. iii. According to Jewish tradition Satan was cast down from heaven in the beginning of time, but according to a widely attested belief he had still access to heaven. The fusion of these two beliefs could readily issue in the eschatological expectation that Satan was to be cast down from heaven in the last times, and, if we take the evidence of i. and ii. into account, his great angelic opponent was to be Michael.

i. In Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1 Michael is described as the guardian angel of Israel, and fights on their behalf against the guardian angels of the Gentile nations, Dan. x.–xii. But in 1 Enoch xx. 5 he is represented not as the patron angel of Israel, but as the patron angel of the saints in Israel. Furthermore, he is expressly distinguished from the seventy angelic patrons of the nations (Deut. xxxii. 8–9 LXX; Sir. xvii. 17; Jub. xv. 31–32), since Israel is not put under an angelic patron like the nations but is God's own portion. But another stage still in the development emerges. In the larger ethical universalism of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, Michael is regarded not merely as the intercessor on behalf of the saints in Israel but of the righteous in all nations, T. Levi v. 7, as the mediator between God and man, T. Dan vi. 2. This radical change of conception brought with it of necessity other changes. Michael's antagonists are no longer the patron angels of the nations but the spiritual foe—first of the righteous Israelite and next of the righteous of all nations. In either case alike this foe is Mastema (Jub. x. 8, 11), or Beliar, *i.e.* Satan,[1] T. Dan vi. 1 (T. Benj. vi. 1). Thus Michael is the angelic representative of the power of goodness in the strife with evil, and as such fights with Satan. This conception, which is that which appears in our text, had already been arrived at in Judaism. See my edition of the *Testaments*

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[1] In later Judaism Michael's opponent is frequently called הנחש חקרמוני, which is practically = ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος. See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 822, 826, 837, 842.

XII Patriarchs, pp. 39–40, 132; Lueken, *Michael*, 23–30; Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, 320 sq.

ii. The intervention of Michael in the last times of greatest need is referred to already in Dan. xii. 1; 1 Enoch xc. 14, and later in Ass. Mos. x. 2.[1]

iii. Once more we find in 2 Enoch xxix. 4–5 and in the Book of Adam and Eve i. 6. (Malan's transl.) the statement that Satan once attempted to set his throne on an equality with that of God, and was thereupon hurled down from heaven. But alongside this tradition there existed the belief that Satan had still his place in heaven: cf. Job i. 6, 7; Zech. iii. 1 sqq.; 1 Enoch xl. 7 (Eph. i. 3, 10, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12; Asc. Isa. vii. 9 sqq.; 2 Enoch vii. 1). The existence of these two views in Judaism naturally led to their fusion in an eschatological expectation, such as we find in our text, according to which Satan is to be cast down from heaven by Michael in the first of the last great final struggles between the Kingdom of God and Satan.[2] With this conception we might compare the spiritual form given to it by our Lord in Luke x. 18, *ἐθεώρουν τὸν Σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα*, and John xii. 31, *νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω.*

These words mean that evil is already hurled from its seat of power which it had hitherto held, and that the first and most important stage in the conquest of Satan had already been achieved. His sphere is henceforth more limited.

To the cosmological myth referred to above there are parallels in the Persian mythology where Ahriman in the beginning of the world's history storms heaven and is hurled down, Bund. iii. 11, 26; and in those of the Manichaeans, Mandaeans, and Greeks.

But in the Persian religion we find not only the cosmological myth but also this eschatological expectation. In the last days there was to be war in heaven, Ahuramazda and the Amshaspands were to contend with Angra Mainyu and his followers and overcome and destroy both him and the serpent Gokihar (see Böklen, *Verwandschaft d. jüd.—Christlichen mit d. Parsischen Eschatologie*, 125 sqq.).

8. **ἴσχυσεν** = יָכֹל, as in Ps. xiii. 4; Dan. vii. 21. This Hebrew verb is used absolutely in the sense of "to be victorious" in Gen. xxx. 8, xxxii. 28; Hos. xii. 4, etc. *ἐπολέμησεν . . . καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν* recalls Dan. vii. 21, עבדא קרב . . . יכלה להון, Theod. *ἐποίει πόλεμον . . . καὶ ἴσχυσεν.* οὐδὲ τόπος εὑρέθη κτλ. This phrase, which is found in Dan. ii. 35 (cf. Zech. x. 10), recurs in xx. 11.

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[1] This expectation appears also in the LXX and Theod. renderings of Dan. viii. 11, *ἕως ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ῥύσεται* (Theod. *ῥύσηται*) *τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν*, though the Hebrew is quite different. This designation of Michael as "the captain of the host" or "chief captain" appears in 2 Enoch xxii. 6, xxxiii. 10. Thus the LXX expected Michael to free Israel from its subjection to Antiochus.

[2] In the Pesik. R. iii. 6 (ed. Friedmann, p. 161^b) Satan declares that he and his angels will be cast down to hell by the Messiah (see *Jewish Encyc.* xi. 70): cf. Lueken, *Michael*, 29.

9. καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ
καλούμενος Διάβολος
καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην—ἐβλήθη
εἰς τὴν γῆν
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν.

On the casting down of Satan see note on ver. 8. The earth is now to be the scene of his activities. The *ὁ μέγας* points back to ver. 3, *ἰδοὺ δράκων μέγας*. It is not improbable that the words *ὁ ὄφις . . . ἐβλήθη* are an addition on the part of our author. See p. 309 sq. The diction and ideas are essentially his. In that case the original of ver. 9 ran—

καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας εἰς τὴν γῆν
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν.

ὁ ὄφις . . . Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς. Cf. xx. 2. First of all, *διάβολος* is the LXX rendering of שָׂטָן. Hence *διάβολος* and *Σατανᾶς* are synonymous in our text. We have now to consider the connections here established between *Σατανᾶς* and *ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος*. The conceptions were originally quite distinct. The old serpent—cf. the Rabbinical expressions הַנָּחָשׁ הַקַּדְמוֹנִי and הַנָּחָשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן: see Wetstein and Schöttgen *in loc.*—is manifestly the serpent in Gen. iii. 1 sq. that tempted Eve. The serpent in this passage was distinct from the rest of the animal creation. It stood upright apparently (see note in my edition on *Jub.* iii. 23): it possessed supernatural knowledge—the secret of the tree—which none but God besides knew: it was opposed to God and calumniated Him. These facts point to a mythological element in the background, and that the serpent was originally a demon of a serpentlike form and hostile to God and man.

That supernatural beings had such a form was believed among the Semites, Egyptians, Greeks, Indians, and others. (See Gunkel^3 on Gen. iii. 1–5.)

The word Satan, שָׂטָן, is of purely Semitic origin. Satan appears as a distinct superhuman personality only in three passages in the O.T., Zech. iii.; Job i. 6; 1 Chron. xxi. 1. In the earlier he is completely subject to Yahweh, and appears among "the sons of God" in Job, though he is regarded as distinct from them, Job i. 6. "The development of the conception moves along two lines; (*a*) from being subordinate to, Satan becomes largely independent of, Yahweh; (*b*) from being the (not necessarily unjust) accuser, he becomes the tempter and enemy of men. In N.T. both developments are complete, in O.T. both are in process" (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4298).

But in the O.T. there is not the slightest hint of the later identification of the serpent and Satan beyond the combination in the tempter of Eve in the Paradise story of the demonic character and the serpent-like form. The next step in this direction is to be found in 1 Enoch lxix. 6, where Gadreel is said to have tempted Eve. He was probably a Satan, since he was a leader of the fallen angels, and the guilt of the angels consisted in their becoming subject to Satan, liv. 6. In Wisd. ii. 24 the entrance of death into the world is attributed to Satan: *φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.* Some scholars explain this passage by the entrance of death into the world by the murder of Abel by Cain, but the above is to be preferred, and it is that taken by Jos. *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

Thus we come to the complete and absolute identification of the serpent and Satan in our text. Cf. Stave, *Ueber d. Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judenthum*, 265 sqq.

10–11. The second of these verses and part of the first are from the hand of our author, and not from the source from which he is translating.

10. καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λέγουσαν
Ἄρτι ἐγένετο ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δύναμις
καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν
καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ,
ὅτι ἐβλήθη ὁ κατήγωρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν,
ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.

The diction of 10 is wholly from the hand of our author, but this is to be expected as he was the translator. First as to the use of *ἄρτι*: cf. xiv. 13. *καὶ ἤκουσα . . . λέγουσαν* is of constant occurrence: cf. especially vi. 1, 3, 5, 7, x. 4, xix. 1. *ἡ σωτηρία* means here "victory" as in vii. 10, xix. 1, and thus = יְשׁוּעָה (so Eichhorn and Ewald). Cf. Ex. xiv. 13; 2 Chron. xx. 17. With *ἡ δύναμις* cf. vii. 12, xix. 1. The *δύναμις* is the power of God which has been manifested in the victory over the Dragon. *ἡ ἐξουσία* = the delegated power of the Messiah. This word occurs twenty times in our text. *ἡ βασιλεία*, the empire, unshared and unqualified, of God: cf. xi. 15; Ps. ii. 2, 6. *ὁ κατήγωρ* is a Hebraism: see below. *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν*: cf. i. 9, vi. 11, xix. 10, xxii. 9. *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός*: cf. iv. 8.

As regards the subject matter, the evidence is not so clear. Most of ver. 10 follows aptly on 9 and connects naturally and directly with 12. But there is an unsurmountable difficulty in the phrase *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν*. This could not be used by angels of men. On what grounds Bousset thinks this possible, I know not. Hence, if the singers are not angels, they must be men. And since in Judaism the faithful were not glorified before the Judgment, the singers in our text must be the Christian martyrs in vi. 9–11, who in vi. 11 have already received their glorified bodies. (See further discussions on these questions below.) Hence we conclude that this phrase in xii. 10 is from the hand of our author. See below.

κατήγωρ. If this is the right reading, then it is a transliteration of קטיגור, which in turn is the Hebraised form of *κατήγορος*. סניגור = *συνήγορος* exhibits the same formation. In later Judaism Michael and Satan are the protagonists of good and evil: the former, moreover, is the champion or advocate (סניגור) of the faithful, while the latter is their accuser (קטיגור) before God. See T. Levi v. 6, note: T. Dan vi. 2, 3. According to Shem. R. sect. 18 (f. 117^c) on Ex. xii. 29 (Schöttgen, i. 1120, ii. 660), "Michael and Sammael are like the advocate and the accuser (דומין לסניגור וקטיגור) who stand before the Court . . . Satan accuses (מקטגר) but Michael upholds the merits of Israel." Cf. also Midr. Teh. on Ps. xx. and cf. also Midr. R. on Ruth at the opening in Lueken, *Michael*, 21 sqq. The Satans are spoken of as accusers of mankind before God, 1 Enoch xl. 7—"I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth."

τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν. Who are these brethren? In their present context they cannot be those who have already suffered martyrdom; for in that case they would no longer be exposed to Satanic assaults, but they are clearly *the faithful who are still living*, and who are therefore still exposed to the accusations of Satan. To understand this passage we must remember that xii. 11 (see note *in loc.*) is an addition of our author, and that in the original document, *i.e.* xii. 7–9, 10 (in part), 12, the time presupposed is antecedent to the Judgment. Now, if xii. 10 in its present form belonged to the original Jewish source, the heavenly voices must be those of angels and not of men; for in *Judaism* the martyrs were not glorified before the Judgment, and could not therefore bear their part in the praises of heaven. Rather they were concerned as unclothed spirits supplicating for vengeance underneath the heavenly altar (see note on vi. 9–11). Since, therefore, the song of triumph is, on the presupposition that xii. 10 belongs to the source, sung by angels, possibly by the angels who had fought against the dragon and overcome him, the phrase *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν* could not have stood in the original document or tradition; for men are never said to be "brethren" of the angels: in our text they are called "fellow-servants." (Cf. xix. 10, xxii. 9.) Hence instead of *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν* there would have stood some such phrase as *τῶν δικαίων* (*i.e.* הצדיקים) as in 1 Enoch i. 8, v. 6, xxv. 4, xxxix. 4, xlv. 6, etc. Thus the angels praised God in that the accuser of the righteous was cast out of heaven.[1] Hence we conclude that in xii. 10 our author replaced an original phrase such as הצדיקים in this Jewish source by the words *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν*. By the substitution of this phrase he has transformed the original meaning of the passage, which in its present form recalls the scene in vi. 9–11. The singers are not angels but men; for they speak of the faithful on earth as "our brethren." They are, moreover, the martyrs, who in vi. 11 have already received their glorified bodies, and are bidden to wait till "their brethren" (*οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν*—observe the recurrence of this phrase), who were also to be slain, should be fulfilled. These glorified martyrs, who sing the heavenly song, can look forward in xii. 11 and declare prophetically that their brethren have already overcome the Dragon by their martyrdom. Thus in their vision the martyr roll is already complete.

ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, *i.e.* uninterruptedly. According to Wajjikra R. § 21, Satan accuses men all the days of the year except the Day of Atonement. **κατηγορῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ**: cf. Job i. 6 sqq.; 1 Chron. xxi. 1; 1 Enoch xl. 7.

> **11.** **καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου,**
> **καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν,**
> **καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου.**

Every phrase in this verse belongs to our author. See p. 302. It was added by him to his translation of his original document. It interrupts, according to Völter, ii. 146, Vischer, 28, Spitta, 130, J. Weiss, 89, Gunkel, 192, etc., the close connection between vv. 10 and 12. The *διὰ τοῦτο* in 12 referred immediately to ver. 10 in the original source. The heavens are bidden to rejoice because in the overthrow of the Dragon the sovereignty of God and His Christ has been vindicated, and the accuser of the righteous has been cast out of heaven, and the earth and its inhabitants are bidden to mourn because the Dragon has gone down to them. But in 11 the victory of the saints on the earth is already past. They have overcome the Dragon by their martyrdom and the roll of the martyrs is now complete (cf. vi. 11). Yet in 12 the advent of this last period of martyrdom is only just announced. The Dragon has only just come down to earth, and his rage is now directed against the rest of the seed of the woman, which does not take effect till 17. Hence, even though 11 be entirely proleptic, it comes in rather incongruously between 10 and 12. See also final note on 10.

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[1] The function of the archangel Phanuel was to prevent the Satans from appearing before God to accuse mankind, 1 Enoch xl. 7.

διὰ τὸ αἷμα. The *διά* here has been taken by Ewald, De Wette, Bousset to denote the means and not the ground; iv. 11, xiii. 14 are quoted as other instances of this use. Certainly in xii. 11, xiii. 14 this meaning seems more natural. But it is best to take *διά* as denoting the cause. Then the death of the Lamb is the primary and the testimony of the martyrs the secondary ground of their victory.

τὸν λόγον κτλ. Since *τὸν λόγον* is here parallel to *τὸ αἷμα* it may give a second objective ground for their victory, and so mean the divine word of revelation, for which they offer their testimony. But the next clause shows that we should take the words to mean their personal testimony to Jesus. Thus the two sides of man's redemption are here brought forward together.

οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν κτλ. Cf. John xii. 25, *ὁ φιλῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολλύει αὐτήν, καὶ ὁ μισῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον φυλάξει αὐτήν*: and Mk. viii. 35 sq.; Matt. x. 39, xvi. 25; Luke ix. 24, xvii. 33.

12. **διὰ τοῦτο εὐφραίνεσθε, οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες·**
οὐαὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν,
ὅτι κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔχων θυμὸν μέγαν,
εἰδὼς ὅτι ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔχει.

διὰ τοῦτο. See note on 11. This phrase goes back to ver. 10 in the present form of the text. *οὐρανοί* is found only here in the plural in the Apocalypse. For the phrase *εὐφραίνεσθε οἱ οὐρανοί*, cf. Isa. xliv. 23, xlix. 13, רָנּוּ שָׁמַיִם, where the LXX has *εὐφρ. οὐρανοί* as here. Cf. also Ps. xcv. 11. We should therefore expect *εὐφραίνου οὐρανέ* (or *ὁ οὐρανός*) as it is in xviii. 20. The use of a plural here points to a source. See Introd. p. 302, and compare the unusual *ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ* in ver. 14. The word *σκηνοῦν* is technically used of God in vii. 15, xxi. 3, and of heavenly beings in xiii. 6; *κατοικεῖν* is used of those who dwell on the earth. No such usage prevails in the LXX. *ὀλίγον καιρόν*, *i.e.* the period specified in 14 (see 16).

13. **καὶ ὅτε εἶδεν ὁ δράκων ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐδίωξεν τὴν γυναῖκα ἥτις ἔτεκεν τὸν ἄρσενα.**

As we saw above (see note on 1), the woman in the present context represents the true Israel or the community of believers.

The clauses *ὅτε εἶδεν* (cf. i. 17) and *ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν* appear to be additions of our author in order to bind the divergent elements together. See also Spitta, p. 134. The *ὅτε εἶδεν* is rather weak, but the second clause, *ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν* (repeated from ver. 9), is inserted because of the incorporation of

xii. 7–12 in the text. This verse therefore in all probability simply read in the original document as follows: *καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐδίωξεν τὴν γυναῖκα κτλ.*, and formed the immediate sequel of 5. When the Child was rapt to heaven in 5, the Dragon thereupon pursued His mother, 13.

ἥτις = ἡ. See note on xi. 8.

14–16. The expectation expressed here is merely a survival of an earlier time and was found by our author in his source. But in our author it is meaningless, as it is against his own expectation of a universal martyrdom: cf. xiii. 15. For other like survivals see xviii. 4 *n.*: also p. 43, § 4. Our Book is only a first sketch, which our author had not the opportunity of revising.

14. καὶ ἐδόθησαν τῇ γυναικὶ αἱ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἀετοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, ἵνα πέτηται εἰς τὴν ἔρημον εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς, ὅπου τρέφεται ἐκεῖ καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως.

αἱ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἀετοῦ. The definite article here renders nugatory the various attempts made to explain this conception from supposed parallels in the O.T., as Ex. xix 4; Deut. xxxii. 11 (Spitta); Isa. xl. 31 (Holtzm.) or Mic. iv. 9–10 (Völter, iv. 76, 79), where the points of similarity are purely accidental. The eagle was originally a definitely conceived eagle in the tradition. *ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ*—a Hebraism, אשׁר־שׁם. The addition of the *'κεῖ* is contrary to the usage of our author: hence we infer the use of a Semitic source here. See Introd. p. 301.

καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ, a mistranslation (but a mistranslation that had secured a prescriptive right by reason of its ambiguity): cf. Dan. vii. 25, עדן ועדנין ופלג עדן, and xii. 7, מועד מועדים וחצי. This translation which renders a dual as a plural is first found in the LXX and Theod. of Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7. The text does not necessarily show dependence on the Greek versions. **ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως** = מפני הנחשׁ. We have here a Hebrew idiom. This phrase is to be connected not with *πέτηται* but with *τρέφεται ἐκεῖ*, and to be rendered (1) "at a distance from," cf. Judg. ix. 21: *ἔφυγεν . . . καὶ ᾤκησεν ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἀβιμέλεχ* (מפני א״); or (2) "because of." This latter meaning is to be preferred, for it is a very frequent meaning of מפני; whereas the meaning it has in Judg. ix. 21 is unattested in any other passage. The sojourn of the woman in the wilderness for three and a half years is due to the serpent who reigns over the world for that period. See note on xi. 2.

15. καὶ ἔβαλεν ὁ ὄφις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὀπίσω τῆς γυναικὸς ὕδωρ ὡς ποταμόν, ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ.

The word *ποταμοφόρητος* is formed on the analogy of *ὑδατοφόρητος, ἀνεμοφόρητος*. It is found in Hesychius in his note on *Il.* vi. 348, *ἀπόερσεν· ποταμοφόρητον ἐποίησεν*, but as early as 78 A.D. in Ap. lxxxv. 16 and later in StrP. v. 10 (see *Expositor*, Mar. 1911, p. 284).

To the statement in our text there are no real parallels in the O.T. or in Judaism. The passages which represent God as putting forth His wrath like water, Hos. v. 10; or the streams of ungodliness overwhelming the righteous, Ps. xxxii. 6, cxxiv. 4, Isa. xliii. 2; or the march of the Israelites through the Red Sea, have no bearing on our text. On the other hand the Dragon is referred to as a water monster in Ezek. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2, 3; Ps. lxxiv. 13; T. Asher vii. 3. See note on 3.

On the meaning of this verse for our author see next verse.

16. καὶ ἐβοήθησεν ἡ γῆ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἤνοιξεν ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καὶ κατέπιεν τὸν ποταμὸν ὃν ἔβαλεν ὁ δράκων ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

With the diction we may compare Num. xvi. 30, *ἀνοίξασα ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καταπίεται αὐτούς*: xvi. 32, xxvi. 10; Deut. xi. 6.

As regards the original meaning of this verse we are wholly in the dark. In the war between land and water mythological features are discoverable which have no longer any significance in their present connection. But we have not the same difficulty with regard to the meaning they bore in 68–70 A.D. Vv. 14–16, if the source is Christian, refer to the flight of the primitive Christian community to Pella before the fall of Jerusalem (cf. Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 5); but, if the source is Jewish, to that of the élite of the Jews to Jabneh, which became the seat of Jewish scholarship after the fall of Jerusalem (*Jewish Encyc.* vii. 18). In either case 14–16 are without significance in their present context.

17. καὶ ὠργίσθη ὁ δράκων ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς, τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.

In this verse the words *τῶν τηρούντων . . . Ἰησοῦ* are with Wellhausen (19) and J. Weiss (136 sq.) to be regarded as an addition of our author to the Jewish source he here uses. They belong specially to his vocabulary. (See note on xiv. 12.) Vischer (p. 35) regards *Ἰησοῦ* only as an addition here, Spitta (131) *καὶ ἐχόντων . . . Ἰησοῦ*, while Bousset, though maintaining that ch. xii. is of Christian origin, assigns xii. 17 to the Apocalyptist of the last hand, and Völter (iv. 75, 146) to a redactor of the age of Trajan. This verse comes wholly or in part from our author, or it comes from the Jewish source: it must be from one or other; for there is no counterpart to it in the international myth from which many of the chief features in this chapter were ultimately derived.

In its original source 17[ab] is interpreted by Wellhausen as follows: The woman whose flight is represented in xii. 14 is here identified with the élite of the Jews who fled before the destruction of Jerusalem and so escaped destruction. These embraced pious Scribes and Pharisees who refounded Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem. Their attitude was opposed to that of the Zealots, and thus ch. xii. forms a counterblast to the Zelotic oracle, xi. 1–2. The λοιποί, on the other hand, from whom the woman is distinguished, are the Jews who remained in Jerusalem and were destroyed by the Romans.[1]

In the present context, however, the interpretation must be different. The outlook is now Christian. This being so, ver. 14, which originally referred to the divine oracle (Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 5) that commanded all Christians to leave Jerusalem before it was beleaguered by the Romans 67–68 A.D., or to the flight of certain Jews to Jabneh before 70 A.D., does not admit of any intelligible reinterpretation in its present context. Our author incorporated in his text this Jewish or Christian source, as it stood, save for certain changes and additions in 3, 5, 17, and his second source with like alterations in 7, 9, 10–11. These sources of a Vespasianic or earlier date expect the escape of the faithful, but this expectation was abandoned by our author. According to him no part of the Church was to escape persecution and martyrdom. Hence 14–16 is simply a meaningless survival. "The rest of her seed" symbolize the Gentile Christians or the Church in general throughout the Roman Empire, which forms the theme of the next chapter.

CHAPTERS XII. 18–XIII., XIV. 12–13.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *The Original and Leading Thoughts of this Chapter.*

This Section (xii. 18–xiii., xiv. 12–13) is in the style of our author, but the greater part of it was translated by him from Hebrew sources. These, as we shall see later, dealt with two[2] earlier and different conceptions of the Antichrist, but, as transformed and incorporated in the present context, they refer to the antichristian Empire of Rome as incarnated in Nero *redivivus* and the heathen priesthood of the imperial cult. With masterful hand here as everywhere our author adapts his materials to suit his own purpose. In chap. xii. the author carried us back into the past and represented the strife in heaven and the hurling down of Satan to earth. He next told how Satan, when cast down to earth, forthwith proceeded to persecute the Woman, whose offspring was destined to destroy him, and how, on her marvellous deliverance from his hands, he turned in fury on the rest of her seed. In order to help him in this struggle Satan takes his stand by the shore of the sea (xii. 18) and summons to his aid his two servants, the Neronic Antichrist from the sea (xiii. 1–10) and the False Prophet, *i.e.* the heathen imperial priesthood from the land (xiii. 11–17). The present chapter opens with the appearance of these two monsters in response to his summons, and thereupon the time changes from the past to the future. Our Seer beholds the first monster emerge from the sea with seven heads and ten horns, and amongst the heads he discovers one that was wounded unto death but had again recovered (xiii. 3). In the first monster we have the Roman empire—the antichristian kingdom—which becomes incarnated in Nero *redivivus*. The last and dreadest hour has now arrived—the personal reign of the Antichrist for the destined period of three and a half years, who goes to war with the saints and overcomes them in physical strife. All the faithless forthwith worship him, while the faithful are banished or slain. Thereupon the Seer adds the comment: "Here is the endurance and the faith of the saints" (10^c). But the Antichrist is not the sole demonic foe of the faithful. He is helped by a second monster—the heathen priesthood of the imperial cult (11–18). By means of this priesthood the claims of patriotism and religion were identified, in which the interests of religion were wholly subordinated to those of the State, and thus ensued the inevitable conflict between the imperial cult and Christianity. This final persecution of the Church was to be mainly carried out by this priesthood, which was to set up images of the Neronic Antichrist everywhere and enforce their worship on the world, and have *all that*

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[1] If this verse belonged to the Jewish source, then the phrase οἱ λοιποὶ had not the technical meaning that sometimes belongs to it in Apocalyptic as "the remnant." Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 25, vii. 28, ix. 7, 8, xii. 34, xiii. 24, 26, 48; Apoc. Bar. xxix. 4, xl. 2. It has, moreover, no technical meaning in our text here or in ii. 24, ix. 20, xi. 13, xix. 21, xx. 5.

[2] The first Beast, which here represents the antichristian world power of Rome, goes back ultimately to the Dragon himself, *i.e.* the primeval monster of chaos. It comes up from the sea. In the preceding chapter the Dragon

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represents Satan. Here the two conceptions, Satan and the antichristian world power of Rome, appear side by side as master and servant. See note on xii. 3. This twofold development is as old as Dan. vii., where the monster of chaos is manifested in four successive world powers, which came up from the sea.

But in the second Beast, *i.e.* the false prophet, we have a third conception, developed from the original conception of the monster of chaos—a conception already found in 2 Thess. ii., though there it has only a religious significance.

refused such worship put to death. Furthermore, this second Beast was to compel all men to bear the mark of the first Beast and to enforce the antichristian claims of the demonic Emperor of Rome by an economic warfare (16–17), that would make life impossible for all that did not bear the mark of the Beast. Next the Seer discloses in a cryptic verse the number of the name of the Beast, which was also the number of a man—Nero Caesar.

Finally, just as the Seer in 10^c declares that the faithful must endure captivity, exile, or death in the persecutions just foretold in 10^{ab}, so here (xiv. 12–13)[1] he again declares the duty of the faithful—even endurance unto death in the worldwide persecution that he has just witnessed in the vision in 16–17. Martyrdom, he declares, is inevitable for those who keep God's commandments and the faith of Jesus. And thereupon a voice from heaven declared the blessedness of those who suffered martyrdom in this strife; for that rest would follow thereupon and the victor's joy.

§ 2. But the meaning of the Hebrew sources which were used by our author is somewhat different. We shall now proceed to a detailed examination of the text, and in due course attempt to determine the present extent of such sources and their original meaning so far as the data render this possible.

§ 3. *The diction and style of this Chapter come from the hand of our author, but it appears in part to be translated from Hebrew sources.*

XII. 18. ἐστάθη ἐπί. Cf. acc. as in iii. 20, vii. 1, viii. 3, xi. 11, xiv. 1, xv. 2. The same use of the passive aorist of this verb is to be found also in viii. 3, but in a derived sense in vi. 17: whereas ἔστησα is used in same sense in xi. 11, xviii. 17, which are probably from another hand.

XIII. 1. ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης . . . ἀναβαῖνον. On this order see note *in loc.* Observe order of numerals **κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά** (see note on viii. 2). **καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα** is a gloss. See note *in loc.* The phrase **ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλάς** is characteristic of our author. **2. . . . ὡς ἄρκου.** Pregnant construction: cf. i. 10, iv. 1, 7, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ στόμα. Cf. i. 15. **3. ὡς ἐσφαγμένην.** Cf. v. 6. **πληγή** here and in xiii. 12, 14 in the sense of "blow" = מַכָּה. Elsewhere as meaning "plague" in ix. 18, 20, xi. 6, xv. 1, 6, 8, xvi. 9, etc., a meaning also of מכה. **4. ὅλη ἡ γῆ.** Elsewhere this adjective follows the noun as in iii. 10, vi. 12, xii. 9, xvi. 14. Also instead of this phrase ἡ οἰκουμένη ὅλη is used, iii. 10, xii. 9, xvi. 14. **ἐθαυμάσθη . . .**

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[1] xiv. 12–13 have been restored to their original position at the close of xiii.

ὀπίσω. This is not Greek: nor is it Hebrew. It may arise from a corruption in the Hebrew source. See § 4. **προσεκύνησαν τῷ δράκοντι.** This use of *προσκυνεῖν* with the dative belongs to our author: see note on vii. 11. Contrast xiii. 8, *προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτόν*, which also conforms to his usage, and xiii. 12.

6. τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ. God's abode, *i.e.* heaven: cf. xxi. 3.

7. On **ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετά** and **νικῆσαι αὐτούς**, see note *in loc.* **φυλὴν καὶ λαὸν κτλ.** See note on v. 9. **8. προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτον.** See note on ver. 4 above. **οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπί**, c. gen. See note on iii. 10: § 4 below. On the remaining phrases see notes *in loc.* **9.** Cf. ii. 7, iii. 6, 13, 22. **10. πίστις** = "loyalty," "faithfulness." Cf. ii. 19. **11. ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ** = pregnant construction frequent in Apocalypse. **12. τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . πᾶσαν.** This position of *πᾶς* occurs only twice elsewhere in Apoc. v. 13(?), viii. 3. Elsewhere always before its noun. **τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας.** Here only in Apoc. Most probably a close rendering of the Hebrew. See § 4. **ποιεῖ . . . ἵνα.** Cf. iii. 9, xiii. 15, 16. **προσκυνήσουσιν τὸ θηρίον.** See note on 4 above. **13. ποιῇ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν.** Order elsewhere *καταβαίνειν ἐκ τ. οὐρ.* **14. πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.** Cf. for verb ii. 20, xii. 9, xviii. 23, xix. 20, xx. 3, 8, 10, and for similar thought xii. 9. **λέγων . . . ποιῆσαι.** See note *in loc.* **15. ἐδόθη . . . δοῦναι.** See vol. i. p. 54. On the form **ἵνα ὅσοι . . . προσκυνήσωσιν . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν**, cf. xiii. 4. **16. τοὺς μικροὺς κ. τ. μεγάλους**: cf. xi. 18, xix. 5, 18. (Contrast xx. 12.) **τοὺς ἐλευθέρους κ. τ. δούλους**: cf. xix. 18, vi. 15 (reverse order).

ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς. The genitive is also found in i. 20 but the acc. in xiv. 9, xx. 1, 4. This full form of the phrase has already appeared in x. 5, *τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιάν* (cf. x. 2, *τὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ τὸν δεξιόν*), and in i. 16, *τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ*, but the shorter form in i. 17, *τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ* (i. 20, ii. 1, v. 1, 7). Both forms are Hebraic יְמִינוֹ and יַד־יְמִינוֹ. **ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν.** See vii. 3, note. **18.** On **ὧδε** see note *in loc.*

From the above examination it follows that the diction of the entire chapter is from the hand of our author, with the exception of certain phrases explicable on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original (see § 4). There are, however, good grounds for regarding it, not as an original product of his pen, but to a great extent as a translation of a Hebrew source or sources. With this problem we shall now deal.

§ 4. *This Chapter exhibits many Hebraisms, which in certain cases presuppose an independent source or sources.*

Now, as we shall see later, xiii. 3, 7^b–8, 9, 12^d, 14^c appear to be additions to this chapter made by our author and in part from a Hebrew source. We shall, therefore, first study the Hebraisms in the rest of the chapter.

(*a*) **XIII.** 4. **τίς δύναται πολεμῆσαι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ** = מִי יוּכַל לְהִלָּחֵם אִתָּהּ.

10. εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι, αὐτὸν (rd. **αὐτὸς**) **ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι.** See note *in loc.* on this Hebraism.

11. ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων. There seems to be no intelligible explanation of this clause save on the supposition that it is the translation of a corruption in a Hebrew source. See note *in loc.*

12. τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . πᾶσαν. Since only twice (once ?) elsewhere, v. 13 (?), viii. 3, does *πᾶς* follow its noun it is not improbable that the Greek here is a rendering of the Hebrew שלטן החיה הראשונה כלו: cf. Ezek. xxxii. 12, *λοιμοὶ ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν πάντες* = עריצי גוים כלם, see also xxxii. 30; Jer. xlviii. 31.

Again **τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . ποιεῖ** is peculiar Greek but good Hebrew = "exercises the authority": cf. 1 Kings xxi. 7, עשה מלוכה = "exercises sovereignty."

τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας. Our author expresses the idea contained in these words by the phrase *τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* (nine times), and once by *οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν* (xvii. 2). This can hardly be accidental, seeing that these three forms of expression occur in the LXX and correspond as a rule in the later books to three different forms in the Hebrew. Our author's own use is clearly 1. *πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, *i.e.* כל־הישבים על הארץ: whereas 2. *οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ* = כל־הישבים בארץ (or כל־ישבי בארץ), and 3. *πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν* = כל־ישבי הארץ. These phrases are comparatively frequent in the Prophets. In Isaiah the renderings are irregular (cf. xxiv. 5, xxvi. 9, 18, 21), but in Jer. and Ezek., though the LXX of these books comes from at least four hands (see Thackeray, *Gramm. of O.T. in Greek*, p. 11), the renderings are as a rule those given above. In Jer. xxix. (xlvii.) 2 the two latter Hebrew phrases occur, *i.e.* ישבי בארץ and יושב הארץ, which are respectively rendered by *τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ γῇ* and *οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν*.

Hence I conclude that the forms of this phrase in xiii. 12, xvii. 2, which are abnormal, so far as our author's usage is concerned, are due either to his close rendering of a Hebrew source or to his use of a Greek source. But the evidence is against the latter hypothesis in xii. 12.

XIII. 16. δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα. The plural is here a Hebraism. (See note *in loc.*)

(*b*) The Hebraisms in xiii. 3, 7^b–8, 12^d, 14^c.

XIII. 3. ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον = כַּטָּבוּחַ לַמָּוֶת. Cf. 2 Kings

xx. 1, חלה . . . למות. Next ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, = מַכַּת מוֹתָהּ. Cf. xiii. 12, 14 for similar Hebraisms.

ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὀπίσω. This un-Greek and un-Hebraic expression can be explained by retroversion into Hebrew (see note *in loc.*). In fact in xiii. 3ᶜ, 8 and xvii. 8 we have an undoubted doublet.

XIII. 3ᶜ. **καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη ὅλη ἡ γῆ † ὀπίσω † τοῦ θηρίου, xiii. 8, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὗ οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.**

XVII. 8. **καὶ θαυμασθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, βλεπόντων τὸ θηρίον.**

Now in the note on xiii. 3 I have shown that *καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὀπίσω τοῦ θηρίου* = ותתמה . . . מֵאַחֲרֵי החיה, where מאחרי is corrupt for מֵרְאוֹת (or בראות), and thus the rendering should be *καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη . . . βλέπουσα τὸ θηρίον.* Thus the identity of the two passages is established. But xvii. 8 does not appear to be a translation from the hand of our author; for he uses *ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ* (cf. xiii. 8, xx. 12, xxi. 27, xxii. 18, 19) and not *ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον.* Further, in rendering Hebrew he always, so far as we can discover, reproduces the Hebraisms of his source. But in xvii. 8 the *αὐτῶν* after *ὄνομα* is omitted, whereas it is carefully reproduced in xiii. 8. Yet the rendering in xvii. 8 is from a purer text, as we have seen above. The abnormal position of *ὅλη* in *ὅλη ἡ γῆ* (elsewhere *ὅλος* follows its noun in the Apocalypse) is probably due to the order of the Hebrew כָּל־הָאָרֶץ. In the LXX, except in the free translation of Isaiah, *ὅλος* almost invariably precedes the noun, or follows it in accordance with the order in the Hebrew. For the latter cf. Ex. xix. 18, *τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινά . . . ὅλον* = הר סיני . . . כלו. See Ezek. xxix. 2, etc. The use of *ὄνομα* for *ὀνόματα* in xvii. 8, xiii. 8, is a Hebraism (see note *in loc.*), and *προσκυνήσουσιν* in xiii. 8 should be *προσεκύνησαν* in keeping with the tenses of the other verses in the vision, but *προσκυνήσουσιν* may be an unconscious reproduction of the imperfect tense in his original source: cf. xvii. 8.

XIII. 14. With *τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρας* cf. Esth. ix. 5, מַכַּת־חֶרֶב.

§ 5. *Order of Words.*

The verb precedes both subject and object (object and subject, xiii. 8), or object or subject 27 (28) times: subject precedes verb 4 times, xiii. 2, 3, 15, 18 (the interrogative *τίς* naturally precedes in xiii. 4 and the indefinite *τις* twice in xiii. 10, but these do not count): the object precedes verb 2 times (xiii. 12, 13). The structure of the sentences is thoroughly Hebraic, and so far as the order goes no conclusions can be drawn as to the provenance of the different sections.

§ 6. *Conclusions from preceding Sections. Chapter based on Hebrew sources.*

The diction is that of our author. This follows from § 3. But there are certain features in the text which make it practically impossible to assume that the whole chapter is his own free creation linguistically. Thus the position of *ὅλη*, xiii. 4 (see § 3), of *πᾶσαν*, xiii. 12 (see § 3), the form of the phrase *τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας*, xiii. 12, are against our author's usage. And yet these are not to be explained as due to our author's use of a Greek source: for the style of the chapter as a whole is thoroughly his own. They could, however, be explained on the hypothesis that he used Hebrew sources. And this hypothesis is strongly confirmed by the fact that unintelligible clauses in xiii. 3^c, 10, 11 are hardly susceptible of any explanation save through retroversion into Hebrew. I therefore assume the use of Hebrew sources by our author in this chapter. One such source we have already discovered (see § 4) in xiii. 3^c, 8, the translation of which is our author's, whereas in xvii. 8 he makes use of a translation of it from another hand.

§ 7. *Theories of Erbes, Spitta, Wellhausen, and J. Weiss as to the sources of this Chapter.*

Erbes and Spitta discern in xiii. an Apocalypse written in the reign of Caligula, and reflecting the condition of Palestine in the years 39–41. According to Erbes this Apocalypse was Christian and consisted of chapters xii. 1–13, 18, xiv. 9^b–12 (pp. 1–33). It referred to Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem. Spitta's criticism is much more drastic (see *Offenbarung des Johannis*, 136–141, 392 sqq.). The source was, as Vischer supposed, of Jewish origin. Caligula was symbolized by the sevenheaded Beast. Spitta attempts to recover the original Caligula Apocalypse by excising *μίαν ἐκ τῶν . . . εἰς θάνατον* in xiii. 3, *καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θηρίῳ . . . μετ' αὐτοῦ* in xiii. 4, *καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία . . . δύο* in xiii. 5, *τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . νικῆσαι αὐτούς* in xiii. 6, 7, *τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου* in xiii. 8 and xiii. 9–10 wholly, *ὃς ἔχει . . . ἔζησεν* in xiii. 14, *ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος . . . ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν* in xiii. 17–18. Finally

he adopts the reading 616 in xiii. 18. After these excisions xiii. 1–8 could easily be interpreted of Caligula. Thus xiii. 3 would refer to his dangerous illness, xiii. 4 to the joy of the people on his recovery (see my note *in loc.*), xiii. 6 to his attempt to set up his statue in the Temple, and xiii. 8 to the worship offered him. But Spitta's interpretation of the second Beast by Simon Magus and Erbes' interpretation of it by the Magi at the court of Caligula are wholly inadequate.

Bousset (p. 376) thinks that this hypothesis belongs only to the region of possibilities. He observes that to carry it out Spitta is obliged to excise one third of the chapter, and that xiii. 7^{b}, 16 betray the hand of our author, and must also on this hypothesis be excised. Further, he rightly objects to the acceptance of so badly attested a reading as 616.

Quite a different analysis of this chapter has been propounded by Wellhausen. He finds two sources in this chapter. The first referred to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 in the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years' war, and consisted of xiii. 1 (om. ἔχον . . . ἑπτά), 2, 4–7^{a}, 10^{ab}. This source dealt not with the duty of patient endurance on the part of the Christian during the persecution under Domitian, but with the wretched lot of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem. The σκηνὴ αὐτοῦ is Jerusalem: the Beast is not Nero but the Roman Empire.

The second is of uncertain date and embraces only xiii. 11^{a}, 12^{abc}, 16^{b}, 17 (om. τὸ ὄνομα and ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ). xiii. 18 was introduced by the same hand, which has left traces in xiii. 10^{c}, xiv. 12, xvii. 9. In this source, as in the earlier, Nero *redivivus* has been introduced by the Apocalyptist, and also the False Prophet as the ἄλλο θηρίον. This Beast, according to Wellhausen and Mommsen, represents the imperial power exercised in the provinces by the state officials. There was, however, only one θηρίον, and instead of ἄλλο θηρίον there stood εἰκών. Thus in xiv. 9, 11, xv. 2, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4 the θηρίον and his εἰκών are mentioned together. The εἰκών is the *alter ego* of the empire just as Jesus was called the εἰκών of God.

Thus in Wellhausen's opinion xiii. 3, 7^{b}–9, 10^{c}, 11^{bc}, 12^{d}, 13–15, 16^{a}, 17^{b} are from the hand of the final editor. Let us deal with the last list of passages first.

If these are additions of our author, then we find him writing first hand unintelligible Greek such as ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὀπίσω, xiii. 3^{c}, an unintelligible clause such as ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων, xiii. 11, and such a phrase as ὅλη ἡ γῆ, xiii. 3, whereas his universal practice is to write ἡ γῆ ὅλη, or rather ἡ οἰκουμένη ὅλη. Again, in xiii. 13 the pres. inf. in ποιῇ . . . καταβαίνειν is unusual in our author, and the order ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν unexampled. The occurrence of so many anomalies and breaches of our author's usage in so few verses would be extraordinary, if this part of Wellhausen's theory is right. But the rest is still less tenable. Wellhausen, as we have seen above, finds two distinct sources in this chapter. Since there is not even a hint that these sources are Semitic, he evidently assumes that they are Greek. But this is impossible. We have seen in § 3 that the diction and style of these two sources are decidedly those of our author save in certain passages, which are dealt with in § 4. Hence it appears impossible to explain this chapter save on the hypothesis that it is in a large degree translated from Hebrew sources by our author.

J. Weiss (*Offenbarung des Johannes*, pp. 93 sq., 111, 115, 139–142; *Schriften des NT.* ii. 653–662) likewise assigns this chapter to two different authors: xiii. 11–18 to the original Johannine Apocalypse written about 60 A.D., and xiii. 1–2, 3–7 (written in strophes of four lines each) to a Jewish Apocalypse of the year 70. These two sources were united by the final Apocalyptist, who by means of various additions made the entire chapter refer to the Roman Empire, Nero *redivivus* and the imperial cult.

The original source of xiii. 11–18 dealt with a Jewish Antichrist or False Prophet, but the final author in Weiss's scheme transformed him into an agent of the Roman Empire, *i.e.* the priesthood of the imperial cult. This False Prophet has thus become the ἄλλο θηρίον.

There is much that is true in Weiss's view as to different sources, but it is open to the same objections as Wellhausen's, and perhaps in a greater degree. By taking δράκων in xiii. 11 (*Offenbarung*, p. 94) as if it were ὁ δράκων he tries to make the passage parallel to 2 Thess. ii. 9, but this is, of course, inadmissible. He holds that xiii. 1–7 already existed in a literary form, but does not explain how the diction is with certain exceptions the same throughout the entire chapter, though on his hypothesis it is derived from three distinct authors.

§ 8. *The sources behind this Chapter according to the present Editor.*

(*a*) *The two sources behind xiii. 1–10.* We have already seen, § 4, that xiii. 3^c, 8 and xvii. 8 are doublets, and that in all probability they are independent translations of the same Hebrew source, the former translation being by our author. In the next place xiii. 7^b, 9 are clearly from the hand of our author. By the removal of xiii. 7^b, 9 the original connection of the text is here restored, as Wellhausen has already recognized. Again xiii. 3^{ab}, 6^c are characteristic of the standpoint and diction of our author. They transform the entire character of

xiii. 1–10. xiii. 3 interrupts the connection between xiii. 2 and xiii. $4-7^{a}$. Of these additions xiii. 3^{ab}, 7^{b}, 9 are obviously his own, whereas xiii. 3^{c}, 8 are from a source. Furthermore, we shall see in the notes *in loc.* that xiii. 1^{c} (*καὶ ἐπί . . . διαδήματα*) is probably a later addition.

We are now in a position to reconstruct in some measure the source behind xiii. 1–10. It consisted of xiii. 1^{abd}, 2, $4-7^{a}$, 10, and was a Jewish Apocalypse written in Hebrew by a Pharisaic Quietist before or after 70 A.D., and dealing with the Beast that came up from the sea (*i.e.* the Roman Empire), the siege of Jerusalem (*τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ*) by the Romans for three years, and the woeful plight of the survivors (xiii. 10).

Thus there are two sources behind xiii. 1–10, *i.e.* xiii. 3^{c}, 8, and that just given. This hypothesis accounts, so far as I am aware, for all the difficulties in the text. The source as rendered by our author ran:

Jewish Apocalypse directed against Rome—the impersonation of the Antichrist.

XIII. 1. καὶ εἶδον ἐν τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον,
ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας.

2. καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδον ἦν ὅμοιον παρδάλει,
καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου,
καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος.

καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ δράκων ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην,[1]
4. καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ δράκοντι
ὅτι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ θηρίῳ.

καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον, λέγοντες·
τίς ὅμοιος τῷ θηρίῳ;
καὶ τίς δύναται πολεμῆσαι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ;

5. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο.

6. καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τὸν θεόν,
βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ,
7. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτούς·

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[1] I have omitted *τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ* as an addition of our Apocalyptist. The diction is his at all events, and the removal of the clause restores the parallelism.

10. εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν,
εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει·
εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι,
αὐτὸς ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι.

In this source the Beast is the Roman Empire. The date of the composition is shortly after 70. The destruction of Jerusalem is referred to in xiii. 7, and the massacres that followed in xiii. 10.

(*b*) *xiii. 11–18.*—We have now to deal with the source of xiii. 11–18. This is a more difficult problem than the former, but it is still possible to recognize the original character of this source, and the extent to which it survives in our text. Certain facts help to guide us in this quest.

1. The style, though on the whole that of our author, postulates a Hebrew source (see § 3, 4) in two verses, 11, 12^{ab}, the very verses which have as their subject the False Prophet. The theme, then, of this fragment of the source is the False Prophet. We shall find that the same subject is dealt with in the greater part of this section.

2. Next the False Prophet (*ψευδοπροφήτης*) is just as undeniably the theme of xiii. 13, 14^{a}, 16^{b}, 17^{a} as it is of verses xiii. 11, 12^{ab}; xiii. 11^{bc} clearly defines the False Prophet, who, as in Matt. vii. 15, outwardly simulates the character of the Lamb (the *ἀρνίον* or Messiah), but is in reality an *ἀπολλύων* like his master the Dragon (see ix. 11: cf. also xi. 18, xix. 2). For his mission he is armed with the power of the Dragon, 12^{a} (here *δράκοντος* and *δράκοντα* originally stood instead of *πρ. θηρίου* and *θηρίον τὸ πρ.*), as in 2 Thess. ii. 9–10: *οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ παρουσία κατ’ ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ ἀδικίας τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις*: Didache, xvi. 4. The object of these signs and wonders is to deceive. Thus in xiii. 14 the False Prophet deceives those who dwelt upon the earth (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 10 just quoted; Mk. xiii. 22, *ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾷν εἰ δύνατον τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς*, Matt. xxiv. 11, 24, etc. Finally he causes all who have rendered him worship to place a mark on their right hand and on their forehead, xiii. 16^{b}, and, to make this effective and universal, ordains that none shall buy or sell save such as have this mark, xiii. 17^{a}.[1]

3. From the foregoing—especially the parallel passages in the Gospels and 2 Thess.—it follows that the *ψευδοπροφήτης* was originally a Jewish or a Christian Antichrist. That he was the

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[1] The object of the marking of the faithful in vii. 3 sqq. is to secure them against demonic or Satanic attack: the object of the marking of the followers of the Antichrist—at all events a secondary object—is to secure them against physical injury and to make physical life impossible for the faithful.

former may be reasonably concluded from xiii. 16^{b}, seeing that the Antichrist there requires his worshippers to place his mark on their *right hand* and brow—an antichristian travesty of the practice of orthodox Judaism, which required the faithful to wear it on the left hand and forehead (see my note *in loc.*).

4. The above interpretation of the source xiii. 11, 12^{ab}, 13–14^{a}, 16^{b}, 17^{a} is borne out by the subsequent references to the subject of this source as the *ψευδοπροφήτης*, xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10. This word testifies to the meaning of the idea in the original source, *i.e.* the Jewish Antichrist conceived as a *ψευδόχριστος* or *ψευδοπροφήτης*. See also Bousset, p. 378. But in its present context this Antichrist has been transformed into a mere agent of the Antichrist (*ἄλλο θηρίον*).

5. We have already inferred that the *ψευδοπροφήτης* of this source was really *the Jewish Antichrist* (see 3), and not a mere agent of the Antichrist. This inference is confirmed by the fact that in xiii. 11^{c} he is associated directly with the Dragon (*i.e.* Satan), and declared (xiii. 11: cf. 15) to be an *ἀπολλύων* like his master. Hence all phrases that transform this Antichrist into a mere agent of the Antichrist do not belong to the original source.

6. From the above facts and inferences we conclude that the source did not mention a *θηρίον* as in 11, but an *ἀντίχριστος* or a *ψευδοπροφήτης*. Hence *ἄλλο θηρίον*, xiii. 11, and *τὸ πρῶτον θηρίον* in xiii. 12 are from the hand of our author as well as the additions *οὗ ἐθεραπεύθη . . . αὐτοῦ*, xiii. 12^{c}, *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν*, xiii. 14^{b}–15, *τοὺς μικροὺς . . . δούλους*, xiii. 16, *τὸ ὄνομα . . . ἑξήκοντα ἕξ*, xiii. 17^{b}–18. By means of these additions the Jewish Antichrist was transformed into a secondary personage (*ἄλλο θηρίον*) that waited on the Antichrist (*τὸ πρῶτον θηρίον*), and formed, in fact, the heathen priesthood of the imperial cult. It was this priesthood that set up the *εἰκών* of the beast and required all the inhabitants of the earth to worship it on pain of death, xiii. 14^{bc}, 15. Thus the *εἰκών* is not an original constituent of the source, as Wellhausen supposed, but an addition of our author. By the above additions also Nero *redivivus* is represented to be Antichrist: cf. xiii. 12^{c}, 14^{c}, 18. These additions, as we have already seen, are in the style and from the hand of our author: the rest of the section is his translation from a Hebrew source. Finally, xiv. 12–13 should be read undoubtedly after xiii. 15. Just as the first stage of the persecution of the saints ended in the emphasizing of patience and faithfulness on their part (xiii. 10), so its final stage is accompanied by a like emphasizing of the patience of the saints and a declaration of the blessedness of those who suffered martyrdom in the Lord; xiv. 12–13 are from the hand of our author.

We are now in a position to sum up the character and present limits of the source of xiii. 11–18. *It was written in Hebrew. All that survives of it is xiii. 11, 12^{ab}, 13–14^{ab}, 16^{ad}–17^{a}. It dealt with a conception of the Jewish Antichrist such as we find in 2 Thess. ii., who like that Antichrist was to claim the prerogatives of Deity,* i.e. *the worship of mankind, and required all men to bear his mark, just as the faithful bore the mark of God. The date cannot be definitely determined.*

We might now hypothetically and partially restore this second source in the Greek of our author. It may originally have been written in verse.

Jewish Apocalypse directed against the Antichrist in the form of the False Prophet.

XIII. 11. καὶ εἶδον τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην,
καὶ εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ,
καὶ ἀπώλλυε ὡς ὁ δράκων.
12. καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ δράκοντος πᾶσαν ποιεῖ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας
ἵνα προσκυνήσουσιν τὸν δράκοντα.
13. καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
καταβαίνειν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνώπιον τῶν ανθρώπων.
14. καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
διὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι,
16.–17. καὶ ποιεῖ πάντας ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν,
ἵνα μή τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι εἰ μὴ ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα.

The Two Beasts, xii. 18–xiii.

XII. 18. καὶ ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης.

There can be no question here as to the original text. The textual evidence in itself is overwhelming in behalf of *ἐστάθη*. In the next place the sense is in favour of it. The dragon foiled in his attempt to destroy the Messiah and His Community proceeds to the shore of the sea and summons from it the Beast (*i.e.* the Roman Empire) in order to arm it with his own power. Thus ch. xiii. follows naturally after xii. Again the order of the words in the next sentence, *καὶ, . . . ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον*, is in favour of *ἐστάθη* : *ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τ. ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τ. θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον*. And, finally, *ἐστάθη* preserves the continuity *ἀπῆλθε*, xii. 17, and *ἔδωκε* in xiii. 2.

The First Beast, xii. 1–10.

XIII. 1. καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον,
ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά,
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας.

The order of the words *ἐκ τῆς θαλ. . . . ἀναβαῖνον* is unusual. It differs from that in Dan. vii. 3, *τέσσαρα θηρία . . . ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης*: 4 Ezra xi. 1, Ecce ascendebat de mari aquila, and xi. 7, xiii. 11, xvii. 8 (vii. 2), in our text. On the other hand, we find one parallel in xvi. 13–14, *εἶδον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ δράκοντος . . . πνεύματα τρία . . . ἃ ἐκπορεύεται.* The unusual order in our text may be due to the order in the Hebrew source or may be adopted for the sake of emphasis. Stress may be laid on the quarter from which the Beast comes. The second Beast comes from the land, xiii. 11.

The first Beast is the Roman Empire. The description of this Beast in xiii. $1–2^{abc}$ is clearly based on Dan. vii. 2–7. It comes up from the sea, as the four beasts in Daniel did: the number of its heads may be directly derived from adding together the heads of the four beasts, though this characteristic has probably an older history; its ten horns are from the fourth beast, and its likeness to a leopard, its possession of the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion, are borrowed from the first three beasts. It is evidently the representation of the fourth kingdom in Daniel, though it is a still more terrible monster than that depicted there.

But in Daniel the fourth beast represents the Greek Empire of Alexander and his successors. When did the reinterpretation which appears in our text arise? Possibly, even probably, in the first century B.C.; for with the assertion of the power of Rome in the East this reinterpretation was inevitable. Probably from Pompey's time onward the Roman Commonwealth came in certain circles in Palestine to be identified with the fourth kingdom. Thus in Pss. Sol. ii. 29 Pompey is called *ὁ δράκων*—a term associated with the Antichrist. He impersonates the power of Rome, as Nebuchadnezzar did that of Babylon in Jer. xxviii. 14. Rabbinic literature shows many traces of this identification. Thus, according to Cant. rab. ii. 12; Gen. rab. xliv. 20; Lev. rab. xiii.; Midr. Teh. Ps. lxxx. 14 (see *Jewish Encyc.* x. 394), it was the last wicked kingdom whose end was to usher in the Messianic Kingdom. In the Aboda Zara, 2^a, Sheb. 6^b, Rome is declared to be the fourth kingdom in Dan. vii. 23. In the Rabbinic writings the usual designation of Rome is Edom (Schürer, *Gesch.*^{3} iii. 236 sq.; Weber, *Jüdisch. Theol.*^{2} 365 sqq., 383 sq., 395). Though the date of the Jewish writings just mentioned is late, the fact of the reinterpretation of Dan. vii. 23

is unquestionable in the first century A.D. In the Assumption of Moses, x. 8 (7–30 A.D.), and 2 Bar. xxxix. 5 sqq., xxxvi. 5–10; 4 Ezra xii. 11 sq., this reinterpretation is not only given, but in the latter book it is implied that the angel, who instructed Daniel as to the fourth kingdom being Greek, was wrong. In Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 7) the same interpretation occurs, but the passage is rejected by Niese. Turning now to the Christian Church, we find the first identification of the Roman Empire with the fourth kingdom of Daniel in the Little Apocalypse as it is given by Luke xxi. 20; for, whereas in Mark xiii. 14; Matt. xxiv. 15 (*ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*), the phrase of Daniel, *τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*, is used generally as referring to the profanation of the Temple by the Antichrist, this phrase is interpreted by Luke of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans—*ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ.* Thus the rôle of the fourth kingdom is assigned by Luke in some degree to Rome. The date of this reinterpretation is probably between 70 and 80 A.D. From this period we pass onwards to the Ep. Barn. iv. 4–5 (100–120 A.D.), where the same interpretation of the fourth kingdom is set forth.

From the above survey, therefore, we conclude that from 30 A.D. onwards Jewish exegesis universally and Christian exegesis generally took the Roman Empire to be the fourth kingdom in Daniel. So far, therefore, as our text sets forth this view it contains no new development: it merely expresses a current and apparently undisputed interpretation. But there is more than this in our text, as we shall see, and we cannot on the above grounds as well as on others acquiesce in any interpretation of the mysterious numbers in xiii. 18 which would limit it to the disclosure of a mere exegetical platitude of the times. The first advance on this interpretation appears in xiii. 3, where see note.

κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά. This clause and the following present great difficulties. The first clause has already occurred in xii. 3 as a description of the Dragon save that the order of the heads and horns is reversed. What meaning did our author attach to the heads or to the horns? As the text at present stands, the heads refer to the Roman emperors. This is clear from xiii. 3 (*μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ*), 12, 17, 18, and xvii. 9, 10. The reference here is clearly contemporary. This being so the horns cannot refer to the same persons.[1]

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[1] This latter illegitimate interpretation has been adopted by many who have accordingly concluded that the Apocalypse was written under the tenth Caesar. But, however the counting is done, it fails to lead to Domitian, under whom the Apocalypse was written. If, beginning with Caesar (as in 4 Ezra xii. 15) or Augustus, we include Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, we find the tenth in Titus or Vespasian: if we exclude these three we arrive at Nerva or Trajan. To reckon the *three as one*, as some do, and so make Domitian the tenth, is inadmissible.

Since this reference has been excluded, it has been proposed to treat the phrase κέρατα δέκα as an archaic survival here, and therefore meaningless in the present context. We have already met with such archaic survivals in the preceding chapters, but this explanation is not so satisfactory here. If the phrase were such, would it have been given this emphatic position? for the horns seem to be placed before the heads in contrast to the order in xii. 3, and the diadems are shifted from the heads to the horns. The difficulty is increased when we turn to xvii. 3, and find there that the Beast has "seven heads and ten horns" like the Dragon. The only explanation remaining, and it is not satisfactory, is that the horns are mentioned first, because they first became visible as the Beast rose from the sea in the vision.

Wellhausen thinks that xiii. 1^b and xii. 3^c, ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα, are additions, since they have no bearing on the text till ch. xvii. But the seven-headed monster is derived from tradition, and is not a mere symbol created by our author.

That the number seven is not due to the fact that our author already knew or expected seven emperors we have already seen. See note on xii. 3. He gives an ancient tradition a new meaning by interpreting it of the seven Roman emperors.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα. These words have been inserted in the text to prepare for the account in xvii. 12 of the Parthian kings, where the horns are expressly said to denote ten kings. In Daniel's visions a horn "represents either a king (see vii. 24, viii. 5, 8^a, 9, 21) or a dynasty of kings (viii. 3, 6, 7, 8^b, 20, 22) rising up in, or out of, the empire symbolized by the creature to which the horn belongs" (Driver, *Daniel*, vii. 7). The ten horns in Dan. vii. 7 refer to the successors of Alexander on the throne of Antioch—that is, to a single division of Alexander's empire. Similarly here the ten horns would refer to the kings of the eastern division of the Antichrist's empire, *i.e.* the Parthian. διαδήματα are elsewhere assigned only to Christ, xix. 12, and to the Dragon, xii. 3. The latter conception is permissible since the Dragon is in many respects a caricature of Christ. It would be permissible also, if the clause could be interpreted of the Roman emperors, since they could be regarded as incarnations of the Beast. But it is difficult to take them in connection with Rome's vassal kings. The position of δέκα before διαδήματα is found only in xvii. 12 in our author: see note on viii. 2. Hence the clause may be a gloss. For the phraseology we might compare the Egyptian royal title "Lord of diadems." (Mommsen, *Rom. Gesch.* v. 565, note, quoted from Erbes, p. 95.)

καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. Cf. xvii. 3, θηρίον . . . γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. The evidence for ὄνομα and *ὀνόματα* is fairly balanced. If we take the singular then the blasphemous name on each head is no doubt *Σεβαστός*, *i.e.* divus Augustus — a blasphemous title involving divine claims and connected with the imperial cult. The terms *θεός* and *θεοῦ υἱός* were freely applied to the emperors in inscriptions from Augustus onward.[1] This interpretation is found in Bede, as Düsterdieck has pointed out: "Reges enim suos deos appellant tam mortuos et velut in cœlum atque inter deos translatos, quam etiam in terris Augustos, quod est nomen ut volunt deitatis."

If, on the other hand, we read *ὀνόματα*, the seven heads are to be regarded as bearing respectively the seven names of the Caesars.

2. **καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδον ἦν ὅμοιον παρδάλει,**
καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου,
καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος.
καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ δράκων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην.

Our text as it stands combines the characteristics of the three beasts which arise out of the sea in succession in Dan. vii. 1 sqq.—the lion, the bear, and the leopard. In Hos. xiii. 7, 8 the lion, leopard, and bear are referred to. The third line suggests a combination of the traits of the first beast (*i.e.* the lion), Dan. vii. 4, and of the fourth and unnatural ten-horned beast, which had iron teeth wherewith it devoured and brake in pieces, vii. 7.

It is impossible to conceive the complex figure here portrayed by our author, unless we take it that he regards each of the seven heads as having a lion's mouth. But the text appears to imply that it had only one mouth. The figure therefore is wholly fantastic and not plastically conceivable. This inconceivableness is possibly somewhat in favour of regarding the line *καὶ τὸ στόμα . . . λέοντος* as a later addition.

But this argument is hardly valid here. It is noteworthy, however, that we have here the full construction *τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος*, whereas in accordance with what precedes we should expect *τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς λέοντος* as in i. 10, iv. 1, 7. Yet in ix. 8, 9 we have the same combination of full and pregnant constructions.

3. καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον. We must here supply *εἶδον* from ver. 1 as in iv. 4

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[1] Temples were erected to Augustus in his lifetime bearing the dedication: *θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ καίσαρος* (Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. inscr.* ii. 11—quoted from Swete, p. lxxxvii.). Hicks (*Ephesus*, p. 150) records the following inscription at Ephesus [*αὐτοκράτωρ*] *καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνός, Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός.*

(both additions from the hand of our author). The phrase ὡς ἐσφαγμένον has already occurred in connection with the Christ, v. 6. It marks the Beast, or rather one of its heads, as the Satanic counterpart of the Christ, and therefore as the Antichrist. It has, moreover, a twofold significance. It not only implies that the being so described was put to a violent death (ἐσφαγμένην), but also that he was restored to life (ὡς ἐσφαγμένην) With these words the text makes a new advance. From the current identification of Rome with the fourth or last kingdom in Daniel, it proceeds to deal with one of the heads of the Beast, *i.e.* an emperor of Rome who sums up in himself all its antichristian characteristics. The next step whereby this head is identified with the Beast itself is taken in xiii. 12, 14.

καὶ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ κτλ. The αὐτοῦ limits the statement to the wounded head, though in xiii. 12, 14 this head is identified with the entire Beast. It is this head and none other that *is healed.*[1] Hence the interpretation (of Zuschlag, Bruston, Gunkel, Clemen, Porter) which would find a reference to Julius Caesar here is excluded. The choice therefore lies between Caligula and Nero. The former view was advocated at an early date by Weyers (see Züllig, ii. 239), Holtzmann (Stade's *Gesch. Israels*, ii. 388 sq.), Erbes (p. 29), and Spitta (392). In 1885 Zahn proposed it by way of a jest (*Z.K.W.* 568 sqq.). The words ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου would then refer to a very dangerous illness of Caligula from which he recovered (Suet. *Caligula*, 14; Dio Cassius, lix. 8; Philo, *Legatio ad Caium*, ii. 548, μέμνηται γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοσαύτην μιᾶς χώρας ἢ ἑνὸς ἔθνους γενέσθαι χαρὰν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ καταστάσει ἡγεμόνος, ὅσην ἐπὶ Γαΐῳ συμπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ παραλαβόντι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ῥυσθέντι ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας. See Spitta, 139 sq., 369 sq., 392–95; Erbes, 17 sqq.). There is much to recommend this view. It would explain many of the difficulties in this chapter. It is the natural explanation of the thrice-recurring clause relating to the healing of the wound, xiii. 3, 12, 14, of the wonder of the whole world at his recovery, xiii. 3 (cf. Philo quoted above), and of the horror in Palestine at his attempt to set up his statue in the Temple,

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[1] Since the text refers to the healing of the wounded head and not to the healing of the Beast itself with seven heads, the interpretation of Düsterdieck, O. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, and Moffatt is also out of court here. These scholars explain the text as referring to the convulsions which shook the Empire to its foundation in 69 A.D. after Nero's death, and from which it recovered only by the accession of Vespasian. Moffatt rightly observes that 4 Ezra xii. 18, which refers to this crisis in Roman affairs, requires this explanation: "Post tempus regni illius (*i.e.* Nero's) nascentur contentiones non modicae, et periclitabitur ut cadat, et non cadet tunc, sed iterum constituetur in suum initium," and compares Suet. *Vesp.* i.; Jos. *Bell.* iv. 11. 5, vii. 4. 2.

xiii. 6. Again it offers a satisfactory explanation of xiii. 8, *καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, for we find in Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 8. 1 that all the subjects of the Roman Empire erected altars to Caligula and regarded him as a god: *πάντων γοῦν ὁπόσοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖς εἶεν βωμοὺς τῷ Γαΐῳ καὶ νεὼς ἱδρυμένων τά τε ἄλλα πάντα αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων.* Spitta (p. 369) and Erbes (p. 18) in opposing the Nero *redivivus* interpretation rightly argue: "Who in all the world would say of a wound, which was bringing a man to the grave, that he was healed because in a marvellous manner he rose again (as Nero redivivus) from the dead?" But however just these contentions may be, the text as it stands cannot refer to Caligula. To make it do so requires the change of the number 666 to 616, and the excision of xiii. 3^{a}, 4^{cde}, 5^{b}, 6^{a}, 7^{a}, 9–10, 14^{c}, 18^{abc}, and a phrase in xiii. 8 (so Spitta). The text as it stands refers, as both Spitta and Erbes admit, to Nero *redivivus*. That, however, our author is probably using here an earlier source referring possibly to Caligula we have already seen (see p. 349).

As the text stands the only satisfactory explanation is that which takes the text as referring to Nero *redivivus*. The two renderings 666 and 616 can be explained thereby, and no excisions are necessary, though certain expressions are difficult, owing probably to the fact that they were applied differently in an earlier source. The origin and belief in Nero's return has been investigated by Zahn, *Z.K.W.L.* 1885–86; Bousset, *Offenb. Johannis*², 410–18; and Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah*, li.–lxxiii.; and in a revised form in the Appendix to chap. xvii. of the present work. Several forms of the Antichrist tradition lie behind different sections of our Apocalypse. There is the Beliar Antichrist in xi. 7, which apparently had in its original form only a religious significance as in 2 Thess. ii. Of the first stage of the Neronic myth there is no trace, but there are ample traces of the second stage in xvi. 12 and in the original document or tradition behind xvii. 12–17, according to which Nero was to return from the far East at the head of ten Parthian kings for the destruction of Rome. The third stage which represents Nero *redivivus*, *i.e.* Nero as returning with demonic powers from the abyss, is that which was present to the mind of our author alike in the passage before us and throughout the book. See ch. xvii. and the Appendix. Only when so conceived "does the one head," as Bousset remarks, "become the complete antitype of the *ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*." The wounded head is identified with the Beast in xiii. 12, 14, xvii. 8, 11.

καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὀπίσω τοῦ θηρίου. We have here a construction which is neither Greek nor Hebrew, as Gunkel has observed. Blass (p. 129) observes rightly that the prepositional use of *ὀπίσω* is foreign to profane writers, and takes its origin from the LXX (= אַחֲרֵי), and compares in this connection the construction in Acts v. 37, xx. 30.[1] The present phrase *ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὀπίσω* he admits (p. 118, note 3) is very strange, but he thinks it can be taken as a pregnant construction for *ἐθαυμάσθη ἐπὶ τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ ἐπορεύθη ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.* Such an explanation can satisfy no one. Gunkel assumes that we have here a translation from the Hebrew ותתמה מאחרי החיה, where מאחרי is corrupt for מאחרית. Thus we should have "and wondered at the end of the beast," *i.e.* that it remained alive. But the meaning Gunkel assigns to the Hebrew here is quite unnatural. "The end" of the beast was *not* this temporary restoration. And yet it is possible to explain the difficulty through retroversion into Hebrew: *i.e.* ותתמה כל־הארץ מאחרי החיה, where מאחרי is corrupt for בראותה (*i.e.* בִּרְאֹתָהּ or מראות, though this last is a rarer construction). Thus the Greek should run: *καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη ὅλη ἡ γῆ ἰδοῦσα* (or *βλέπουσα*) *τὸ θηρίον.* This restoration is supported by the parallel passage dealing with the very same subject in xvii. 8, *καὶ θαυμασθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . βλεπόντων τὸ θηρίον κτλ.* The construction recurs again in xvii. 6, *ἐθαύμασα ἰδὼν αὐτήν.*

The meaning therefore of this clause is exactly the same as in xvii. 8. The world was astonished at the marvellous return of Nero *redivivus.*

4. καὶ προσεκύνησαν. The power of the Roman Empire is derived from the Dragon, and the Dragon is worshipped as the source of this power. The words wherewith the inhabitants of the earth belaud the Beast are an intentional parody of certain expressions of praise in the O.T. Ex. xv. 11, *τίς ὅμοιός σοι ἐν θεοῖς, κύριε;* Ps. xxxv. 10, lxxxix. 6, cxiii. 5; Isa. xl. 25, xlvi. 5; Mic. vii. 18. The motive for the worship is given in the words that follow, *τίς δύναται πολεμῆσαι μετʼ αὐτοῦ;* as Swete remarks, "it was not moral greatness but brute force which commanded the homage of the provinces."

In this verse our author takes up the theme which led really to the composition of the book as a whole, the worship of the Beast, the imperial cultus. Since this meant a subordination of the interests of religion to those of the State, it became the chief source of strife between Christendom and the Roman Empire. Again and again this subject recurs throughout the chapters that follow.

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[1] These passages are no more analogous to our text than 1 Tim. v. 15, *ἐξετράπησαν ὀπίσω τοῦ Σατανᾶ*; for all three admit of good Hebrew renderings, but our text does not.

5. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι μῆνας τεσσεράκοντα καὶ δύο.

The words *στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα* are from Dan. vii. 8, 20: cf. Ps. xii. 3; 2 Bar. lxvii. 7. With *καὶ βλασφημίας* cf. Dan. xi. 36, where it is said of Antiochus, *ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν ἔξαλλα* (*ὑπέρογκα*, Th.) *λαλήσει*, and vii. 25, *ῥήματα εἰς* (*λόγους πρὸς*, Th.) *τὸν ὕψιστον λαλήσει*: also I Macc. i. 24. *ποιῆσαι* (= עשׂה) may mean either "to do," "to act with effect": cf. Dan. viii. 12, xi. 28. It could mean "to spend the time," a sense that עשׂה also has in Hebrew. On *μῆνας κτλ.* see note on xi. 2. Nero *redivivus* is to hold sway for the usual apocalyptic period.

6. καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τὸν θεόν,
βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντας.

With our text we might compare Dan. viii. 10–12. The claims of the Empire were expressed in ever deepening terms of blasphemy. Cf. what is said of the Antichrist in 2 Thess. ii. 4, *ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα . . . ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἔστιν θεός*: Asc. Isa. iv. 6 (before 100 A.D.) "he will say: I am God and before me there has been none": Sibyll. Or. v. 33–34 (= xii. 85, 86), *εἶτα ἀνακάμψει ἰσάζων θεῷ αὐτόν.* The impious claims of the Cæsars are here in the mind of the writer. Of Caligula Philo writes (*Leg. ad Caium*, 23), *ὁ δὲ Γάϊος ἑαυτὸν ἐξετύφωσεν οὐ λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰόμενος εἶναι θεός.* Domitian's claims here are very explicit: Suetonius, *Domitian.* 13, "Dominus et deus noster hoc fieri jubet. Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter."

βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Cf. Ass. Mos. viii. 5, where it is said that the Jews "will be forced . . . to blaspheme . . . the name." Cf. Lev. xxiv. 11, נקב את־השׁם.

The attempt to explain *τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ* (see § 8 in the Introd. to this chapter on the meaning of this phrase in the original source) of the earthly temple is against the context here and the usage of our author in xxi. 3, and especially the use of *σκηνοῦν*, as in vii. 15, xii. 12, xxi. 3. It is probably heaven itself that is here referred to: not the temple in heaven. But it is possible that our author means *τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ* to be taken as meaning "His Shekinah," especially if the words that follow are original. See note on xxi. 3. Those who find a Caligula Apocalypse behind the present text interpret the *σκηνή* of the earthly temple, in which Caligula wished to have his statue set up, according to Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 8. 2; *Bell.* ii. 10. 1; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 29, 43. *σκηνή* could be taken in the same sense also, if the source referred to the siege of Jerusalem under Titus.

καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντας. The *καί* though weakly supported may be original. If the clause is original then too is the *καί*, and the beings referred to are the angels: cf. xii. 12. In that case we should compare xxi. 3, *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . καὶ σκηνώσει*. Since we have *οὐρανός* definitely mentioned in this third phrase, *τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ* can hardly be taken as its equivalent. Hence again we conclude to its meaning "His Shekinah."

7. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ
νικῆσαι αὐτούς,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φυλὴν καὶ λαὸν καὶ
γλῶσσαν καὶ ἔθνος.

The first line (as also xi. 7) goes back to Dan. vii. 21—to the Aramaic rather than to the Versions. Theod. has *ἐθεώρουν καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο ἐποίει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἴσχυσεν πρὸς αὐτούς.* LXX has *πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τροπούμενον αὐτούς.* **Νικῆσαι** is our author's own rendering here: cf. xii. 11, xvii. 14, etc., and *ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετά* is found in xi. 7, xii. 17, xix. 19, and is a literal rendering of the Aramaic עבדא קרב עם. The rôle of the little horn (*i.e.* Antiochus Epiphanes) in Daniel is here taken by Nero *redivivus*. The persecution referred to is not the first, *i.e.* the Neronic, but in the future; for it is to be world wide.

1 Enoch xlvi. 7 speaks of the rulers and kings "casting down the stars of heaven" (*i.e.* the righteous) in dependence on Dan. viii. 10.

ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φυλήν κτλ. See v. 9, note, on this favourite enumeration of our author.

7^b–9. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία . . . ἀκουσάτω, like ver. 3, looks like an insertion. By their removal we seem to recover the original form of the verses xiii. 1–10. See Introd. to Chap. xiii. § 8, p. 342 sqq. But the present form is due to our author.

8. καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὗ οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

This verse combined with xiii. 3^c forms a doublet of xvii. 8. See Introd., p. 337. The future *προσκυνήσουσιν* may be due to the fact that the author has dropt his rôle of Seer and passed over into prophecy, or that he has translated וישתחוו in his original source as if it were וְיִשְׁתַּחֲווּ instead of וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ. Cf. xvii. 8. In any case we pass here from the present to the future. All do not yet worship the beast. See 15. The phrase *τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου* is generally regarded by critics as a scribal gloss, but it appears to be from the hand of our author; for, in the first place, in xxi. 27 we find *ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου*, and, in the next, the phrase in our text forms a contrast to that in xiii. 3. The subjects of the Neronic Antichrist who was *ὡς ἐσφαγμένος εἰς θάνατον* are set over against those of *τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου*: (cf. v. 6, 12).

The reading **ὧν . . . τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν**, though weakly attested, has something to be said for it. The use of *ὄνομα*, where a plurality is referred to, is a Hebraism. Thus in Num. xxvi. 33 (in xxvii. 1 where the phrase is repeated we have the plural), xxxii. 38; Deut. xii. 3; 1 Sam. xiv. 49 שֵׁם is used with reference to a number. This Hebraism would explain the correction of *ὧν . . . αὐτῶν* into *οὗ . . . αὐτοῦ* on the one hand and of *τὸ ὄνομα* into *τὰ ὀνόματα* on the other. Cf. xvii. 8.

The phrase **ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου** is by almost all scholars connected with *γέγραπται*, as in xvii. 8. In favour of this connection the following passages are quoted: Eph. i. 4, *ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, and Matt. xxv. 34, *ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*. Thus the election is from the beginning, and the presupposition is that only the elect can withstand the claims of the imperial cult backed by the might of the empire itself. To acknowledge such claims on the part of the State is in reality to acknowledge the supremacy of Satan. The faithful are thus secured by their election from the foundation of the world. In vii. 3 sqq., having already exhibited their steadfastness in actual temptation, they have been marked on their brows as God's own possession, and have thus been secured against the spiritual assaults of Satan but not against martyrdom. The above interpretation is right in the case of xvii. 8 but possibly wrong in the present passage, and Bede, Eichhorn, and Alford may be right in connecting the above phrase with *ἐσφαγμένου*. This connection is suggested by 1 Pet. i. 19, 20, *ἐλυτρώθητε . . . αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ . . . προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*. What has been foreordained in the counsels of God is in a certain sense a fact already. The principle of sacrifice and redemption is older than the world: it belongs to the essence of the Godhead. In favour of this view I would adduce further evidence. In the 2nd cent. B.C. Michael was regarded as the mediator between God and man, Test. Dan vi. 2 (see my note *in loc.*), and about the beginning of the Christian era this mediatorship was assigned to Moses in Ass. Mos. i. 14 (see next paragraph). If Judaism claimed that Moses was ordained to be mediator of God's covenant *from the foundation of the world*, Christianity claimed that Christ was ordained as the Redeemer of mankind from that period. This, I think, is the meaning of the words in their present context, though it was not the meaning in the older form of the passage, which has been preserved in xvii. 8.

The phrase *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* is found eight times in the

N.T. outside the Apocalypse, but does not occur in the LXX. The word *καταβολή* is only once found in the LXX, *i.e.* in 2 Macc. ii. 29, where it is used of the foundation of a house. The idea, however, is found in Job xxxviii. 4, ביסדי ארץ ; LXX, *ἐν τῷ θεμελιοῦν με τὴν γῆν*, and the phrase itself recurs three times in the Ass. Mos. i. 13, 14, "ab initio orbis terrarum," the Greek of which is happily preserved in Gelasius of Cyzicum (see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 845, and my edition of the Assumption, pp. 6, 7, 58, 59), *ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ Ἀναλήψεως Μωυσέως . . . καὶ προεθεάσατό με ὁ θεὸς πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναί με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην.* Here as in our text the idea of predestination is forcibly expressed.

9. **εἴ τις ἔχει οὖς, ἀκουσάτω.** See note on ii. 7.
10. **εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν,**
εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει·
εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι
† αὐτὸν † ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι·
ὧδέ ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἁγίων.

10. The textual evidence is very divided, and allows of three different forms of text.

1. The first, *i.e.* A, which I have given above, alone is right. Hort admits that *ἀποκτανθῆναι* gives the right sense but, failing like all other scholars to understand the construction, does not adopt it into his text. Wellhausen (p. 22, note) declares that *ἀποκτενεῖ* is impossible, and that it must be changed into the passive. It is strange that he does not refer to the reading of A. Its object is to enforce an attitude of loyal endurance. The day of persecution is at hand: the Christians must suffer captivity, exile or death: in calmly facing and undergoing this final tribulation they are to manifest their endurance and faithfulness. This prophetic admonition undoubtedly suits the context and the tone of the entire Apocalypse. It has, moreover, the support of Jer. xliii. 11 and xv. 2, on one or other of which it is based. The former is אשר לַמָּוֶת לַמָּוֶת ואשר לשבי
לשבי ואשר לחרב לחרב, while the LXX of Jer. xv. 2 gives *ὅσοι εἰς θάνατον, εἰς θάνατον· καὶ ὅσοι εἰς μάχαιραν εἰς μάχαιραν· . . . καὶ ὅσοι εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν.* I have printed the text of A: it is not Greek, but it is a literal rendering of a distinctively Hebrew idiom: *i.e.* of אשר בחרב לָמוּת הוא בחרב לָמוּת. It might be explained as a mistranslation of אשר בחרב לַמָּוֶת בחרב לַמָּוֶת, where the translator read לָמוּת twice instead of לַמָּוֶת. The *αὐτόν* is corrupt for *αὐτός*. See xii. 7, note, where this idiom has already occurred.

But the former, I have no doubt, is the right explanation, and the text should be rendered: "If any man is to be slain with the sword, he is to be slain with the sword." This being so, *αὐτόν* is to be taken as a corruption of *αὐτός*. In *αὐτὸς ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι* we have a translation of the same Hebraism as in ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι in xii. 7. The Greek, it is true, differs in xii. 7 by the insertion of τοῦ before the inf. But we find the same variation in the LXX. To render לְ before the inf. in this idiomatic sense was evidently a matter of no little difficulty to the Greek translators, who reproduced it in many ways: 1. by a fut. ind. as in Ps. xlix. 15; Jer. li. (xxviii.) 49; 2. once (?) by δεῖ, *cum. inf.* See 2 Sam. iv. 10, ᾧ ἔδει με δοῦναι = אשר לתתי לו; 3. by εἰ with the aor. ind., 2 Kings xiii. 19; 4. by a paraphrastic form consisting of two verbs, 2 Chron. xi. 22; 5. frequently by τοῦ with the inf. as in Eccles. iii. 15; 1 Chron. ix. 25, and in our text in xii. 7; 6. once simply by the inf. Ps. xxxii. 9, ἐν χαλινῷ καὶ κημῷ . . . ἄγξαι (B א) = במתג . . . לבלום. Here we have the same rendering as in our text, *αὐτὸς* (*αὐτόν*, A) *ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι*. In xii. 7, just as here, אQ omit the τοῦ before πολεμῆσαι, but τοῦ *cum inf.* is a better rendering. There are also other renderings in the LXX of this idiom.

2. The second form of the text is that of some cursives and Versions:

εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀπάγει,
εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει.
εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτενεῖ,
δεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι.

This is the text preferred by Bousset. As in the former text so in this the parallelism of the two clauses is perfect. But the meaning is of course different. While in the former we have an appeal to the loyalty of the faithful, in the latter there is simply a promise of requital. The saints are assured that the *jus talionis* will be enacted to the full on their persecutors.

3. The third form of text is that of the R.V., which agrees with the second save that it omits *ἀπάγει*. This third form is accepted by B. Weiss, Swete, and Moffatt, but, whatever the textual evidence is, it has the parallelism against it and also the source from which it is derived. Its advocates have supported it by maintaining that both clauses refer to the Christian: he is to suffer exile if necessary, xiii. 10^{ab}: he is to abstain from using the sword, xiii. 10^{cd}, *if he would not perish by the sword.* But here the idea of the law of requital is introduced. Hence, since according to this text 10^{ab} enforces simply the duty of resignation, and 10^{cd} is clearly an expression of the law of

requital, this third form of text combines two ideas consorting very ill with each other, inappropriate to their context and at variance with the source from which they are ultimately drawn. B. Weiss interprets the whole verse as expressing requital.

It is true that this form is fairly supported by the textual evidence; but it was probably due to Matt. xxvi. 52.

The first corruption of the text (*i.e.* of ἀποκτανθῆναι into ἀποκτενεῖ as in the R.V.) seems to have been due to Matt. xxvi. 52, πάντες γὰρ οἱ λαβόντες μάχαιραν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀπολοῦνται. This change once effected, introducing as it did the idea of a *jus talionis*, could easily lead to the next corruption, *i.e.* the addition of ἀπάγει after αἰχμαλωσίαν (10). Thus this third form of text conveys to the Christians the promise that, whatever be the fate they endure, it will recoil on their persecutors.

The Second Beast, 11–18.

11. καὶ εἶδον ἄλλο θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς γῆς,
καὶ εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ,
καὶ † ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων †.

In our text this second Beast is identified with the False Prophet: cf. xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10. Mommsen thinks that this second Beast symbolizes the state officials throughout the provinces, but the express identification of this Beast with the False Prophet renders Mommsen's view untenable. From Victorinus downwards a number of notable scholars have identified the Beast with the heathen priesthood, but it is best with Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, Bousset, J. Weiss to understand it in relation to the imperial priesthood of the provinces.

In this second Antichrist figure we have an independent development of the Antichrist expectation. See p. 342 sqq. Originally this expectation had a radically different object, *i.e.* a Jewish false prophet in Jerusalem, or a Christian false prophet in the Christian community, as in 1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. But since the vision of our author is not limited to Judaism or Christianity, but takes in the entire world, he finds that the truths he had already learnt in Judaism and Christianity attained their fullest exemplification in the heathen world. Thus this Antichrist is now heathen and the scene of his activity the heathen world.

This Antichrist comes up ἐκ τῆς γῆς. This phrase seems to indicate the locality of the beast, *i.e.* the priesthood of the imperial cultus in Asia Minor. Some scholars trace it to Dan. vii. 17, but this can only be a mere accident. Moreover that passage is corrupt. It is true indeed that according to ancient tradition, 1 Enoch lx. 7 sqq.; 4 Ezra vi. 49 sqq., there were two monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, the one inhabiting the deep, the other the dry land. These monsters sprang ultimately from the cosmological myths of Babylon, and, representing the primeval chaos monster Tiâmat, appear under many names in the O.T. as opponents of God, Isa. li. 9; Ps. lxxxix. 10 sqq.; Job xxvi. 12 sq. etc. (see *K.A.T.*^{3} 507), but in later times they came to be regarded as the impersonations of the evil power in the last days, when cosmological myths were transformed into eschatological expectations—as in Isa. xxvii. 1 (leviathan, serpent, dragon); Pss. Sol. ii. 28 sqq.; Rev. xii., xvi. 13, xx. 2 (*δράκων*); 1 Enoch lx. 7 sqq.; 4 Ezra vi. 49–52; 2 Bar. xxix. 4 (Behemoth and Leviathan); Dan. vii. (חיה); Rev. xiii., xvi. 13, xvii., xix. 19 sqq. (*θηρίον*). See *K.A.T.* 508.

κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ. This phrase may be illustrated by Matt. vii. 15, *προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσιν λύκοι ἅρπαγες.* The words in our text therefore may point to the mild appearance of the second Beast.

What is the meaning of **ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων**? Like Gunkel I must confess that I can make nothing of it. On the ground that it is unintelligible Gunkel, assuming a Semitic source, retranslates *καὶ ἐλάλει* into ותאמר, which he takes to be a corruption of ותאר—"and a form." But the Hebrew equivalent of *λαλεῖν* is not אמר but דבר. I have two suggestions. The corruption lies either in the Greek or in the Hebrew behind the Greek. In the former case we should add the article before *δράκων*, which is meaningless without it. If then we might read *ὁ δράκων*, and take *δράκων* as synonymous with *ὄφις* as in xii. 9, 14, 15, xx. 2, then the text becomes intelligible and would refer to the seductive and deceitful character of the serpent in the Garden of Eden. If this is right, the text would imply appeals to patriotism, gratitude for the great services of the empire, self-interest. If, on the other hand, the text goes back to a Hebrew original, then ותדבר (*i.e. καὶ ἐλάλει*) might be corrupt (as in 2 Chron. xxii. 10, where תדבר is corrupt for תאבד: cf. 2 Kings xi. 1) for ותאבד. The original would then have been ותאבד כתנין. "And the beast had two horns like a lamb (herein simulating the Messiah—*τὸ ἀρνίον* in xiv. 1), but he was a destroyer (an *ἀπολλύων*) like the dragon" (*i.e.* his master). This gives us the same antithesis as in Matt. vii. 15 (quoted above)—the fair outward show contrasting with the real nature. Moreover, in confirmation of this view, the second Beast is called a *ψευδοπροφήτης* in xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10, just as the false teachers are in Matt. vii. 15. Furthermore in תאבד we might have an allusion to *Ἀβαδδών* in ix. 11; for this being appears to be Satan or the Dragon. If this is right, instead of *ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων* we ought to have *ἀπώλλυε* (or *ἀπολλύων*) *ὡς ὁ δράκων* (cf. ix. 11).

12. καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πρώτου θηρίου πᾶσαν ποιεῖ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ·
καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας
ἵνα προσκυνήσουσιν τὸ θηρίον τὸ πρῶτον,
οὗ ἐθεραπεύθη ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

The construction *τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας* is strange on two grounds. First, the order is against the general usage of our author, though it is found occasionally. See note on xi. 4 (p. 284). Observe that a strong minority of textual authorities are in favour of the order *τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ*. Secondly, the construction *κατοικεῖν ἐν* is found here only in the Apocalypse. Nine times we have *κατοικεῖν ἐπί* and once *κατοικεῖν* c. acc. See note on xi. 10 and § 4 of the Introd. to this Chapter.

The imperial priesthood uses its delegated authority to enforce the worship of the Empire, which is here identified with Nero *redivivus*. It is no longer the death stroke of one of the heads of the Beast (xiii. 3) that is spoken of, but of the Beast itself.

13. καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
καταβαίνειν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

ἵνα has here the force of the classical *ὥστε* as in ix. 20: cf. 1 John i. 9: John ix. 2. See Blass, *Gram.* 224 sq.

In this verse the writer is thinking of the magic and lying wonders practised by the priesthood devoted to the worship of the emperors. They caused fire to come down from heaven. All oriental cults had recourse to such deceits.

An outburst of miracles was expected to mark the advent of the Antichrist: cf. Mark xiii. 22, *ἐγερθήσονται . . . ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν εἰ δυνατὸν τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς*; 2 Thess. ii. 9, *οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ παρουσία κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους*. Asc. Isa. iv. 10, "And there will be the power of his (*i.e.* the Neronic Antichrist) miracles in every city: And at his word the sun will rise at night and he will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour": also 4 Ezra v. 4; Sibyll. Or. iii. 63–70. See Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, 99 sq. The special miracle recorded in our text recalls that of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 38. For diction cf. Luke ix. 54.

14. καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου, λέγων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ

τῆς γῆς ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα τῷ θηρίῳ, ὃς ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρης καὶ ἔζησεν.

πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας. The second Beast has power to deceive only the unbelieving world. This is explicitly the teaching of xix. 20 and implicitly that of xii. 9, xviii. 23, xx. 3, 8, 10.

The faithful received the mark of God on their foreheads, vii. 4 sqq. (see note *in loc.*), ix. 4, and were henceforth secured against satanic assaults in the form of deception and temptation to sin. But the unbelieving world, which had received the mark of the Beast, xiii. 16, were thereby just as inevitably predisposed and prepared to become victims of every satanic deceit and temptation, and to believe a lie. We have here a deep spiritual truth. In the degree in which a man's character approaches finality, he has in that degree, if he has been faithful, become one with God and been rendered secure against spiritual evil powers in whatever form. If, on the other hand, he has been faithless, he has in that degree by his own action predisposed and prepared himself to be at once the unconscious victim of further spiritual wrong and the helpless slave of evil powers.

On the moral significance of the phrase *τοὺς κατοικ. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, see note on xi. 10, and xiii., Introd. § 4.

There is no real occasion here and in iv. 11, xii. 11 to take *διά* in an instrumental sense as Bousset proposes. The imposture succeeds because of the signs that are wrought *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου.* The signs were wrought by the priesthood (the second Beast) before the official representatives of the emperor (the first Beast).

λέγων . . . ποιῆσαι. For the construction see note on x. 9. The imperial priesthood made every effort to spread the imperial cult by the setting up of statues of the emperor and insisting on their religious significance. In our text the *εἰκών* is that of Nero *redivivus*, as the last clause of the verse shows. With this expectation we might compare that expressed in Asc. Isa. iv. 11, "And he (probably 'they' should be read) will set up his image (*i.e.* that of the Neronic Antichrist) before him in every city."

15–18. The connection of these verses has been generally misapprehended. The meaning simply is—the worship of the Beast gives the right to assume the mark of the Beast: these two—the worship and the reception of the mark are always associated together: cf. xiv. 9, 11, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4, as in xiii. 15^{c}, 16: the mark cannot be had without the act of worship. Next, since the refusal of such worship inevitably entails death, xiii. 15^{e}, in order to escape death all are forced to wear the mark (xiii. 16) in evidence of having rendered such worship. And that none should escape this requirement, the necessities of life are to be withheld from such as do not exhibit the mark, xiii. 17. Thus every individual is reached—small and great, rich and poor, bond and free, and none can evade the inquisition and none the dread alternative of worship or death.

15. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ δοῦναι πνεῦμα τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θηρίου, ἵνα καὶ λαλήσῃ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ποιήσῃ ἵνα ὅσοι ἐὰν μὴ προσκυνήσωσιν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θηρίου ἀποκτανθῶσιν.

The belief in speaking and wonder-working statues was a well established one in the ancient world. According to Clem. *Recognitions*, iii. 47 (Clem. *Hom.* ii. 32), Simon Magus declared: "Statuas moveri feci: animavi exanima." Besides such wonder-workers as Apollonius of Tyana, and Apelles of Ascalon at the court of Caligula of the first century, we find remarkable parallels in the second century. Statues were regarded as the natural means by which gods or demons could have intercourse with their worshippers, and were accredited with the power of working miracles (Theophil. *ad Autol.* i. 8), and of possessing supernatural energies (Athenagoras, *Leg.* 18). At Troas a statue of a certain Neryllinus (*op. cit.* 26) was supposed to utter oracles and to heal the sick, and the statue of Alexander and Proteus at Parium to utter oracles. Athenagoras admits the actuality of these phenomena but ascribes them to demons.

Most oriental cults had recourse to magic and trickery, and that the imperial cult availed itself of their help, as our text states, there is no just ground for doubting. The association of Roman officials and sorcerers is attested in Acts xiii. 6. Irenaeus, in his comment on our text, writes (v. 28. 2): "Haec ne quis eum divina virtute putet signa facere, sed magica operatione. Et non est mirandum si daemoniis et apostaticis spiritibus ministrantibus ei, per eos faciat signa in quibus seducat habitantes super terram." See Weinel, *Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, 9 sq.

ἵνα ὅσοι . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν. As in 8 the writer passes over into the future, so here in 15. There *all* the inhabitants of the earth who were not written in the Book of Life were to worship the Beast: Here *all* that did not worship its image were to be put to death. That refusal to worship the image of the emperor carried with it capital punishment in Trajan's time is clear from Pliny's letter to Trajan (x. 96). Those who refused to recant "duci jussi." As regards the rest he writes: "Qui negarent se esse Christianos, aut fuisse, cum praeeunte me deos appellarent, et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram . . . afferri, thure ac vino supplicarent . . . ego dimittendos putavi."

16. καὶ ποιεῖ πάντας τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς πτωχούς, καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τοὺς δούλους, ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν.

17. καὶ ἵνα μή τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι εἰ μὴ ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ.

On the familiar *τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους* cf. xi. 18, xix. 5, and in reverse order in xx. 12: on *τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς πτωχούς* cf. Prov. xxii. 2; Sir. x. 22. *τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τοὺς δούλους* recurs in xix. 18 and in reverse order in vi. 15.

ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα. On the impersonal plural cf. x. 11, xii. 6, xvi. 15. For the phrase *διδόναι χάραγμα* cf. Ezek. (LXX) ix. 4, *δὸς σημεῖον* (where, however, the Hebrew is וְהִתְוִיתָ תָּו) *ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα.* But *διδόναι . . . χάραγμα* is good Hebrew, and is found in Megillah, 24b, where in reference to the tephillah it is said נתנה על מצחו.

The mark[1] was to be placed on the right hand and on the brow of the followers of the Beast. This is full of significance. For the orthodox Jew wore the tephillin (which were translated in Greek *φυλακτήρια*—cf. Matt. xxiii. 5, *πλατύνουσι γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια*—owing to the circumstance they were practically amulets and used as a protection against evil spirits) *on the left hand and on the head* (see Schürer, *Gesch.*³ ii. 485; Friedländer, *Der Antichrist*, 158 sq., 161).[2] Hence the worshippers of the Beast travesty (xiii. 16) this usage by wearing the mark on their right hand or their brow. In xiv. 9 and xx. 4 this double mark on the hand and the brow of the worshippers of the Beast is referred to, though which hand is not specified. In xiii. 17, xiv. 11, xvi. 2, xix. 20 only the mark without specification of the brow or hand is mentioned, though it is defined simply as *τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου* in xvi. 2, xix. 20, and in xiii. 17, xiv. 11 the mark is said to consist in the name of the beast (or the number of his name, xiii. 17). In our present text, as in xiv. 9, the mark is said to be on the brow *or* on the hand, whereas in xx. 4 it is stated to be on the brow *and* on the hand. In the face of Jewish usage and xx. 4 we may fairly assume that the mark was in both places. It is to be observed that alike with regard to the faithful and the followers of the Antichrist the mark is placed on the brow (not over the brow), just as in Deut. vi. 8 the tephillin were to be set as frontlets "between the eyes." The Rabbis, however, declared that this usage was heretical, Megillah, 24b: "Whoever placed the tephillin on the brow or on the hand (על מצחו או על פס ידו) follows the practice of the Minim," and required that they should be worn over the brow and on the hands or rather forearms (זרוע). Thus the worshippers of the Beast, as Friedländer (*op. cit.* 161 sq.) and Bousset recognize, travesty in these respects the practice of orthodox Judaism in the first century of the Christian era, but not of the faithful in vii. 3 sqq., etc., of our text. The mark on the brow of the faithful in our author has no connection with the tephillin. Hence this fact points to the Jewish origin of this section with regard to the Antichrist or of part of it. *But ultimately the marks on the brows of the faithful, vii. 3 sqq., etc., and of the worshippers of the Beast had the same origin. Both were intended to show that the wearers of the marks are under supernatural protection*—the former under the protection of God, the latter of Satan. The former marks were to be made on the brow only: the latter on the brow and right hand owing to the influence of the Antichrist expectation amongst the Jews, as we have just seen.[1]

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[1] The word *χάραγμα* may, as Deissmann suggests, be chosen because it was the technical designation of the imperial stamp.

[2] Targum on Cant. viii. 1, "The Community of Israel saith: I am chosen from among the heathen nations because I bind the tephillin on my left hand and about my head," די אנא קטרא תפילין ביד שמאלי וברישי, and on the upper third of the right doorpost next the lintel, in order that evil spirits may have no power to do me injury."

ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς. Upon the significance of the mark being upon the right hand see preceding note. See note on p. 335, on the order and fulness of this expression as contrasted with i. 17, 20, etc., as well as on the case.

καὶ ἵνα μή τις κτλ. The object of enforcing the wearing of the mark is not the minor one of cutting off the recusants from buying and selling (which the MSS which omit the *καί* would imply); for the penalty of such recusancy is immediate death. The necessaries of life are to be withheld from such as have not the mark of the beast in order to bring them under the notice of the imperial authorities, and that thus none should escape. A ruthless economic warfare is here proclaimed with a view to the absolute supremacy of the State. This is not represented as a fact of the present but as the future in store for the inhabitants of the earth. Thus shortly the sense of xiii.

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[1] Other views propounded are: 1. The marks were those used in the case of domestic slaves. Those so marked were called *στιγματίαι*, literati, and such marks were regarded as a badge of disgrace. They were not used generally amongst the Greeks and Romans unless in the case of misconduct. 2. Soldiers sometimes branded themselves with the name of their general: see Wetstein on Gal. vi. 17. 3. Deissman (*Biblical Studies*, 241 sq.) thinks that he finds the clue in the seals (*χαράγματα*) which were stamped with the name and year of the emperor in Egypt in the first and second centuries on papyrus documents relating to buying and selling. But this practice does not explain the mark on the *person*. The mark of the beast was, as Ramsay observes, "a preliminary condition" of buying and selling, "and none who wanted it were admitted to business transactions." 4. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches* (110 sq.), suggests that the mark was an official certificate of loyalty which was issued to those who had complied with the ritual of the imperial religion. But this does not meet the case. 5. Spitta, Erbes and Mommsen interpret the text with reference to the Roman coins bearing the image and superscription of the emperor. But this interpretation does not explain the stamping of the marks on the right hand and brow.

16–17 is: He made every one to wear the mark, and that none should escape his scrutiny he forbade the means of life to such as had not the mark. **ἵνα μὴ . . . ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι.** For the diction cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 49, *οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐκωλύοντο ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀγοράζειν καὶ πωλεῖν.*

ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα. Our author when writing independently would probably say *ὁ λαβὼν τ. χ.* See note on xvi. 2.

τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ ὄνομα κτλ. The name and the number of the name are one and the same thing. In the former case it is written in letters: in the latter its equivalent is given in numbers by a kind of gematria. To the diction in our text *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου* (18) and *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ* (17) there are two exact parallels in the inscriptions given by Mau in the *Bulletino del Instituto*, 1874, p. 90, one of which is *φιλῶ ἧς ἀριθμὸς φμε* (cf. *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου*) and the second *ἀμέριμνος ἐμνήσθη ἁρμονίας τῆς ἰδίας κ(υ)ρία(s) ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, ἧς ὁ ἀριθμὸς με* (or *αλε*) *τοῦ καλοῦ ὀνόματος* (cf. *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ*).

18. ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν· ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου, ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν· καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ.

ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν. With this expression Eichhorn compares the cabbalistic phrase רזא דחכמתא אית הכא (Sohar Chadash, f. 40. 3). ὧδε here as in xvii. 9 refers to what follows, but in xiii. 10, xiv. 12 to what precedes. With the idea in *ὁ ἔχων νοῦν* we should compare Dan. i. 17 (LXX), *τῷ Δανιὴλ ἔδωκε σύνεσιν ἐν . . . ἐνυπνίοις καὶ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ*, v. 12 (Theod.), *σύνεσις ἐν αὐτῷ συγκρίνων ἐνύπνια καὶ ἀναγγέλλων κρατούμενα.* Cf. v. 11, 14. The word *νοῦς* is not found in the Versions of the canonical Daniel, but *σύνεσις* (*i.e.* בִּינָה) has the same meaning. Thus in viii. 15, where Daniel has a vision, it is said that he "sought to understand it" *ἐζήτουν σύνεσιν* (Theod.). In ix. 22 an angel is sent *συμβιβάσαι σε σύνεσιν* (Theod.) in reference to the prophecy of the 70 years, and in x. 1 *σύνεσις αὐτῷ . . . ἐν ὀπτασίᾳ.* In such mysteries *οὐ νοήσουσιν . . . ἄνομοι* (A), xii. 10. *νοῦς* or *σύνεσις* (*i.e.* בינה) is what is needed for the interpretation of the problem in this verse.

ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμόν κτλ. This passage is difficult and has been the subject of controversy since the second century. Much of it has been due to inaccurate interpretation of the words involved, but even when every care is taken there remains a hypothetical element in every solution that is offered. The two clauses that have caused difficulty are *ψηφισάτω . . . θηρίου* and *ἀριθμὸς γὰρ . . . ἐστίν.* Let us take the latter first. This clause is susceptible of two meanings. 1. It has been proposed by a number of scholars—Düsterdieck, Holtzmann, Gunkel, Clemen, Swete, etc., to take *ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπου* as meaning a human intelligible number, not a supernatural one. They compare xxi. 17, *μέτρον ἀνθρώπου ὅ ἐστιν ἀγγέλου*. But whereas the statement in xxi. 17 is significant, seeing that it is an angel that is measuring the heavenly Jerusalem, the emphasizing of the fact here that the number is such as a man uses is pointless. For the writer to set down any other than an intelligible number would be highly absurd. 2. Volkmar, Kliefoth, Corssen, Bousset, Jülicher, Moffatt maintain that the number here is that of a certain individual. To this it has been objected that in that case *τινός* or *ἑνός* would have stood in connection with *ἀνθρώπου*. But this is not so: cf. Ps. cv. 17, *ἀπέστειλεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπον* (שָׁלַח לִפְנֵיהֶם אִישׁ), "He sent a man before them." The evidence, therefore, of the words themselves is in favour of the latter interpretation. But further, and this argument may fairly be regarded as conclusive, the Beast and one of its heads, though conceived separately in xiii. 1, 3, are subsequently in xiii. 12, 14 treated as identical. The man here, *i.e.* one of the heads of the Beast, is himself the Beast. If we discover the name of the man it is for the time the name of the Beast. This conclusion is of paramount importance in the interpretation of the verse as a whole.[1]

Having reached this conclusion, we have next to discover the form of cryptogram used by the writer, and here I will quote my friend Professor J. A. Smith of Magdalen College, who, having had much experience in solving cryptograms, has sent me the following letter (Dec. 1910): "The solution of a cryptogram with no further clue than that the numerical values of the letters composing the answer should add up to 666 was almost indeterminate. I therefore suspected a restricting addition. Assuming that the digits, decads and hundreds must add up separately, I found the possible solution much narrowed. A very obvious one presented itself in

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[1] This conclusion is an answer (1) to P. Corssen's contention in the *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, iii. 238–242, iv. 264–267, v. 86–88, that we have here an instance of isopsephism, which consists in establishing relations between two different conceptions—here the Beast and a man—by means of the numerical equivalence in value of the letters by which the two are expressed. As we have seen above the Seer identifies the Beast with one of its heads. Hence we have only to deal with a single conception in xiii. 18, and not with an isopsephism such as he quotes from Boissonade, *Anecdota*, ii. 459, to the effect that *θεὸς = ἅγιος = ἀγαθός*, since the numerical value of each is *σπδ*, *i.e.* 284, that Παῦλος = *σοφία* (*ψπα* = 781), *κοσμᾶς* = *λύρα* (*φλα* = 531), and from Berosus according to Alexander Polyhistor, Eusebii *Chronic.*, Liber I. (ed. Schoen, p. 14 sq.), *ἄρχειν δὲ τούτων πάντων γυναῖκα ᾗ ὄνομα ὀμόρωκα* (read *ὀμόρκα*) *εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν θαλάτθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηνεύεται θάλασσα, κατὰ δὲ ἰσόψηφον σελήνη. ὀμόρκα* (an Aramaic word = אם־ארקא, "mother of the depth") as *σελήνη* = 301.

Like isopsephisms have been discovered by the Rabbis in the O.T. Thus under יבא שילה in Gen. xlix. 10 משיח (Messiah) is found, because both expressions = 358. Similarly מנחם ("Comforter") was found to be designed in צמח ("branch") for each word = 138. On the possibility of such a phenomenon in Ezek. v. 2 see Bertholet on Ezek. iv. 5. A cryptographic acrostic has been detected by Jewish scholars in the initial letters of Deut. xxxii. 1–6. These = 345 = Moses. See *Jewish Encyc.* v. 589.

(2) Secondly, it is an answer to all scholars who would discover the name of the Beast in the Roman Empire. The name of the Beast is the name of a man and the number is 666. Hence we reject on this ground *Λατεῖνος* first found in Irenæus, and *ἡ λατινὴ βασιλεία* = 666, *ἡ ἰταλὴ βασιλεία* = 616 of Clemen.

I.	τ=300 τ=300	ν=50 ι=10	ε=5 α=1	τειταν

The clue that the answer must be "the name of a man" suggested the ending -*ος* or -*ας*.

II.	τ=300 σ=200 λ+ο=100	ν=50 ι=10	ε=5 α=1	λατεινος
III.	σ=200 υ=400	ν=50 θ+α=10	ε=5 α=1	ευανθας

"I thus seemed to have hit upon the method employed by Irenaeus or his authority. I next applied this to the number 888 in the Sibyl. Oracles, i. 328 (*apud* Swete[2], p. 176), and find it gives at once

σ=200 σ=200 υ=400	ο=70 ι=10	η=8	Ἰησοῦς

"It then occurred to me to see if anything in the Apocalypse suggested this restriction, and I thought it might be contained in ψηφισάτω—literally to *calculate* with numbers. It was, I believe, common to use an abacus in a way which practically amounted to using a decimal system. You will see that if no column can contain more respectively than 6, 60 and 600 the number of possible solutions is greatly restricted. τειταν and Ἰησοῦς are rigorous solutions: each of the others requires the licence of once having a compound.

"As regards the Apocalypse itself, all this does not advance matters much. All, I think, I have shown is how Irenaeus got his solutions, and why he preferred τειταν, and that the method is found at least once elsewhere."

We are now in a position to deal with the problem before us. The Beast and the man are identical. In other words, the Beast is for the time incarnated in a man. There is no isopsephism here, and all solutions which propose the name of a country or nation are thereby excluded. Next, if Professor Smith's method is here valid, the name of the man must be such that in three columns of hundreds, tens and units, the total must in each case be six. The solution favoured by Irenaeus, *i.e.* τειτάν, complies rigorously with the numerical postulates, and has recently been supported by Abbott (*Notes on N.T. Criticism*, 80 sq.). But τειτάν is not a man's name, though it is construed as referring to Titus or to the Flavian dynasty, or to the third Titus, *i.e.* Domitian. Abbott (*op. cit.* 83, note) points out that the Talmud transliterated τιτος by טיטום.

But this solution will not do. The references to "the man" in xiii. 3, 12, 14 could not be explained of Titus or Domitian. We are, therefore, thrown back on Nero *redivivus*—the independent proposal of four scholars, Holtzmann, Benary, Hitzig and Reuss. The solution is to be sought not in Greek but in Hebrew. Nero Caesar = נרון קסר = 666. It has been objected that קיסר is the proper spelling, but according to Jastrow's *Talmudic Lexicon* קסר also is found. Besides καισάρεια is transliterated by קסרין as well as by קיסרין. The defective form קסר has therefore been chosen, because thereby the symmetrical 666 is attained, or because the number 666 is older than the name.[1] This solution appears to satisfy every requirement: for

1. It explains every reference in our text: see notes on xiii. 1, 3, 12, 14, and on the present verse.

2. It explains the twofold reading 666 and 616. In C, two lost cursives and Tyconius (see Iren. v. 30. 1), the reading 616 occurs instead of 666. This can be explained from the Latin form of the name Nero, which by its omission of the final *n* makes the sum total 616 instead of 666.

3. It satisfies the numerical method

נ + נ = 100		
ר = 200	ס = 60	ו = 6
ר = 200		
ק = 100		
600	60	6

---

[1] Irenaeus (v. 28. 2) says with regard to 666: In recapitulationem universæ apostasiae ejus quæ facta est in sex millibus annorum (see 29 and 30. 1). The number 6 is full of significance for him. Some recent scholars (Milligan, *Baird Lecture*, p. 328; Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, 324; Porter, *Hastings' D.B.* iv. 258; Vischer, *Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* iv. 167–174) take the number as having a symbolical force, as signifying the one who persistently falls short of perfection (*i.e.* the number 7), and support this view by the parallel of 3½ years, or the period of the Antichrist's reign, as symbolizing the destruction of evil within the half of the perfect period—seven. But to this it may be objected, why was 666 chosen? and not simply 6 or 66? The origin of this number is not yet clear.

I am not sure that this was intended; for among the many varieties of Gematria given in the *Jewish Encyc.* v. 589–592, the above variety is not mentioned. It may, however, have been borrowed by the Apocalyptist from Greek usage.[1]

XIV. 12–13. These verses have no connection with chap. xiv., but should follow directly on xiii. 17 or 18 as they do in this edition. 1. For there is no connection of thought between the endless torments of the worshippers of the Beast in Gehenna and the patient endurance of the saints. If xiv. 6–11 had been *a description of the persecutions awaiting the saints*, then such a statement as xiv. 12 and such a beatitude as xiv. 13 would have been in the highest degree appropriate, just as xiii. 10^b comes in most aptly after xiii. 10^a. 2. At the close of xiii. 10 we find xiv. 12^a repeated with an additional phrase, and in the earlier clauses of xiii. 10 we find exactly such acts of persecution referred to as justify wholly the final clause of the verse ὧδέ ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἁγίων.

Hence we conclude that xiv. 12–13 should similarly be preceded by a persecution which issued in death (μακάριοι . . . οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες) on the part of all who refused to worship the Beast. Now in xiii. 15 we find such a persecution foretold in the vision of the Seer. We have here the final stage of the persecution described, and it is just in such a context and none other in the Apocalypse that xiv. 12–13 has its right setting. Hence xiv. 12–13 should be transposed to xiii., and read immediately after 17 or 18. It is possible that xiii. 18 is an interpolation.

12. Here as in xiii. 10, 18, xvii. 9 our author abandons his rôle as Seer and addresses words of admonition directly to his readers.

ὧδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων. Cf. xiii. 10. On ὑπομονή cf. i. 9, ii. 2, 3, 19, iii. 10. Practically all men are capable of some momentary exhibition of heroism or self-sacrifice, and exactly in the measure in which they show themselves capable in this respect they have affinity with all true saints and heroes. But it is not such temporary manifestations of self-sacrifice or heroism that form the distinguishing mark of the saints, but *sustained persistent faithfulness in the face of continuous persecution*—even unto death. In our text the Seer has in his mind the last great tribulation, which would strengthen and mature those who encountered it faithfully.

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[1] Of the great number of suggestions which have been offered a few deserve to be mentioned. In Greek Γάϊος καῖσαρ=616. In case a Caligula source lies behind this chapter, this suggestion would have much to say for itself. In Hebrew letters Manchot and Weyland propose קיסר רומים=666, and Ewald קיסר רום=616. All these are under certain conditions possible, but not so Gunkel's proposal תהום קדמוניה=primal chaos, Tiâmat (G. F. Moore, *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, 1906, p. 315 sq.).

οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ. We have here a break in the construction which is characteristic of our author, and to be explained as in the note on i. 5. The participial clause defines the *τῶν ἁγίων*. This clause has already occurred in xii. 17. Here as in that passage the keeping of the commandments is combined with faith in Jesus. The especially Johannine character of the diction is to be observed. Outside the Johannine writings the phrase *τηρεῖν τ. ἐντολήν* (*ἐντολάς*) is found twice in the N.T.—and not found in the LXX—where *διατηρεῖν* and *συντηρεῖν* are used: whilst in the Johannine writings exclusive of the Apocalypse it is found 9 times. But this is not all. Our author uses also the phrase *τηρεῖν τ. λόγον* (*λόγους*) in iii. 8, 10, xxii. 7, 9. Now this phrase occurs 9 times in the Johannine Gospel and Epp. and not once throughout the rest of the N.T. The use of *τηρεῖν* in i. 3, iii. 3 is analogous. We might further observe that *ἐντολή* is a favourite Johannine word, occurring 27 times in the Gospel and Epp. and 37 in the rest of the N.T. *πίστιν Ἰησοῦ*, *i.e.* the faith which has Jesus for its object: cf. ii. 13, *τὴν πίστιν μου*: Mark xi. 22, *πίστιν θεοῦ*: Rom. iii. 22; Gal. ii. 16, iii. 22; Jas. ii. 1.

13. καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. As the thought of the great tribulation, which was to involve the martyrdom of the entire body of the faithful, presses heavily on the heart of the Seer, he hears a new beatitude proclaimed from heaven on their behalf: "Blessed are those who are martyred in the Lord from henceforth."

In such a conflict—with the world human and satanic arrayed against them—the faithful needed strong consolation, and the mercy of God stooped to the need that called it down. The ground, on which they were declared to be blessed, is that they are at once to rest from their labours and enter into the full recompense of their faithfulness on earth. Here for the first time the departed are described as *μακάριοι*. They have entered on the consummation of their blessedness; for they have suffered martyrdom for their Lord, and with their martyrdom the roll of the martyrs is now complete. In vi. 9–11, though the martyrs were given white robes (*i.e.* heavenly bodies) and bidden to rest a little while till their fellow-servants, which should be martyred even as they, should be fulfilled, it is clearly implied that their blessedness is only in part consummated. But not so with the martyrs of this final persecution. They are to enter forthwith into their final blessedness;[1] for with them the number of the martyrs is accomplished, and therefore the hour for judgment has come.

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[1] This final blessedness of the martyrs will not be fully consummated till the entire body of the righteous is fulfilled.

In fact in xiv. 6–11, and in 14, 18–20 we have two proleptic visions of judgment. Of these the first summarizes the judgment of Rome, which is subsequently described in detail in xvi. 18–xviii., while the second, xiv. 14, 18–20, gives in brief a proleptic vision of the judgment which is to be executed in part before the Millennial reign and in part after it, and which is represented more fully in xix. 11–21 and xx. 7–10. Neither of these proleptic visions takes any account of the judgment to be meted out to the Beasts and the False Prophet (xix. 20) or to Satan (xx. 1–3, 10), nor do they refer to the final judgment of all the dead (xx. 12–15). But the righteous have little concern with these judgments; for to none of them are they subjected. They have already been swept from the earth by a universal martyrdom, and before the plagues of the seven Bowls begin the Seer beholds them already standing before the Sea of Glass and singing the song of [Moses and] the Lamb.

In xviii. 4 the faithful are apparently presupposed to be still on earth, but, as we shall see later, xviii. was originally a vision belonging to the reign of Vespasian, and xviii. 4, as well as some other passages, reflect the facts and expectations of that time.

μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπ᾽ ἄρτι. With *οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες* cf. 1 Cor. xv. 18, *οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ*; 1 Thess. iv. 16, *οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ*; also iv. 14. *ἀπ᾽ ἄρτι*, "from henceforth," is to be taken not with *μακάριοι* but with *ἀποθνήσκοντες*.

The object of the beatitude is to comfort those who in the great tribulation need strength and consolation. In the age of the author it is a message for those called to martyrdom in the immediately-impending persecution, but it can rightly be used by the Church generally of those who die *ἐν κυρίῳ*. Real faithfulness to Christ demands in all ages some measure of the martyr's courage and endurance. Indeed the worst martyrdoms are not always, or even generally, those which terminate in a speedy and violent death.

ναί, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα. On this clause cf. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, etc., xxii. 17. For *ναί* cf. i. 7 (note), xvi. 7, xxii. 20.

ἵνα ἀναπαήσονται κτλ. Cf. vi. 11. The *ἵνα* here is practically equivalent to *ὅτι* (= "in that"). Cf. xxii. 14; John viii. 56, ix. 2. On the form of *ἀναπαήσονται* see Blass, *Gram.* p. 44. The use of *ἐκ* after *ἀναπαύομαι* is unusual, but it is found in Plato.

τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. *ἀκολουθεῖν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν* (a rare construction: cf. Luke ix. 49) means (as in vi. 8) "accompany them" (= מלוין להם (?): cf. Pirke Aboth vi. 9). In xiv. 4, 9, xix. 14, *ἀκολουθεῖν* is followed by the dative and means "to follow after." This slight distinction is important when we come to consider τὰ ἔργα. But what meaning are we to attach to ἔργα? Two explanations have been advanced here.

1. Some scholars like Böklen (*Verwandschaft*, p. 40) will have it that the idea in our text is derived from Zoroastrian sources. According to the Gathas the soul was escorted to blessedness by its good deeds, *S.B.E.* xviii. 64. By virtue of these it passes over the Kinvat Bridge, xviii. 76; but the more general view in later Zoroastrianism is that the soul of the righteous man was received by its good works in the shape of a beautiful maiden (*S.B.E.* iv. 219, xviii. 47 note, 49 note, 54, 117 note, 150, xxiii. 315 sq., xxiv. 19 sq.). This maiden is his religion, the sum of his righteous deeds. It was also taught that the sins and good works of the soul were weighed in the scales of Rashnû, *S.B.E.* v. 241 sq., xviii. 232 note, xxiii. 168, xxiv. 18.

It is clear that the teaching of our text differs from this somewhat crude realism, though originally they may have been related. In any case our author was not beholden to Zoroastrianism.

2. Inside Judaism this subject was developed pretty fully. In the O.T. both the actions and the spirits of men are weighed, Job xxxi. 6; Prov. xvi. 2, xxi. 2, and the wicked are found wanting, Ps. lxii. 9; Dan. v. 27. This idea of the weighing of men's actions reappears in 1 Enoch xli. 1. In Enoch as in the O.T. this idea is not incompatible with the doctrine of divine grace. But in later works it tends to become materialised, and a man's salvation depends on an actual preponderance of his good deeds over his evil: see Weber, *Jud. Theol.*² 279–284.

But not only are the works weighed: they have been stored up in heaven in advance, and preserved by God, 1 Enoch xxxviii. 2, in treasuries, 2 Bar. xiv. 12. At the last judgment these treasuries will be opened, 2 Bar. xxiv. 1. Sometimes the righteous man is said to have a treasure of good works, 4 Ezra vii. 77; Shabb. 31*b*. In these conceptions the personality tends to be resolved into a series of individual acts. A higher conception finds expression in Pss. Sol. ix. 9, where the righteous man is said to acquire for himself with the Lord life itself as a spiritual treasure (θησαυρίζει ζωὴν αὑτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ). Cf. Matt. vi. 19, 20.

But none of these passages conveys exactly the idea of our text (τὰ γὰρ ἔργα ἀκολουθεῖ κτλ.). But there is a nearer parallel in Pirke Aboth vi. 9: "In the hour of a man's decease, not silver, nor gold, nor goodly stones, nor pearls accompany the man, but Torah and good works." But, since the attitude of our author to the Law is absolutely different from that of the writer of this passage, it is probable that, though there is a literal likeness in the two passages, the thought conveyed is different.

Let us, therefore, return to our text, and restudy it in the light of the passages just dealt with, and in connection with the contexts in our author in which the word "works" occurs.

3. First we observe that "works" are not laid up in heaven in advance, but accompany the righteous soul. Next, since our author takes up an antagonistic position to the Synagogue (ii. 9, iii. 9), and deliberately omits all mention of the Law, we reasonably infer that his conception of works must be different from that of the Synagogue. In other words, works are taken by our author not as goods in themselves, by means of which salvation is purchased, but are conceived as *the necessary manifestation of a life that is already redeemed in essence by Christ* (v. 9, xiv. 3, 4). They are wrought by virtue of their redemption through Him (xii. 11). There is, therefore, no reliance on works as in Judaism. Thus works in the mind of our author are the outward expression of the character of the soul that wrought them.

Let us now test this view by a short consideration of the passages in our author, which are definitive on this head. These are ii. 2, *οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου.* Here the omission of *σου* after *τ. κόπον* binds *τ. κόπον* and *τ. ὑπομονήν* together. Nay, more, as has been rightly recognized, the first *καί* is used epexegetically, and thus the *ἔργα* are here defined as self-denying "labour and endurance." The next passage is still more instructive, ii. 19, *οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ ἔσχατα πλείονα τῶν πρώτων.* Here "love, faith, service and endurance" are taken closely together and form a definition of the *ἔργα*. The third passage in iii. 2, *οὐ γὰρ εὕρηκά σου ἔργα πεπληρωμένα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου.* Here the *ἔργα* fell short of the divine standard, though the world approved of them (iii. 1). Lastly, iii. 15, *οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα κτλ.* The works here are neither hot nor cold. Even complete apostasy would be preferable according to the divine voice. And yet no special sin—such as those urged against the other Churches—is brought against the Church of Laodicea, save that its works lack spiritual fire and their doers are self-complacent.

We may, therefore, conclude that *works are regarded by our author simply as the manifestation of the inner life and character.*

In the Fourth Gospel we find this use of *ἔργα*: cf. v. 36, ix. 3, 4, x. 25, xiv. 10, etc. *καρπός* (though not used in our author with this meaning) has this significance in the Fourth Gospel (cf. xv. 2, 5, 8, etc.), and, so conceived, was a characteristic term on the lips of our Lord, as in Matt. vii. 16, 20, *ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς*: also vii. 17, 18, 19, xii. 33, etc. It is likewise used by St. Paul with a like significance: cf. Gal. v. 22; Phil. i. 11, etc.

In keeping with this conclusion are our author's statements in regard to works and judgment. In ii. 23 Christ declares *δώσω ὑμῖν ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν.* This award (in some sense external) is spoken of as a recompense or wage, or reward in xxii. 12.

> ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ,
> καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ
> ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.

In the case of the righteous generally this *μισθός* is, in part at all events, the reception of spiritual bodies (see Additional Note on vi. 11, p. 184 sqq.): in the case of the martyrs—spiritual bodies and a share in the Millennial Kingdom.

From the conclusion thus arrived at, that "works" in our author are regarded as a manifestation of character and are in fact synonymous with character, we are enabled to deal with the perplexing words in xix. 8, *τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν.* This clause has been rightly rejected by many critics (J. Weiss, Bousset, Moffatt, etc.) as a gloss, but no definite and conclusive grounds have been adduced. But if, as we have seen in the note on iii. 5 and the Additional Note on vi. 11, the "fine linen" is the heavenly body of the righteous, and if, as we found in the present note, a man's righteous acts are simply the manifestation of his inner character, then it follows that the clause above quoted in xix. 8 is the gloss of a scribe who failed to apprehend the views of our author on this question. "The fine linen," *i.e.* the spiritual body, is not identical with the character but a product of it.

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